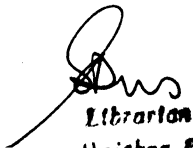


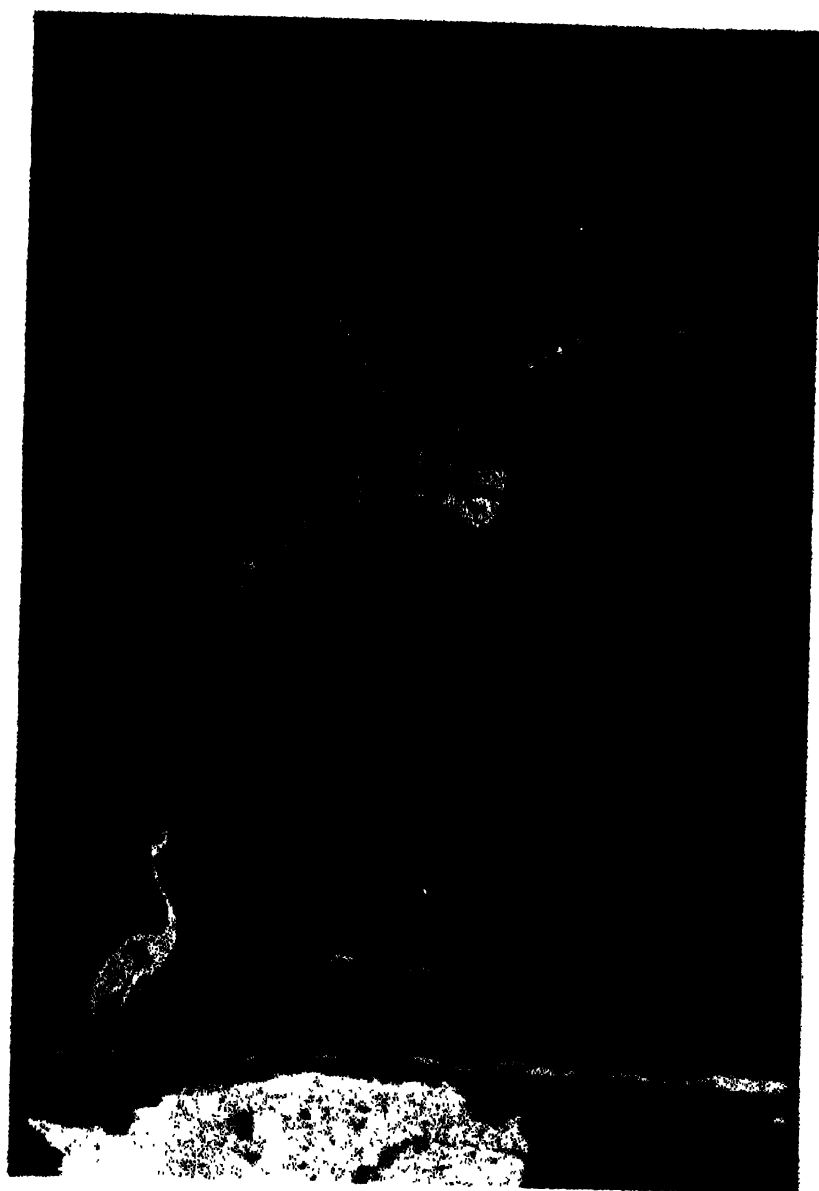
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THE AMOROUS LADY

OF THE AMOROUS LADY

BY THE AUTHOR

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NOTES

This Freedom !

In the prayer meeting of 26th January, 1948, only four days before the Father of the Nation was removed from amongst us by the hand of the assassin, Mahatma Gandhi said :

"The subject of corruption is not new. Only it has become much worse than before. Restraint from without has practically gone. Corruption will go when the large number of persons given to the unworthy practice realise that the nation does not exist for them but that they do for the nation. It requires a high code of morals, extreme vigilance on the part of those who are free from the corrupt practice and who have influence over corrupt servants. Indifference in such matters is criminal. If our evening prayers are genuine they must play no mean part in removing from our midst the demon of corruption."

Today the most vital problem that faces us is that of corruption. Corruption had eaten deep in the administrative services of India long prior to the departure of the British from the controlling posts of India. What is more terrible is that this virus has spread alarmingly wide amongst those on whom lay all the hopes of the nationals of India. The Congress has been badly affected by this plague, as was openly stated sometime back by the veteran Congress leader of Madras Sri Konda Venkatasappa. There is some hope for Madras inasmuch as they still have puritans in the rank who have no hesitation in resorting to open condemnation. But why is the Congress President silent about the Centre and the other provinces ?

Where are the rosy dreams of a glorious and mighty India today, with which we used to solace the stricken people of this country during the fateful days when British bureaucracy was trying to extinguish the fires of freedom with demonic repression ? Where are those wonderful plans for the regeneration and renaissance of the nation, plans for industrialisation,

for reclamation of waste lands, for the harnessing of hydraulic energy now running to waste, and for raising the standard of living of those millions who are suffering a living death today ?

Today the very foundations of the State are being undermined by corruption. So what chance is there of any great structure being ever built over the ruins ? We are beset with problems on all sides, it is true, but does not that fact make the crime of corruption still more heinous for those who are trying to profit by the distress of the nation ? Why are our statesmen silent over the matter ? It is well-known today, throughout the length and breadth of the country that there are bag-barons at Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, who are the master-criminals in all this planned treachery, of corruption and of profiteering, black-marketing and tax-evasion. And yet it seems that they are immune from the trammels of law, arch-criminals though they might be. Why are they being shielded ? The public have a right to know why the rights of hundreds of millions are being sacrificed so that a group of unprincipled cut-throats might bleed them to death and gather vast fortunes thereby with impunity. Mahatma Gandhi must have had these racketeers of Big-Business in mind when he spoke.

We should like to know what plans Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel have to combat this evil. Kashmir and Hyderabad are great problems, but of what avail would a thousand Kashmiris and Hyderabadis be, if the common man of India become poorer still and the sick die without relief, as under British rule, because all the wealth of the land is being drained, by means illicit and immoral, into the coffers of the few who have sacrificed all their principles through evil lust for gain ?

Labour is getting more and more intractable and restive and production in industry has fallen to an all-time low of 45 per cent of normal. Agitators and inciters have had their task made easy through the continuous rise in the cost of living. The vital channels of transport are now affected daily, through rampant

* We have taken the above quotation from Sri Vijay Kumar Mahalingam's book *Administrative Problems of India*, a monograph that should be on the minds of every administrator today.—Ed., M. R.

corruption in the staff and through chronic neglect of duties. The industrialist does not care for he merely doubles the price of all life's essentials and rakes in his ill-gotten gains at the cost of the poor consumer, who pays and suffers all the way.

We know of cases where honest officers of the State have been held up in the execution of their duties, when they started investigations into cases of tax-evasion by these mighty and filthy bag-barons. They withstood threats and temptations but were finally brought to a halt by orders from superiors. We know that the anti-black-marketing legislation in Bengal was held up for months because there were clauses in it that threatened the safety of the persons of the master-black-marketeers. We know that the State and the People are being mulcted by these treacherous scoundrels with such blatant and brazen impudence, because there are those in power who are shielding them, whether through ignorance or otherwise, we leave the people to judge.

We would ask Pandit Nehru then, what is the value of this freedom to our people? And for whose benefit are they suffering? It is time now for stringent legislation and ruthless enforcement, else there would be chaos.

The Change-over

The world is in turmoil. In the Far East China is ablaze with communism fighting for the domination of all East Asia. In Burma and Malaya there are active attempts at kindling a fire, the intensity of the blaze depending on the aid the communists might receive from abroad. There is an uneasy peace in Indo-China, Indonesia and Siam, France and Holland being busy in the first two areas, in devising formulae that would enable them to continue with their imperialistic programme under the guise of democracy. On the Western marches of Asia Arab nationalism has been fanned up by foreign interests and is up in arms against the new-born State of Israel. If there is a conflagration then the blaze may spread to the borders of India, and it is on this that the die-hard Tories of Britain and their stooges in Pakistan and Hyderabad are counting.

In Europe, the Soviets are slowly adopting strong-arm methods. Poland, Austria and most of the Balkans are in their grip. The Czechs have been dragged into toeing the line and the major part of Germany is on the eve of the Soviet *anschluss*. There is panic in France, as a result of which the anti-Communist drive has been intensified as the following extracts from a *Worldover Press* bulletin would show:

"For France the late spring, long forecast as its most critical period, gave an opportunity not merely to consider current crises, but to look back at a six months' miracle. When the government of Robert Schuman took office, no one believed it could stay in the saddle more than a few weeks at the very longest. During all that time, Communists were uttering dire threats of major revolutionary outbreaks.

Premier Schuman reached the point where he could assert, with a measure of plausibility, "They won't get away with it here." No observer in his right mind could doubt the ability of French Communism to precipitate serious trouble, for their hold over key labour groups, such as the northern miners, had never been broken. But through the Force Ouvriere, the democratic trade union organization set up after splitting from the C.G.T., through the ineptitude of Moscow, and in particular through specific moves made internally by the Schuman regime, the constructive appeal of Communism, once a factor, had been rendered negative.

When De Gaulle went into the Communist stronghold of Marseilles in late April, and local Communism failed to organize any effective counter-demonstration, it was spectacular. But the very drama of that incident tended to disguise a long series of tough steps by the Schuman government which have received scant world publicity.

Last December a raid was carried out on a Soviet-operated camp, followed by the expulsion of numerous Moscow spokesmen and the liquidation of the Union of Soviet citizens. But this raid was only a taste of what was to come. As weeks went by, French Communism got liberal doses of its own medicine.

Four Communist papers were barred on December 24th from all army posts. They were the morning daily *L'Humanite*, the evening daily *Ce Soir*, and the periodicals *L'Avant-Garde* and *France d'Abord*. To carry out this move and still remain legal, the Schuman regime used an old law in existence before 1936, which had become a dead letter after Communists entered the government in the early post-war period. At the same time, Jules Moch, Socialist Minister of the Interior—a man regarded by the Communists with a mixture of hatred and grudging respect—took away the monthly allowance of gasoline granted to the Communist Party under an arrangement whereby all parties receive a quantity of gas for political uses.

Another paper was suspended on January 20th, it was *The Soviet Patriot*, printed in Russian. Its editor had been expelled at the time of the December raid. At almost the same time, Communists were ousted from strategic positions in the Chamber of Deputies.

In short, for half a year, after the break-up of the political strikes last fall, the Communists have just not been allowed to get away with a thing. And by setting up a series of "super-prefectures," M. Moch has built an apparatus, flexible and all-pervasive, with which to counter the "defense committees" established by the Communists on the model of the "action committees" which were so efficacious in suppressing Czechoslovak democracy."

It is in this setting that the change-over took place at Delhi. From now onwards the utmost vigilance is needed at the Foreign Ministry at Delhi. Perhaps Pandit Nehru has already made arrangement for a new set-up. For the first set-up has been poor and wanting in many things.

Lord Mountbatten

With the departure of Lord Mountbatten ends an episode in India's millennial history—an episode extending over 190 years. When the "factors and clerks" of the East India Company brought about a coup at Plassey in 1757, they did not know what would be the consequence of this adventure of theirs; it must have been this unconsciousness that later led a historian of their people to popularize the opinion that the British had acquired empire over India in "a fit of absent-mindedness." It took about forty years for the ruling classes of Britain to grow into the consciousness that the disorganization in India afforded them an opportunity to found an empire which would add to the wealth and glory of their people. And by the middle of the 19th century a school of politics was developed in Britain of which 50 years after Rudyard Kipling was to be the poet laureate. The necessities of holding sway over an alien people across six thousand miles of sea water forced on British politicians and administrators the adoption and pursuit of policies that have led to results which were described by Rabindranath Tagore in 1941:

But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind them!

The unnatural relation that subsists between an alien conqueror and a dependent people cannot have any other result. The "plunder of Bengal" after Plassey "flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years" and imparted "the first impetus (to the industrial revolution) in Britain" and financed its capitalist enterprises over East Asia. These words of Dean Inge, not an economist or historian, held the mirror to the spirit of cannibalism that moved the new imperialism of exploitation of other peoples' weaknesses and their resources. Lord Mountbatten inherited this regime, and in winding it up he had no occasion to apply his mind to the understanding of this process of progressive deterioration in the material conditions of life in India. From March 24, 1947 to June 20, 1948, he was engaged in liquidating a system of rule that his immediate predecessor had made hateful beyond words to the people who had been nursed in the Liberalism of 19th century Britain. During Lord Wavell's administration forces of anarchy were released over our country all through northern India from Chittagong to Multan that could not have been the creation of mob frenzy alone. The malignant mind of an alien bureaucracy, fighting rear-guard actions for the defence of British vested interests, could be traced through the eruption of beastliness in India. Lord Wavell by his inaptitude became a tool in its hands, to put the matter in its mildest. Calcutta in August, 1946, Noakhali in October, 1946, Bihar in October-November, 1946, and the Punjab in March, 1947 highlighted these activities of a decadent class of administrators.

It thus became apparent to the Labour Government in Britain that Lord Wavell had made himself impossible to India, and that their policy, announced on February 20, 1946—to quit India by June, 1948—needed the service of another mind. It has been suggested that the choice of Lord Mountbatten to give shape and form to this policy was "an inspiration." History will decide on the validity of this judgment. Lord Mountbatten had expressed the hope on March 24, 1947, that he would try his best to prevent further bitterness and addition to the toll of innocent victims to the requirements of British policy. The Punjab, east and west, demonstrated in lurid light the failure of this hope. Even so, it should be also stated for the departing pro-Consul that he and Lady Mountbatten had "helped greatly to lighten that burden," to use the words used in the India Union's Cabinet resolution in appreciation of their "work of healing." But "the tortured minds and stunted souls" that crowd into the villages, towns and cities of India and Pakistan have left a problem that will leave an impression on India's life that decades may not erase.

The argument is quite admissible that Lord Mountbatten was not individually responsible for the crookedness of the policy that he was called upon to carry out. That policy had become explicit during 1940 when Lord Linlithgow gave an assurance to all disgruntled elements in India, British and Indian, that they would have freedom to deny the authority of any Government in India set up to replace that of Britain, thus repeating "exactly what was said with fatal results to Ulster," to quote the words of the London *New Statesman and Nation*. The Cripps Mission plan, the Cabinet Delegation's plan were all variants of the same theme. The latter made much of their pose that they came with an "open mind"; that they were anxious to preserve India's unity and integrity. But this plea was negated by what they themselves said in their "Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy." The date of presentation of this Memorandum was significant. In it appeared the words: "Succession Government or Governments of British India," and these words showed that the Cabinet Delegation's mind had been moving towards a "partition" of our country on communal lines or had become prepared to accept such a dispensation. A Note attached to the Memorandum issued on May 12, 1946, attempted an explanation for the use of these words which was revealing, and we share it with our readers.

"The Cabinet Delegation desire to make it clear that the document issued today entitled 'Memorandum, etc.' . . . was drawn up before the Mission began its discussion with party leaders and represented the substance of what they communicated to the representatives of the States at their first interview with the Mission. This is the explanation of the use of the words 'Succession Government or Governments of British India,' an expression which would not, of course, have been used after the issue of the Delegation's recent statement (dated May 16, 1946)."

In a Time-Table of the Cabinet Delegation's itinerary we find it stated that the first non-official Indian whom they interviewed was Mahatma Gandhi. On April 1, 1946, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, had an interview of 72 minutes with him; previous to that Sir Stafford Cripps had talks with him for about half-an-hour. On the 2nd April, 1946, they met the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal. Thus, it becomes clear that members of the British Cabinet forming the Delegation had begun flirting with the idea of the "partition" of India as early as March, 1946, the last week of March, at least. And Lord Mountbatten was sent out to give it shape in March, 1947. Perhaps for twelve months it was all a dress rehearsal of what was announced on June 3, 1946, through the mouth of Lord Mountbatten. During this period, the people in India, apart from their leaders, were misled into thinking that "His Majesty's Government" were cudgelling their brains to decide "to whom to hand over the powers of the Central Government on the date set for transfer." And the people have paid dearly for their ignorance or complacency.

This was the background in which destiny called upon Lord Louis Mountbatten to play a part. It was no new policy discovered by the Attlee Government that he was to implement. It was all cut out for him by the logic of British policy. His personal contribution was dash and drive which enabled him to brush aside through the cob-webs of law. He cut the time-table by months; instead of June, 1948, he made it possible for "British control" to be withdrawn from India on August 15, 1947. The leadership of the country, represented in the Indian National Congress, accepted this logic; the Muslim League, representing majority feeling amongst Indian Muslims had worked for it, though the decisions of the Bengal and the Punjab Assemblies by the end of June had left it with a "moth-eaten" and "truncated" State. We have often felt that Lord Mountbatten had no occasion to exert great pressure or use hard persuasion to convince Indian leaders that the decision of June 3, 1947, represented the only step that could end "British control" over India's destiny. Whether or not anybody amongst them or even Lord Mountbatten could visualize the uprooting of millions, we cannot say. Perhaps, "partition" wanted a sacrifice, and they unwittingly co-operated in this act. In any case history will put to his credit the fact that he did not try to cloud the issues by evasion or subterfuge. He plainly stated the task that he had been set, and he took the shortest and quickest path towards fulfilling it, without flinching at the risks. And when the conflagration—for which British permanent officialdom had been working overtime before his time—did blaze up, he did his best to bring it under control, without any hypocritical jeremiads.

Mountbatten's Farewell Broadcast

Lord Mountbatten's farewell broadcast was typical of the man. Flowery ornaments were very few, nor was

there much frothy sentiment. There was a directness of speech that is characteristic of the British Naval tradition.

The Governor General said :

"When I was first asked to interrupt my naval career to become the last Viceroy of India, I must confess that I viewed the prospect with considerable trepidation. After serving in South East Asia from 1943 to 1946, during all of which time I had a rear headquarter in Delhi, I felt that I could to some extent appreciate the complexity of the situation which would confront the Viceroy on whom the task of transferring power would fall. But when I arrived in India and was able to see the problem for myself at close quarters, it appeared to present even more difficulties than I had supposed.

There was one bright feature, however, in the general gloom—and it was perhaps the most important feature that one could have wished for. This was the determination of all those with whom I had to deal—whether they were leaders in the political field or in any other walk of life—that a realistic solution could and must be found. And from the moment that I arrived, difficulties which had seemed insurmountable began to melt in the atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill with which those leaders combined to help me in my task.

I can never say with what emotion I received the invitation (which was generously ratified by the Constituent Assembly as its first act during the mid-night meeting of the 14th/15th August) to be the first constitutional Governor-General of free India during the interim period. I gladly agreed to stay on until the 31st March 1948 (the date specifically mentioned in the Indian Independence Act as the end of the interim period) and, later, I was deeply honoured by the invitation to extend this time until June. It has been difficult to decide at what juncture it would be in India's best interests that an Indian should be appointed in my place; but I hope that time will show that I have stayed long enough to be useful; but not too long, so as to deprive India of the right which her freedom has conferred on her, to choose on of her own people to be the head of the State. It is a particular pleasure to me that the choice should fall on my friend Rajaji, for no one is better qualified to take over the post.

It has been an unforgettable experience for myself and my family to have been privileged to be in India during these past, historic fifteen months. India has a great history behind her—and she has a great history ahead of her. She has many problems, grave problems such as would be bound to face any nation suddenly achieving freedom—but magnified in her case by the fact that this freedom has been attained at a time of unparalleled world-wide difficulties, and in a country that contains nearly one-sixth of the human race. But I know that she will solve these problems and that her difficulties will be surmounted; India is

destined to fill a high place in the world, and to play a high part in the world's affairs.

India is potentially as rich a country as any in the world. Quite apart from the wealth within the ground itself, such as coal, iron ore, manganese and all the other valuable minerals, quite apart from the immense possibility of further prosperity from hydro-electric power and irrigation schemes, there remains the greatest source of wealth that any country can have—the hundreds of millions of its ordinary people. For with them rest not only the age-long traditions of manual labour but the inheritance of the new technical age and of the ever-increasing skill which during training will provide.

Inventive genius, which is latent in the Indian people, can now be harnessed as never before for the benefit and prosperity of themselves and of the whole world. Clearly the spread of universal education and the advance of social service and conscience are essential if those creative forces are to be fully realised. These things will come about, but for all that India's greatest asset will, I am sure, always lie in the character of her people. I myself saw the most stupendous crowds in my life in India—on Independence Day, at Gandhiji's funeral, at the Mela at Allahabad and on other historic occasions. The good nature and friendliness of these vast masses were unforgettable; I realised then that I was seeing before me the raw material of India's future greatness.

Your draft constitution takes its place among the great documents of liberty and human rights. Be worthy of it. Goethe wrote that only he is worthy of true freedom who is prepared to establish it himself in his everyday life. It is not the fact that high ideals are written into your constitution that will help you, but the stern resolve with which you yourselves determine to suppress all that could militate against these ideals being put into practice.

I would like to end this talk on a personal note. During the last fifteen months in India my wife and I have visited every single province, and the majority of the major states; and wherever we have gone, we have been received with universal friendliness and kindness. My wife, who has been so closely associated with welfare work, particularly among refugees and abducted women, has had an even greater opportunity of meeting the people than I have had myself; and I know how deeply she has appreciated the help and co-operation given to her by all officials, and the way that she has been received by all the people with whom she has come in contact.

Wherever we may go in the future, both of us will remember with a sense of pride and of real humility the wonderful kindness and friendship we have received on all sides. We shall continue to love India and to take the deepest personal interest in her future welfare."

Rajaji's Assurance

After the departure of the last of the British Governor-Generals of India, came the installation of the first Indian Governor-General. His first address therefore is worthy of record as a public document.

The following is the text of the Governor-General's address:

"My Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very grateful to you all for your participation at this ceremony. Your presence has lifted the occasion from the plane of a mere ceremony to that of human fellowship and co-operation.

Speaking objectively, the occasion is undoubtedly historic for this is the first time that one who belongs to the soil has, in accordance with the wishes of the Prime Minister of India and his Cabinet, been entrusted with the honour and the duties of the Head of the State in India. I owe a debt of gratitude, which I cannot hope to repay, for the signal honour implied in this my installation. I hope I shall act, on every occasion and in every matter, in a manner worthy of the trust reposed in me. The work of my predecessor during his memorable term of office was a marvellous instance of detachment, devotion and energy on the part of one who, though not belonging to India, worked as one belonging to her and did his work in the spirit that is laid down in our scriptures with regard to the task that falls to any one. I come after him but I hope I will be judged by standards suitable to one who is inexperienced either in arms or in diplomacy unlike my illustrious predecessor.

Our problems have multiplied beyond all expectation and are such as may perturb even the most adventurous spirits among us. The only remaining interest in life which moves my colleagues who are entrusted with the charge of the affairs of India is the happiness of our people and the good name of our country. This is the passion that binds them together. They have experience and nobility of character. May God enable them to achieve the purpose so dear to their hearts. I shall be proud to render them all such assistance as I can in this position.

India is unchangeably committed to the policy of making every one within her borders find pride and joy in citizenship irrespective of caste, creed or race. No one will suffer any disability by reason of the community to which he or she belongs.

The days of dynastic rule or domination through force are gone in India. No territorial or racial or religious community can hope to thrive or maintain its happiness through force without the willing and full co-operation of other people and the utmost inter-communication. It is, therefore, necessary that all communal and territorial isolationism should be abandoned and the best talents in every community should seek to serve the whole State. Communities should spread themselves out rather than build walls round themselves.

Whatever be the technical phraseology which public law may use to describe it, what disturbs the peace of India now is internecine discord pure and simple and it is utter folly. Our economy has *not* yet had time to separate into two parts corresponding to the political division to which we have agreed. It is very doubtful if it ever can be so split. We are far too interdependent and whatever we might do, there will yet be vital links that can never be severed. It is folly to quarrel and make into a scene of strife and misery what has been shaped by the pressure of age-long forces into a field of beauty and joy. Let us pray for wisdom and let us do what will make good thoughts grow and save them from being swamped by folly and evil which wait to tempt man.

I have received blessings and goodwishes from great and good men in all parts of the world. May these help me to steer clear of error and enable me to be of some service to our people in the great office conferred on me."

India's Place in British Commonwealth

On the 21st January, 1947, the Indian Constituent Assembly passed the "Objectives" resolution declaring India an "independent, Sovereign Republic." Dr. Jayakar and Dr. Ambedkar opposed this declaration, showing that amongst members of the Indian Constituent Assembly there were men with a certain amount of representative character who were not happy at present with the prospect of getting out of the British Commonwealth. From certain points of view it can be said that in this expression of their views they are moved more by considerations of India's safety in the evolving power-politics of the post-war world than by any softness for British susceptibilities or interests. Since the passing of that resolution in the winter of 1947, there have been vast changes in India, which is no longer one, as a separate State has been cut out of her to suit the conceits and ambitions of the dominant section of Indian Muslims. An Indian Independence Act has also been passed by the British Parliament, conferring "Dominion Status" on India, freeing her from the limitations of "Colonial Legislatures" of the old days, conferring on her Legislature "the" power to repeal or amend any existing or future Act of Parliament (British), or any Order, Rule or Regulation, in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion." With all this, there are certain "implied powers" which do not enable India to attain her full status as a sovereign State. It is hoped that the Constituent Assembly framing the constitution of the Indian Union will clarify this position. An element of mystery has been introduced into the matter by an amendment that Dr. Ambedkar proposes to move to the "Objectives" resolution passed at Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's instance. Significance is attached to it because Dr. Ambedkar is Minister in charge of legislation in the Nehru Ministry, and he

is also Chairman of the Drafting Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly. He proposes to substitute the words "Sovereign, Independent State" for the words "Sovereign, Independent Republic" found in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's resolution, and he has frankly stated the purpose of his amendment; it was to secure that "nothing in the Constitution (of India) brings about an automatic and instantaneous severance between India and the British Commonwealth of Nations." A further element of speculation has developed by the news that the Indian Constituent Assembly, scheduled to meet sometime this month, has been postponed and is expected to meet in October or November next. This new time-table has been interpreted as a step which will enable the Prime Minister of India to meet the British Prime Minister and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth on the occasion of the proposed conference of their own. The condition of Britain in the present international set-up will be reviewed at this conference. She has hitherto borne the burden of Imperial Defence which at present is beyond her means. India standing at the head of the Indian Ocean has a distinct part to play in the defence arrangements of the areas about stretching from Africa to Australia. With her new dignity this new responsibility has come to her. Realists in India among whom is the present Governor-General, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, appear to be of opinion that in discharging this responsibility, India can get the most immediate help from Britain and her "white" Dominions. These considerations may be weighing with them, and it is but natural that they should be pressing them on the attention and consideration of the Nehru Cabinet. These factors of the problem should be clarified soon and the present artificial discussion on India's foreign affairs should end. Military organization and foreign policy are inter-linked. Let us not forget this fact.

Hyderabad

The statement of the Prime Minister of India on the failure of the Indo-Hyderabad negotiation published in another column does not add to our knowledge of "the realities of the situation" to which he referred. He has called for a "dispassionate and balanced assessment of all the unforeseen problems that might crop up in the event of a likely Indo-Hyderabad armed conflict." But he has not cared to enlighten us on these "realities" and on "the unforeseen problems" that confront his Cabinet and the people outside. He has asked us to visualize "the reaction . . . on the international sphere" of a conflict between the Indian Union and Hyderabad without indicating what its nature and extent is likely to be. This vacuum in our knowledge could have been removed by him, but he has not done it. He might have justification for this omission, but the fact remains that we are left to fill it up in our own way.

It does not require any effort of imagination to realize that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah has been pulling the strings not very overtly. The *communiqué* from his Government House which was published on the 8th of June last in the newspaper *Hyderabad* showed him in his true colours. He would not meet the representatives of the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen as "he did not think it proper to meet the representatives of any political group in Hyderabad." This pose of detachment wore thin as we remember what he said on the status of Hyderabad in the present controversy. "Hyderabad was an independent State, and was at full liberty to accede to India or to remain independent." We are under no doubt that this declaration of his sabotaged the last negotiations of the Nizam's representatives with those of the Indian Union.

The Press of Britain and her Conservative Party have been beating up a great noise with regard to this matter calling Pandit Nehru's "Hindu Government" all manner of names. But behind these public activities bushbodies, bought up by the agents of the richest man in the world, as his Exalted Highness is reputed to be, have been insidiously engaged in equipping the Nizam with men and munitions for a fight with the Indian Union. Winston Churchill, the old Cassandra of British politics, has come out into the open with his support to the intransigence of the Nizam. These are signs that show that the traditional enemies of India's freedom in Britain are back at their old occupation.

Add to this the ruling classes of the United States. Their mind was reflected truly in the speech of Dr. Henry Grady, U.S.A. ambassador to New Delhi and Katamunda, on the occasion of the Ootacamund Conference on East Asia's economic re-construction. In his haste to support Dutch opposition to the Indonesian Republic's demand for representation in this Conference, Dr. Grady likened the position of the Republic to that of Hyderabad, and he warned India that if Indonesia can claim representation so can Hyderabad.

These are certain of the straws which the Indian Union has to take notice of. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have done well in telling his people of the elements of the complicated situation that the Nizam has created for us. An uninstructed democracy cannot stand for long the stress and strain of situations like these.

Nehru's Statement on Hyderabad

Pandit Nehru clarified somewhat the complexities of the situation, consequent on the refusal by the Nizam of the final draft agreement sent to him by the Government of India, at a Press Conference at Delhi on the 17th of June.

Pandit Nehru who was delayed in arriving at the Press Conference said that he expected Sir Walter Monckton back from Hyderabad this evening. Not that anything special might happen but he thought

it would be fair to wait for him so that the Press might have "the latest dope." He referred to the two drafts—the agreement and the firman—which were circulated and said that at the present moment these were of historical interest only, but will enable the public to know the basis on which the Government of India were proceeding. Apart from the agreement which was to have been signed by the Government of India and the Hyderabad Government, the firman was something which the Nizam of Hyderabad would have issued. So far as the Government of India was concerned, the firman was important and hence in a sense it became a part of the draft agreement.

After explaining these two documents, the Prime Minister said that this was the last document that was presented in the course of conversations. Apart from these documents it was proposed that he (Pandit Nehru) would give a collateral letter to the Hyderabad Government to make one or two points clear. They include, for instance, that the Government of India would do their utmost to ensure a free flow of goods of all kinds to Hyderabad, secondly, that the Government of India would co-operate on a joint basis on the economic development of Hyderabad and afford all facilities to them and, thirdly, that it was not the policy of the Government of India that there should be any unfair discrimination against Hyderabad in the working of the new agreement.

There was the question of certain trade matters and representation in international organisations such as food, etc. The Government of India said these questions could not be considered in isolation and had to be decided with reference to the constitution of various organisations and the Government of India's relations with them but were prepared to consider them later. In effect there was nothing new in that except to remove any apprehension if there was going to be any discrimination against Hyderabad after the conclusion of the agreement.

During the last ten days various proposals had been discussed between the representatives of India and Hyderabad and ultimately they had taken shape in the form of the two documents now released. Meanwhile, there were at least two visits to Hyderabad of the Nizam's representatives, taking back these proposals in some form or other and the impression we had was that these proposals were agreed to by the Nizam's representatives here. He had, in fact, made it clear to them even before they came on the last occasion that there was not much point in taking the trouble to come over to Delhi unless they accepted the basis of these proposals and unless they came with plenipotentiary authority to come to an agreement. It was really on that basis that the talks had proceeded.

The Prime Minister said: "The principal matters contained in these proposals were more or less accepted by the Nizam's representatives here. In fact, we thought that we were going to proceed to sign them

when we were told that they wanted to take it back to Hyderabad to consult the Nizam." But one of our difficulties in this business has been in dealing with persons who cannot say "yes" or "no" definitely but who continually wanted to fly back to Hyderabad, in spite of the fact that they are connected by telephone and continually telephone to each other. This made it very difficult to get on and numerous unnecessary delays took place. Anyhow the position at present is that this latest agreement has not been accepted by the Hyderabad Government or the Nizam.

"They have not said that negotiations are over. In fact, they have suggested in a telegram which came just an hour ago that they would like to carry on talks, but as the draft stands at present they are unable to agree to it. So far as we are concerned, we have given naturally a great deal of thought and attention to this matter for the last few months. We have been criticised and to some extent it has been said that the Government of India were weak and feeble in dealing with the Hyderabad situation. A few persons have also said that we wield the big stick too much. Well, so far as Indian opinion is concerned, I think it is pretty well unanimous in criticising us that we have been rather lax. It is not merely a question of coming to a political or economic agreement with Hyderabad but of facing a dynamic situation which is giving rise to continuous trouble in border areas and which may bring trouble to wider areas.

"It is not for me to enter into long explanation or justification of the attitude of the Government of India in this matter but I now stand by everything that the Government of India has done in this matter and I think both these criticisms are not justified or are based on insufficient data or insufficient realisation of any other action which might have been undertaken in the past. We have stated fairly clearly in the past what our basic attitude towards Hyderabad is that Hyderabad, situated as it is, cannot conceivably be independent and that India can never agree to it whatever happens and whatever may be the consequences. This is not because of sentimental reasons and not because of an emotional approach to the problem but for highly practical reasons of geography and other reasons which would lead to incessant conflict."

Pandit Nehru said that the alternatives before Hyderabad were : Accession or paramountcy.

If Hyderabad was not to be independent in the real sense of the word—he was not talking about internal autonomy which in fact all the provinces and States and Unions of States enjoyed—then it would have to become part of the Indian Union with exactly equal rights like any of the provinces or States or Unions of States, and enjoying the same rights and other things. It was not therefore a question of any kind of suppression of Hyderabad or a Hindu-Muslim question. It was a partnership with equal rights. If they left our independence and if there was no accession the only other alternative was paramountcy.

Paramountcy meant practically for the Indian Union as such to have all the rights which accession would confer on it without that free partnership of Hyderabad State in the Indian Union which would give Hyderabad a big share in shaping its own as well as India's destiny.

Nehru Defends Hyderabad Policy

The Central Government of India's policy regarding Hyderabad has been criticized in some quarters. At a public meeting in Lucknow on 25th June, Pandit Nehru made a detailed statement regarding the viewpoint of his Cabinet.

Pandit Nehru referred to Hyderabad and said the Central Government cannot be stampeded into taking a hasty action against Hyderabad because of the criticism of some irresponsible elements in the country. The geographical situation of Hyderabad is such that it cannot remain independent and must be treated as part of India. Hyderabad cannot run away from India.

Referring to the recent breakdown of negotiations between India and Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said that there was now no scope left for fresh negotiations and the Government of India were not prepared to discuss the matter any further with representatives of the State.

The Government of India's demands based on the fundamental rights of the people of the State had been placed before the Hyderabad representatives in clear terms and they could not make any changes in their proposals which were final.

The problem of Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said, deserved dispassionate and balanced assessment of all unforeseen problems that might crop up in the event of a likely Indo-Hyderabad armed conflict. "Some people asked us why we do not send our armed forces to Hyderabad. Maybe, a time might come when we shall have to send our forces, but before we do so we shall have to examine all inter-related issues arising from such a course. I am not afraid of using my Army. But at the same time it would be appropriate if we visualised the reaction of this step on the international sphere."

Pandit Nehru said that Hyderabad was a part of India and we wished to give its people, Hindus and Muslims, citizenship of Hindusthan and the State partnership of the Indian Union.

Pandit Nehru referred to the periodical outbursts of the Razakar leader and said that the Hyderabad issue had been given a communal colour by the Ittehad-ul-Musleemin. That, in fact, was not so.

The Prime Minister said that a year ago there were six hundred States which had been reduced to thirty as a result of their merger either into provinces or into bigger States.

The map of India was fastly changing. A new map was being prepared and it would be supplied to the people in the near future.

The States system that worked for about 100 to 150 years has changed. I do not claim that all this has been done by the Government of India. The movement of States people is also responsible for it to a great extent. Except in Hyderabad, in all other States democratic Government of one form or another is functioning. The Hyderabad problem is to be viewed from two angles, viz., democratisation of the State administration and its accession to the Indian Union. We do not wish to coerce the States at the point of sword to make them accede to the Indian Union.

Pandit Nehru said that Kashmir, Hyderabad and all other problems were linked together and could not be considered separately. Whatever we have done in Hyderabad and Kashmir is right and correct, and those who accuse us of a weak-kneed policy do not know the realities of the situation.

He referred to the fighting in Kashmir and said that the raiders had behind them not only the power of the Pakistan Government but its army. Indian troops were sent to Kashmir about eight months ago and much of its area had been cleared of the raiders.

The Kashmir issue was not a communal issue. The whole of Kashmir was fighting for its independence. Though some of its inhabitants were helping the raiders, there was no doubt that an overwhelming majority of Hindus and Muslims had rallied round Sheikh Abdullah. Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that "we shall clear Kashmir of the raiders and make the country independent."

Criticising the present policy of Socialists, Pandit Nehru said that if they had correctly appreciated the changes that had taken place in India after August 15, they would have made a material contribution to the progress of the country. He said: "I also call myself a Socialist. The fundamental principles of Socialism are acceptable to me, and I want India to adopt these principles."

The Socialists criticised the Government of India's policy regarding Hyderabad and accused the U. P. Government of delaying the abolition of the zamindari system. Pandit Nehru said: "I am not very proud of what the Central or U. P. Governments have done so far. Delays have occurred on account of administrative difficulties and because the machinery is old."

One Socialist leader claimed that if they were in power, they would have abolished the zamindari system overnight. Such utterances were not relevant. Socialism could not come in India by law but by slow constructive programme in consultation with Socialists, which the Government of India had adopted in certain measures.

An organisation could not survive on negative principles. He knew that the present economic structure was not satisfactory, but it could only be broken when an alternative machinery was set up. He said: "Some of the Socialists are my old comrades, but I regret their irresponsible statements."

Making a strong plea to strengthen the Congress organisation, Pandit Nehru said: "I know the shortcomings of the Congress organisation. The same time there is no other organisation which can serve the country and save it from dangers.

"What other organisation is there which can replace the Congress?" he asked.

The step of the Socialists to weaken the Congress was not proper. The Socialists could bring Socialism, while remaining within the Congress-fold, but they could not do so as they were engaged in party-politics. "I do not want that nobody should point out the defects of the Congress, but they should not weaken it."

Pandit Nehru said that those who criticised the foreign policy of the Government of India did not place before them any positive or constructive alternative. Judging by other countries, no country in the world could claim to have succeeded in its foreign policy.

Draft Agreement

The draft agreement reads as follows:

1. The Nizam's Government agree that they will, on the request of the Government of India, pass legislation similar to the legislation of the Government of India on any matter enumerated in the schedule attached.

2. If the Nizam's Government fail to pass the required legislation with due despatch, the Nizam himself will forthwith pass the necessary ordinance under his own powers.

3. The Dominion Government agree to fix the strength of the Hyderabad army at a figure not exceeding an overall strength of 20,000. The provisions of the Indian State forces scheme of 1939 will apply *mutatis mutandis* to these forces and the Government of India undertake to supply arms, ammunition and equipment on the scales and conditions laid down in the scheme. The Government of India will have the right of periodical inspection and the Nizam's Government will also give all facilities in regard to such inspection and furnish such information and returns as they may be requested to do by the Government of India from time to time.

4. The Nizam's Government agree to limit their irregular forces to 8,000 in addition to ceremonial and household guards. The Hyderabad Government agree that all other formations of a military character shall be disbanded. Progressive steps will be taken for the disbandment of the Razakars within three months, rallies, parades, demonstrations, and speeches by Razakars will cease forthwith.

5. It is agreed that the Government of India will not station their armed forces inside Hyderabad State, but if in an emergency the Government of India wish to station their forces inside the State for the period of a state of emergency declared in India by the Government of India under Section 102 of

the Government of India Act, 1935, this will be agreed to by the Hyderabad Government. In such an event it is further agreed that the Government of India will be willing to pay to Hyderabad nominal compensation for the occupation of buildings in the State and for other services.

6. If, in any emergency as above, India army units are stationed in the Hyderabad State, they will be subject to the appropriate dominion law governing the armed forces of the dominion.

7. It is agreed that Hyderabad's external relations with any foreign country shall be conducted by the Government of India. Hyderabad will, however, have freedom to establish trade agencies in order to build up commercial, fiscal and economic relations with other countries, but these agencies will work under the general supervision of, and in the closest co-operation with, the Government of India.

Hyderabad will not have any political relations with any country.

8. Subject to the above paragraphs, the existing agreements and administrative arrangements in regard to matters of common concern shall continue and will be given effect to by both sides. The said agreements and arrangements shall not cease to have effect on 29th November, 1948, as was provided in Article V of the Standstill Agreement of 29th November, 1947.

A. Defence:—1. Any armed forces raised or maintained by Hyderabad whether within or without the State. 2. Naval, military and air force works. 3. Arms, fire-arms, ammunition. 4. Explosives.

B. External Affairs:—1. External affairs, the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries, extradition. 2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, Hyderabad, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in Hyderabad of persons who are not Hyderabad subjects. 3. Naturalisation.

Communications: 1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other life forms of communication.

2. Railways of the Government of India in the state; the regulation of the Nizam's State Railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers, the regulation of other railways in the State in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Aircraft and air navigation, regulation and organisation of air traffic and aerodromes, provisions for the safety of aircraft, carriage of passengers and goods by air.

Nizam's Draft Firman

The following is the draft firman that was to be issued by the Nizam in the State—following the signing of the agreement between India and Hyderabad:—

1. After protracted discussions between my Government and the Government of India, I am now in a position to announce the lines of my policy. I am most anxious to put an end to the uncertainties which prevail as to the nature of the relationship between Hyderabad and the Dominion of India. The views of the Dominion of India have been made clear to me and mine are well known to them. I have now decided to consult the will of my people on the question whether Hyderabad should accede to India. I shall, therefore, take a plebiscite in Hyderabad on the basis of adult franchise. In order to ensure that the plebiscite is fairly conducted, I shall arrange for it to be held under the supervision of some impartial and independent body. I shall accept the result of the plebiscite whatever it may be.

2. But I am satisfied that more is required than the holding of a plebiscite, in order to restore confidence and tranquillity. I have, therefore, decided to instruct my Government to proceed in accordance with the following principles. In doing so they will appreciate that the re-establishment of goodwill between India and Hyderabad is the object of my policy and is of greater importance than the terms of an agreement which may be reached between India and Hyderabad in accordance with these principles.

(I) It is my intention to introduce responsible Government in Hyderabad and to that end to establish a Constituent Assembly early in 1949.

(II) In the meantime, there should be a reconstitution of my Government as a result of which a new interim relationship between Hyderabad and India pending the holding of plebiscite. This agreement, which involves some modification of the existing standstill agreement, has been embodied in a separate document signed by my Prime Minister.

Churchill's Mendacious Jeremiad

Mr. Winston Churchill told a Conservative Party rally that the renunciation of King George the Sixth's title as emperor of India was "a melancholy event."

"Nearly half of a million Indians have already paid the forfeit with their lives in this fateful tale of the casting away of the British Empire in India and of the misfortunes and slaughter which have fallen and are falling upon its peoples.

"All the blame cannot be thrown on one party but the Socialists on gaining power threw themselves into the task of demolishing our long built-up and splendid structure in the East with zeal and gusto and they certainly have brought widespread ruin, misery and bloodshed upon the Indian masses to an extent no one can measure.

"Power has been recklessly confided to Indian political parties which in no way represent the needs or feelings of the 400 million people, who had dwelt so long under the protection of the British Crown." Mr. Churchill said.

"Already there has been something like a collapse

in the process of internal administration and we must now expect an indefinite epoch of internecine and religious strife.

"We have witnessed the violent action of Mr. Nehru's Hindu Government against Kashmir, four-fifths of whose peoples are Moslems. It may be that soon this same Government, using the modern weapons we left behind, will attack the ancient State of Hyderabad with its 17 millions of people and overthrow the Government of the Nizam.

"Burma is now a foreign country already descending rapidly into a welter of murder and anarchy, the outcome of which will probably be a Communist republic, affording dangerous strategic advantages to Soviet Russia in this important part of the world on which he depends for vital supplies of tropical produce and which is on one of our sea roads to Australia and New Zealand.

"In Malaya, the long arm of Communism, unchecked by feeble British administration, has begun a campaign of murdering British planters and their wives as part of the general process of our ejection."

All over the world, Mr. Churchill said, the prestige of Britain had "fallen grievously since the nation fell flat on its face in the moment of its greatest victory."

"The Governments of Chile and Argentina thought that we are so completely finished, that they occupied some of our possessions in the Antarctic near the Falkland Islands. The invading parties are still there.

"At this juncture the Board of Admiralty, who seem strangely affected by the Socialist moon, have offered to sell the cruiser Ajax to the Chile Government so that she can help protect this wrongful intrusion upon British territory."

It is not necessary to deal at length with the details of this poisonous outburst from this old enemy of all Asiatics. It will suffice to say that it was Mr. Churchill's cretinism, during U. S. Saw's mission, that handed Burma on a plate to the Japanese. In the resultant panic-stricken evacuation, *which was led by the British Governor and the British officials appointed by Mr. Churchill's government*, tens of thousands of Indians were left to perish in the trek to India. Mr. Churchill's Government only took care to save the Britishers alone. Later on the panic-stricken British Governor of Bengal, a typical product of British Torydom, instituted a denial "policy" which brought on a famine in 1943. In that famine *nearly six million Indians met a horrible death by inches through starvation*. British officialdom, who were in full control of India under Churchill, did not stir a finger to save them until millions had perished. They only moved when they found that the American and Chinese press were making strong comments of an extremely derogatory nature. Mr. Churchill's sole reaction to this terrible tragedy was to order his henchman Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, to lie himself blue in face in a vain attempt to prove *that the total of deaths did not exceed a million*. And to-day he is shedding crocodile tears over the half-million poor innocents who met a violent death during the partition of India!

Patel's Warning

Sardar Patel as the spokesman of the Government of India has been prompt in nailing Churchill's lies to the counter. He has further given an warning as to the evil effects of such malicious statements on British prestige and influence. His statement is as follows:

Mr. Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Leader of the Opposition and Britain's wartime Premier, while bemoaning the disappearance of the title of Emperor of India from the royal title, has indulged in a characteristically ignorant but extremely prejudiced outburst against India and its Government. Mr. Churchill's disastrous record in relation to India, both as member of Government and in Opposition, is well known. His intervention has every time been exercised to the violent prejudice of this country, and, in the ultimate analysis, to the detriment of his own. Mr. Churchill is an unashamed imperialist and at a time when imperialism is on its last legs, he is the proverbial last-ditcher for whom obstinacy and dogged consistency gain more than reason, imagination or wisdom. Many an attempt to build up friendship between India and Britain has been wrecked by his refusal to face facts and attempts to mould them to suit his own predilections.

It is well known that when the Cripps offer was made, it was he who prevented negotiations from achieving success. It was he who every time thwarted the attempts of Mr. Roosevelt to see that justice was done to India's legitimate aspirations and its free and willing co-operation enlisted in the war effort. At the time of Lord Wavell's Simla Conference, it was he who was responsible for its break-up and failure. If any of these attempts had succeeded, the history of India and of the relationship between Britain and India, despite the bitterness and intensity of freedom's struggle, would have been different. We might have avoided the evil of partition and the disasters that attended it. Fortunately for Britain the cup of disasters was by then full and the British electorate decided to change the pilot. Through a realistic policy followed by the Labour Government and the bold, imaginative step taken by one of Britain's wisest statesmen, Lord Mountbatten, and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which he helped to create, the mischief done by the Churchill regime has been to a large extent undone. But it seems Mr. Churchill is still seized by his favourite disease Hindu-phobia and is determined to wreck all that good work by his most unwise disregard of the proverbial virtue of silence.

It might well be expected of a man of his record of offices and positions of responsibility that he will exercise that discretion and restraint which are characteristic of sobriety and ripeness of official life. How far it was appropriate for him to have attacked in such terms the Government and the people of a sister Dominion, I shall leave to His Majesty's Government and the people of Great Britain to determine. I shall only say this, that we have been patient for too long with

such unseemly, prejudiced and mischievous attacks by high-placed Britishers on our administration, or leaders and our people.

I have not seen anything even remotely like this being said of any other member of the Commonwealth. One of them has outraged world's conscience by barefaced and wanton policy of racial prejudice and an open disregard to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. But Mr. Churchill's elastic conscience with his infinite capacity for bearing wrongs done to others by his own race, has never registered even a formal protest. I should like, therefore, to tell His Majesty's Government that if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain they must see that India is in no way subjected to malicious and venomous attacks of this kind and that British statesmen and others learn to speak of this country in terms of friendship and goodwill. Owing to years of deep-seated prejudice and owing to ignorance, it may be difficult for some of them to do so but if future disasters are to be avoided, it has got to be done.

That Mr. Churchill's attack on India and its Government is both mischievous and venomous can be judged from the way in which he has disregarded the all parties' responsibility for the passage of the Indian Independence Act in July last year through Parliament. We ourselves foresaw that if the final stage of grant of freedom to India were made a party issue, it would enhance our difficulties manifold. We were fully aware of the machinations of the vested interests both in India and the United Kingdom to hand over as difficult a legacy to India as possible.

Balkanisation of India was being actively promoted. Large-scale disturbances were being manufactured. Vandalism at the peak of impending departure from the scene of personal rule was actuating many of the Churchillian agents in power here.

We, therefore, decided to drink the bitter cup and accept the lesser evil of partition, only on condition that it commanded all parties' support. That support was both promised and given. It was this agreement of all parties that secured the safe and speedy passage of the Indian Independence Act, for which there is no parallel in the history of the British Parliament. We thought Mr. Churchill was an honourable man and would abide by the obligations inherent in the agreement. But obviously he finds it hard to recognise that India is now a free and independent country.

If a proof of his deep-seated prejudice and his medieval mind were needed, it would be enough to show that whilst he refers to Kashmir as being four-fifth Muslim he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is four-fifth Hindu and that a creation of the eighteenth century, as the Nizam's State is, is suddenly by the magic of Mr. Churchill's words transformed into an "ancient state." The fact of the matter is that, to vary the words of a British statesman, whether Mr. Churchill roars like a lion or coos like a dove, it is his ignorance and blind prejudice that must come out prominently.

We can well realise what a disaster the British public avoided by forcing Mr. Churchill to give up the seals of office. We had hoped that this blow to his personal fortune administered by his people at the height of his glory would make him a sadder but wiser man. But it appears that through his ancestors Mr. Churchill has acquired the well-known characteristic of the Stuarts of not being able to learn or unlearn anything.

Mr. Churchill has referred, apparently with some self-satisfaction, to the large casualties that occurred during the disturbances more than nine months ago. Obviously, it did not suit his purpose to mention that since then India had settled down to peaceful conditions with a speed and efficiency which had amazed many disinterested visitors. While no one of us would disclaim our due share of responsibility for these tragedies, and it is agreed that these have brought shame and disgrace to India, there can scarcely be any doubt that, in the ultimate analysis, a very large part of the blame must attach to the divide-and-rule policy followed with such masterly activity by Mr. Churchill himself and so faithfully implemented by his agents and Europeans of his way of thinking in this country, whether under his regime or that of his predecessors. No dispassionate student of recent history of India can fail to be convinced that the partition of the country and the attendant disasters were brought about by the disruptive activities of the group of which Mr. Churchill was the inspiration and the spokesman. Thus, for these tragedies it is Mr. Churchill and his henchmen who have also to answer before the bar of history.

It is not clear how far the Tory Party is behind its leader in these acts of indiscretion and unwisdom. Mr. Butler's irrelevant reference to Hyderabad in the foreign affairs debate was the first indication of a section of the Tories still attempting to make capital out of India's troubles. Mr. Churchill's intervention in Parliament, followed up by his speech at the Conservative rally, seems to indicate that at least an attempt is being made to whip up enthusiasm in favour of Britain's one-time "faithful ally" against India. I should like to warn the British public against being taken in by these attempts. The question of Hyderabad can be solved peacefully if the Nizam would shed the utterly medieval conception of rule through a ruling caste chosen almost entirely from a militant minority and accept the democratic method of consulting and acting in conformity with the wishes of his people expressed through their elected representatives and would recognise the inevitability of the consequences of action and interaction of geographical, economic and other compelling forces on the relationship between Hyderabad and India.

But then in order to injure India's interests, these distinguished products of a democratic age would forget the lessons of history and the teachings of democracy and stoop to buttress a regime which still lives in the times in which it was born. If, therefore, disaster overtakes the fortunes of the Nizam, the responsibility will lie elsewhere than on the Indian Dominion. I am glad to know that

His Majesty's Government have not fallen a prey to these machinations of Mr. Churchill and his henchmen and have refused to treat the Hyderabad issue otherwise than as one of the domestic concerns of the Indian Dominion. I would, therefore, appeal to the rank and file of the Tory Party not to be misled by these old-world ideas of some of their leaders, but to extend to the Indian Dominion that goodwill and friendship which are as essential in British interests as in India's and to sustain and uphold the fine gesture they made in transferring power to Indian hands. It is only in this spirit, and not on the malice and venom of Mr. Churchill's tongue, that an enduring relationship of friendship, co-operation and collaboration can be built between India and Britain and other members of the Commonwealth.

Origin of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty

In the Asaf Jahi dynasty that now rules Hyderabad, some Britons have perceived imposing remnants of Moghul rule, but a retrospective glance at the British records on the origins of the dynasty will reveal that its founder was an unscrupulous upstart from Bukhara and the dynasty was established in Hyderabad through a series of acts of treachery the like of which is difficult to match in India's history. The Deccan subah of the Moghul Empire became independent under Mir Kamaruddin Chin Kilich Khan, better known as Nizam-ul-mulk. His grandfather, Abid, Sheikh-ul-Islam of Bukhara migrated to India about the middle of the seventeenth century and entered the service of Aurangzeb. Ghaziuddin Firoz Jang, father of the Nizam, also came to India during the reign of Aurangzeb and rose to fame by holding several posts in the Moghul Imperial service. Mir Kamaruddin himself was appointed to a small command in his thirteenth year but he was promoted quickly and given the title of Chin Kilich Khan.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death, Chin Kilich Khan was at Bijapur and under the guise of observing neutrality in the war of succession, he began scheming for power against the sons of the man who gave him bread and honour. He desired to carve out a kingdom for himself at the Deccan. Bahadur Shah removed him from the Deccan and made him Governor of Oudh. He retired from public service for some time but entered it again towards the close of Bahadur Shah's reign with the title of his father, Ghaziuddin Firoz Jang. He succeeded in winning the favours of Farrukhsiyar. Soon after Farrukhsiyar came to the throne, he appointed him Governor of the Deccan, in 1713, and invested him with the titles of Khan Khanan and Nizam-ul-mulk Bahadur Fath Jang, as a reward for having espoused his cause.

As soon as he was back in the Deccan, he began to strengthen his own position under the plea of checking the rise of the Marathas. He was thoroughly unscrupulous and, as later events would show, never hesitated to make alliances with anybody like the French, the English or the Marathas as and when

occasion arose to serve his own purpose and did not hesitate to go to the length of inviting Nadir Shah for invading India to reduce Delhi to ruins so that he may reign in the South. Delhi had always an eye on him. By the end of the same year 1713, he had to lose his Viceroyalty of the Deccan and was transferred to Muradabad and subsequently his removal to Bihar was also thought of. At this time, Farrukhsiyar was murdered, Muhammad Shah ascended the throne and the Nizam was transferred to Malwa.

It was in Malwa that the Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to lay the foundation of his future rise. His activities there roused the suspicion of Delhi and orders for his transfer were again issued. This time, instead of submitting to these orders, he prepared to defend his position by arms. Hussain Ali, Governor of Deccan, was ordered to proceed to Malwa to chastise the Nizam, but was stabbed to death on his way. The army sent to chastise him was defeated and its two commanders were killed. Thus towards the end of 1720 he again made himself master of the Deccan.

In 1721, Muhammad Shah summoned the Nizam to Delhi and evidently with the object of pinning him down in the capital, offered him the post of wasir. He soon realised that the advances that he tendered were generally rejected. He left for the Deccan without the Emperor's permission in 1723. The Emperor issued secret instructions to Mubariz Khan, Governor of Hyderabad, to fight against him, promising him the Viceroyalty of the Deccan in the event of his success. But the Nizam-ul-Mulk not only defeated and slew Mubariz Khan but also indirectly compelled the wretched Emperor of Delhi to recognise him as the Viceroy of the South and confer on him the title of Asaf Jah which his descendant still bears. From this time may be dated the Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad State.

Muhammad Shah was, however, much displeased with the Nizam who had under his jurisdiction nearly a fourth part of the total Mughal Empire at that time and who had rendered himself almost independent of the Emperor. With a view to strengthen his position against the Emperor, the Nizam invited Nadir Shah to invade India. Orme, in his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* (Vol. I), writes :

Bred under the eye of Aurangzeb, Nizam-ul-Mulk censured openly and in the strongest terms, the lethargic and pusillanimous administration, as well as the profligate and dissolute manners of the Court; hoping, no doubt, to impair the influence of his rival Caundorah. At last pretending that there could be no remedy to such desperate evils, but in a total revolution of the empire, he advised Thamas Kouli Khan, (Tamasq Qli Khan, Nadir Shah), who had usurped the throne to Persia, to come and take possession of that of Indostan; and Thamas Kouli followed his advice."

Nadir Shah entered India through Kandahar in 1738 and a mere skirmish decided the fate of the

Moghul Empire. Muhammad Shah lay prostrate at the invader's feet who took possession of Delhi, plundered it, and massacred a hundred thousand of its inhabitants.

The part that the Nizam had played in Muhammad Shah's fight against Nadir Shah, is equally ignominious. Prof. Owen gives the following account of the battle :

The Emperor, with Khan Douran, the Amir-ul-Omra or the Head of the Peerage, marched from the capital at the head of a considerable army to confront the invader. Nizam-ul-Mulk was also in the camp, and Sadut Khan joined soon after with his own forces. Vain attempts were made to raise the Rajputs ; and this failure seems to have much disheartened the already craven-hearted Imperialists ; and advancing very slowly, they came to a stand at four days' march from Delhi. Many circumstances disclose the wretched state of military organisation among them. Thus they had no exact knowledge of the enemy's whereabouts until Nadir's advance guard fell upon Sadut Khan's baggage train. And the discordant counsels and separate action in the engagement that followed show the utter want of a general plan and a commanding and authoritative mind. Sadut hastened to succour his own followers, *Nizam-ul-Mulk insisted that the day was too far spent for fighting* ; Khan Douran displaying unwonted spirit, inveighed against the ignominy of leaving Sadut unsupported and led a body of troops to his assistance. This body was quickly routed ; and the Amir-ul-Omra was mortally wounded, and was rescued only to die. Sadut Khan's men fought better, but shared the fate of their comrades ; and Sadut himself was taken prisoner ; and like other captor Viceroys, was well-received by the Victor. A negotiation followed, set on foot by the Viceroy of Oudh and *concluded by Nizam-ul-Mulk* ; and Nadir agreed to retire on payment of two crores of rupees. The Emperor then visited him, and received the highest honour. The grim conqueror was all smiles and defence. But the end was not yet !

The sack of Delhi and the complete prostration of Muhammad Shah came soon after. The Nizam's conspiracy and wily handling of the situation bore fruit.

Sadut Khan was of Persian origin and was the founder of the later Oude dynasty which came to an end on the eve of the great mutiny of 1857. At the time of Nadir's invasion, he was Viceroy of Oudh. He died before Nadir had retired from Delhi. Sadut Khan did his best to overthrow the Syeds, remove the Hindu influence in the administration, liberate the Emperor and restore the political ascendancy of the Moghul party. Nizam-ul-Mulk had cut a poor figure in the campaign against Nadir Shah. The Nizam was also greatly anti-Hindu in his sentiments. Before he went to Delhi to put up a show of a fight against the invader whom he had himself invited, he had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Peshwa Baji Rao and had agreed to pay the Mahratta Chauth. While the Nizam lingered in Delhi, Baji Rao sought to conquer his territory in the Deccan but the attempt miscarried through the unexpected energy of Nasir Jung, the

Nizam's eldest son. Baji Rao died soon afterwards in 1740. The new Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao continued the fight against the Nizam and but for French help the old dream of conquering the Nizam's territory would have been accomplished. The Nizam had played his traditional double role with the Mahrattas as well by supporting one faction against the other. He had tried to play Trimbak Rao Dhabade against Baji Rao I by entering into an alliance with the former but Baji Rao, through superior genius, frustrated the plans of his enemies. He prevented a junction of Trimbak Rao's army with that of the Nizam, attacked the former on his way and killed him. After this battle of 1731, the Nizam was compelled to come to terms with Baji Rao. The Emperor was alarmed with the growing power of the Peshwa and he summoned the Nizam, the arch enemy of Baji Rao to Delhi for counsel. The Nizam had no scruple in ignoring the compromise of 1731 and at once responded to the Emperor's call. The Nizam and Baji Rao met near Bhopal and the former was utterly defeated. The Nizam had to submit to terms dictated by the Peshwa. The memory of Nizam's betrayal of the treaty of 1731 however remained and Baji Rao took the opportunity of Nizam's temporary absence at the Deccan and attacked his territory.

Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748 and was succeeded by his son Nasir Jang who had saved his kingdom from Mahratta attack. But his grandson Mussaffar Jang laid claim to the throne on the ground that the Moghul Emperor had appointed him Subahdar of the Deccan.

Dupleix had by this time entrenched himself in the Deccan and was eagerly waiting for a situation like this. He concluded a great treaty with Chanda Sahab, son-in-law of Nawab Dost Ali, Governor of the Carnatic and Musaffar Jang with a view to placing them on the thrones of the Carnatic and the Deccan respectively. In 1748, the three allies defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic.

The English now realised the danger that threatened them but they lacked the energy of Dupleix. They tried to back up Nasir Jang and Anwar-ud-din's son Muhammad Ali who had fled to Trichinopoly. But they could not organise an effective confederacy against one headed by Dupleix. The result was that Nasir Jang, in spite of some initial successes in the Carnatic, was ultimately killed. Musaffar Jang, who had been kept a prisoner, was now set free and proclaimed Subahdar of the Deccan. The grateful Subahdar suitably rewarded the services of his French ally. Dupleix placed at his disposal the service of his best officer, Bussy, with a French army. It proved to be the surest means to guarantee French influence at the Court of Nizam. The third Nizam thus purchased his throne by allying himself with a foreigner and killing his uncle, the rightful owner to the throne and the man who had saved it from the Mahrattas. His grandfather's Nadir Shah tradition had been fully

vindicated. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Saheb occupied the thrones at Hyderabad and Arcot.

During the period of Anglo-Mysore wars, the Nizam played a singularly opportunist role. The Mahrattas never trusted him. As soon as the danger from Tipu had lessened, all the Mahratta leaders, the Peshwa, Daulat Rao Sindhia, Tukoji Holkar and the Raja of Berar attacked him. The Nizam appealed to the English for help but Sir John Shore denied it. The Nizam was defeated and saved his throne by submitting to a humiliating treaty, heavy pecuniary loss and large territorial concessions. Sir John Shore's critics say that the Nizam was entitled to British support on the strength of the Treaty of 1768 by which the Nizam had placed himself under the protection of the English. But really speaking, Shore was precluded from intervention by Clause 34 of Pitt's India Act which laid down that Britain would not intervene in any fight between Indian powers. Further, the Mahrattas were then at peace with the British, who were not bound by any previous agreement to help the Nizam against a friendly power. In view of the events of 1766 and 1767, Shore had still more good reasons for this refusal. In November, 1766, the Madras Government agreed to assist the Nizam against Hyder Ali of Mysore in return for ceding his northern sircars. In short, the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the English had entered into a triple alliance against Hyder Ali. But the Mahrattas who first attacked Mysore, were soon fought off by the Mysore chief. The Nizam, accompanied by a company of British troops under the command of General Joseph Smith, invaded Mysore in April, 1767, but influenced by Mahfuz Khan, brother and rival of the pro-British Nawab Muhammad Ali of the Carnatic, he quickly deserted the British and allied himself with their enemy. Hyder was soon abandoned by his fickle ally, the Nizam, who went back to the British camp. In 1768, the Nizam concluded a treaty with the English and by this he confirmed his old treaty obligations in as irresponsible a manner as he had broken them. This alliance with the vacillating Nizam was of no help to the British but it needlessly provoked the hostility of Hyder. In spite of Nizam's desertion Hyder continued to fight with the English and in April, 1769, dictated a treaty to the British after defeating the Bombay troops within five miles of Madras.

During the second Anglo-Mysore war, the Nizam violated the treaty of 1768 by taking French troops in his service. This was disapproved by Warren Hastings. The Nizam left the British and joined an anti-British confederacy. Hastings succeeded in detaching the Nizam from the confederates by giving him the Guntur district at a time when the second Anglo-Mysore war had already progressed to the disadvantage of the British. Guntur district was later taken back by the British when times were more propitious for them. The Nizam surrendered Guntur and in return sought British help to recover some of the districts which Tipu had seized. Lord Cornwallis found himself in a delicate

position because the right of the Mysore Sultans to those very territories had been recognised by the English by two separate treaties concluded with Hyder and Tipu respectively in 1760 and 1785. But at the same time, he was eager to secure allies in view of the certain war with Tipu. So Cornwallis wrote a letter to the Nizam on July 7, 1789, explaining the treaty of 1768 to suit his motives and agreeing to support the Nizam with British troops, which could not be employed against the allies of the English, a list of whom was included, Tipu's name being deliberately excluded from it. Thus through an act of double treachery, the Nizam joined the triple alliance of 1760 and fought for the English in the third Anglo-Mysore War.

Menace of Provincialism

The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has been expressing off and on opinions on the menace of Provincialism as it has been manifesting itself in India since "British control" was withdrawn from our country. While sharing his disgust, we are afraid that he has not been able to apply his mind to understand the various elements that make up this problem. The eruption of this narrow feeling is not peculiar to India, nor has it been new in human history. The experience of the "founding fathers" of the United States did not differ much from what India's Congress leaders have been deploring today. We have the following from a history on America :

"Not only was there no unanimity as regards separation from England, but there was no unity among the Colonies. Thirteen Provinces jealous of one another and with separate interests made it impossible to secure close political and military co-operation."

"The States seemed to quarrel incessantly. When the disputes were not about tariffs or currency, troubles arose about boundaries and land. Pennsylvanians warred upon Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley as if the latter were a tribe of treacherous Indians. New York and New Hampshire fought for control of the region of Vermont, while Massachusetts cast a covetous glance towards the same Green Mountains. No less than eight States quarrelled about boundaries."

"Well might the question be asked: 'Is this one nation or 13?'"

Leaders of the State and leaders of thought have been exhorting us to think and live as Indians, not as Tamilians, Andhras, Malayalams, Kannadigas, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Biharis, Assamese, Punjabis or Bengalis. In the U.S.A., the same phenomenon was evident. In the first Continental Congress, Patrick Henry "spoke a fond hope of some" when he dramatically declared: "I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The recital of this experience ought to enable us to get over that defeatist mentality that appears to have invaded the counsels of the ruling authorities of the Indian Union and paralysed their will to action to

halt this menace to its integrity. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is evidently afraid of tackling this question; he has been counselling us of the inopportune-ness of the time for disturbing the present arrangement of "Provincial Autonomy" just as the U.S.A. during a decade (1777-'87) had been threatened by what came to be known as "State Sovereignty," the conceits and ambitions of every one of the "13 colonies" which formed the nucleus of the United States. In law and fact, none of the Provinces in the Indian Union can claim the rights inherent in "State Sovereignty." The problem of the Indian States and the "Princely Order" was far more difficult. Their "merger" or "unionization" has become possible, because the Government of the Union were determined to solve it; they applied their mind to its solution, and the miracle was worked.

This example should have enabled the Nehru Government to determine to meet the new menace straight, to draw out its fangs. Shri Sankar Rao Deo, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, is reported to have been scandalized at what he heard and saw in Bihar, aflame with a new greed for territorial expansion; an Oriya public man has declared that after the Serrakela and Khersawan experience, Orissa cannot expect justice at the hands of the Indian Union, and they, the Oriyas, should take counsel whether or not they should maintain relations with it. This development should lead rulers of our State to probe a little into this psychology of narrowness. So far as we see, there is hardly any element of idealism that inflames provincialism. It appears to be moved by considerations quite frankly material. Babu Rajendra Prasad rationalized one of these for us when he wrote in 1939 in course of his report on the disability imposed on Bengalees by the then Congress Ministry of Bihar. His analysis is as true today as it was then, and we commend it to our readers' attention.

"It is not possible to ignore the fact that the demand for the creation of separate provinces, based largely on a desire to secure larger share in public services and other facilities, offered by a popular national administration, is becoming more and more insistent, and hitherto backward communities and group are coming up in education and demanding their fair share in them. It is neither possible nor wise to ignore these demands, and it must be recognized that in regard to services and such matters the people of a province have a certain claim which cannot be overlooked."

Here we get into a knowledge of one element of the problem that provincialism feeds on. And today the dominant group in Assam illustrate by their conduct the genesis of their anti-Bengalee bias. Its Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari, simply voiced their feelings when he perpetrated a stupidity worse than a crime in course of his speech opening the Assam Legislature after the "referendum" in Sylhet. He called the Bengalees "strangers" in Assam. Bengalees are autochthonous to certain areas in the province; and he appeared to gloat over the fact that the result of the

Sylhet "referendum" had taken away about 20 lakhs of Bengalees out of Assam, thus sterilizing their influence over the province's life. The existence of such a feeling has long been known to us. And we have reasons to believe that the Bardoloi Ministry looked benevolently on the outburst of Muslim League hooliganism which made the "referendum" a farce and a misnomer. And when it was called upon to honour the pledge contained in the "option" clause enabling Government officers to choose the Dominion they wanted to serve, they adopted an attitude that could not be characterized as honest. As an agent of the Indian Union Government they failed to carry out the guarantee that no officer would suffer from his choice. They served discharge notices on the "temporary" personnel, many of them serving for ten years or more. The injustice of the step can be realized when one came to know that this discharge notice was served only on officers who are Bengalees or belonged to the district of Sylhet, which since 1874 had been made a part of Assam. Its enormity was exposed when it was seen that the Ministry preferred to go short of hands in their various departments rather than allow officers born in Sylhet to man these. We know it for a fact that many schools and colleges in Assam have been going without their necessary staff while Bengalee teachers and professors have been knocking in vain at New Delhi and Shillong to have the promise made to them redeemed. The Central Government of the Indian Union, almost submerged under the Punjab tragedy, have no time to devote to righting this wrong, and the Assam Government with its policy declared through Sir Akbar Hydari felt no interest in the "strangers."

This story evidences the evil tendency of provincialism, and the Nehru Government by its failure to face it straight have been encouraging separatist forces that are no less inimical than communalism has proved itself to be. Delay in tackling it excites certain vested interests that irritate human relations in India. As an example, the attitude of Bihar leaders in 1912 and in 1948 may be referred to. In the former year, they were eager to do the decent thing by the Bengalee-speaking areas tacked for administrative purposes to their "baby province." But in the latter year, their successors threaten war on those who propose the transfer of these areas so that West Bengal may have opportunity to recoup the loss caused by the Radcliffe Award. This episode illustrates once again that human nature is fickle in its desire for good deeds. This experience should be a warning to the Nehru Government. Reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis is a live issue. And in this development West Bengal cannot allow its case to be ignored or shelved. Her people do not desire to be engaged in agitation for the rectification of this wrong, but the Nehru Government should not expect them to take lying down the obvious injustice of the dilatory procedure followed by it.

Orissa States' Integration

Shri N. Senapati, Chief Administrator and Special Commissioner of Orissa States, gave a talk from the Cuttack Station of the All-India Radio on the new duties to which he has been called and their complexities in the new set-up in India. On December 14, 1947, the rulers of 25 Oriya-speaking States agreed to "merge" these in the province of Orissa, since then two of them Seraikella and Kharsawan have been taken out and given to Bihar by a fiat of the States' Ministry in the Central Government of the Indian Union. We learn from this talk that while the oldest ruling family in the States can trace its history back for 146 generations in 3,000 years, "not one of them was at any time paramount," they were subordinate to whatever authority held sway over Orissa. During British period, the States were brought under one authority, that of the Commissioner of Orissa under the Bengal Administration. In 1814, their number was 15; Baudh and Athmalik were added in 1837; and in 1905 the five Sambalpur States—Patna, Kalahandi, Sonapur, Bamra and Parikhal were added from the Central Provinces as part of Lord Curzon's scheme for the partition of Bengal; in the same year Gangpur and Bonai were placed under the Orissa Commissioner; in 1916 on the representation of their rulers, Seraikella and Kharsawan were transferred from the Chota Nagpur Commissionship. After 1935 all the Orissa States came into direct relationship with the Crown Representative at Delhi. On August, 1947, these were transformed; all claimed to be "paramount"; in Orissa, there was one Government for 6 districts and 26 Governments for 26 States. The agreement of December 14, 1947, ended all this, and except Mayurbhanj, all the 25 States found themselves "merged" within the Orissa Administration in fact, though not yet in law, with a common Legislature, common Judiciary and a common Executive. This change could be brought about because the peoples of the States refused to be any longer bound to their feudal chains; the Praja Mandal agitation quickened the arrival of freedom to the States holding possibilities of democracy in every relation of life. It appears that the rulers and their relatives and henchmen have been fomenting "separatist" movements as steps to a come-back to their irresponsible authority. They are not satisfied with their Rs. 15 lakhs a year "guaranteed privy purse", and Rs. 6 lakhs for their relatives. This attempt will fail, as the halo of their dignity has been dispersed for all the world to see. There cannot be a return to the "good, old days."

Fate of Sikh Shrines

We have received a copy of Professor Kartar Singh's brochure on the "Fate of Sikh Shrines in Pakistan" which relates the depredations from which *Gurdwaras*, shrines associated with the life and times of Sikh Gurus and their companions and contemporaries, have suffered at the hands of Pakistanis, official and non-official. The brochure contains two

assurances and suggestions which were made to the Boundary Commission set up for drawing up the boundary of the Punjab. These were brushed aside by the Chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe; all the same they bear re-production as a guide to future conduct. The then Under-Secretary of India, Mr. Arthur Henderson, said on the 15th July, 1947, in the House of Commons that though the primary basis for the demarcation of boundaries was to ascertain whether the majority was Muslim or non-Muslim,

"in certain cases there may be special factors which would justify departure from this principle. The special factors were being allowed to take account of the circumstances of the Sikh community in the Punjab so that the locating of their religious shrines could be taken into account."

The Conservative leader, Mr. Butler, a lieutenant of Mr. Churchill, was more emphatic and specific. In a speech made on the occasion of the same debate, he dwelt on the position of the Sikhs; in the "notional" division of the Punjab, the Sikh community were divided almost half and half; and as a "solution" of their difficulty he suggested that "the Boundary Commission will so define the boundary that the maximum portion of the Sikhs should be included in one conglomerate whole." He hoped that

"The Commission will be able to arrange the boundary so that the shrines and properties and other things, held so dear by the Sikhs, may be amassed so far as possible within one frontier."

As we have said, this hope remains unfulfilled, and the central grievance of the Sikhs remains to confront the wisdom of the rulers of the Indian Union and Pakistan. We suggested in our last December issue that the Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, should be given the status of a "Sovereign Independent State" on the analogy of the "Vatican City" in the heart of Italy constituted by the treaty of 1929. But there are hundreds of *Gurdwaras* spread all over West Punjab which cannot be ignored but which, perhaps, cannot claim the special treatment reserved for the Nankana Sahib. These constitute a problem that should engage the attention of the two States. When we hear so much of all-round agreements and understandings between them, the matter under reference should not prove difficult of adjustment. A price may have to be paid for it. For the sake of inter-State peace, this should not be beyond their common intelligence.

India's Ambassadors

In our June number we commented on the revelations made by Shri P. D. Sharma in the columns of a Bombay weekly on the acts of omission and commission of certain of India's ambassadors and Delegations to foreign countries. He hinted at one reason of Argentine's throwing its weight against India in the Kashmir reference: "Argentine seems to be angry with India because of the notorious visit of an Indian Delegation which did no credit to India." He

also animadverted on the ineptitude of India's late ambassador at Washington. Since then the Indian Press appears to be waking up to the significance of these goings-on. In the *Kulab Minar* weekly commentary featured in the *News Chronicle* of Delhi, appearing on June 14 last, the writer has been specific in his condemnation of Janab Asaf Ali. We reproduce his words :

"In Washington, the Indian ambassador had further, very close to him, a Muslim gentleman and his wife who after knowing all they had to know about the Indian Embassy, walked over to the Pakistan Embassy."

This is a very serious charge. The Minister of External Affairs who also happens to be the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, could not have been wholly ignorant of it. The public has a right to know his reaction to it.

Cooch-Bihar

There is a news in the daily press telling us that the State of Cooch-Bihar, now within the territorial jurisdiction of Bengal will henceforth have its relations with the Central Government of the Indian Union carried through the Governor of Assam. It is significant of many things. This new arrangement could have been made by the States' Ministry in the capable hands of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. And the news confirms the suspicion that territorial transfers are afoot in the eastern marches of India that will adversely affect the interests of West Bengal. The appointment of the Governor of Assam as the agent of the Central Government in preference to that of West Bengal requires an explanation, and it is up to Dr. Kailash Nath Katju to ask of the States' Ministry the reason why of this change. We should like to know if the Premier of West Bengal, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, had any cognisance of this matter or had any inkling of it, and whether or not he has registered on behalf of his Ministry protest against this vandalism. We have known for sometime that the chauvinist leaders of Assam have been angling for the expansion of their influence; and propaganda on behalf of including Cooch-Bihar and neighbouring areas in their Province had been launched since the days when the Cabinet Delegation was here. It appears now that Sardar Patel has succumbed to their wooing. We are old enough to remember the secrecy with which Lord Curzon compassed the partition of Bengal, and the world has known what its consequences have been. On the present occasion also, the same secrecy has marked the States' Ministry's procedure. And we will not be surprised if the same reaction against it does follow. We will wait for it to appear, and we are sure that the wholly unjustifiable act of Sardar Patel's department will be opposed as staunchly as that of Lord Curzon.

"A British Enterprise"

The great savant Albert Einstein said sometime in 1946 : "Trouble-making is a British enterprise. It

is my impression that Palestine is a kind of a small model of India." Both in Palestine and in India, the truth of this verdict on British diplomacy stands proved since it was uttered. In the horror of the devastation and killings that accompanied and followed the setting up of "Pakistan," we have ignored the part that the British bureaucracy and their myrmidons had played in encouraging the perpetration of these abominations and co-operating in their infliction. Anglo-Muslim League *entente* in this business has been manifest in many instances in West Punjab, and as we watch events in Palestine, we are more than ever confirmed in our opinion that the prospect of losing their hegemony in the world has made the imperialists of Britain calculatingly cruel. *Palestine*, a periodical published by the American Zionist Council, New York, has brought out many of the treacheries of the British mandatory Government in Palestine discriminating between the Jew and the Arab. While they allowed Arab bands from Trans-jordan and Iraq to come into Palestine armed and very often in battle array, they took particular care to intercept Jewish refugees trying to reach Palestine. We in India, who have had experience of British bureaucrats, civil and military, looking benevolently on Muslim League "Direct Action" atrocities, are not surprised at this news. Since the seventies of the 19th century, they have done their best and worst to set the Muslim against the Hindu, and for a time they appeared to thrive in this "enterprise" of theirs. But all their skill have not perpetuated their rule over India. Winston Churchill may not personally preside over the liquidation of their empire, but he and his tribe were indirect accessories to it. Perhaps, this is the fittest punishment that their arrogance could receive. They have to live and lament the eclipse of their glory.

The following extract from the *Times* of London would further illustrate our comments.

To the Editor of The London Times: Sir,—Major-General Sir Edward Spears, in stating that Zionism has endangered British bases in the Mediterranean and represents a threat to British strategic interests, surely conveniently forgets not only that many of the present Arab political and military leaders, including Fawzi El Kawukji and the Mufti, either spent the war in Germany working for Hitler or had to be interned by us, but forgets also what happened in the Middle East between 1939 and 1945.

In 1944 Brigadier Glubb (now leading the Arab Legion in its assault against Jerusalem, and no pro-Zionist surely), writing when the Arab war effort was still close enough to defy even Foreign Office attempts to romanticize it, said:—

At the time of these operations every Arab was perfectly convinced that Britain was finished for ever and that it could only be a question of weeks before Germany took over Arabia. The Iraqis were perfectly sure of this or they would not have declared war on

us . . . in brief, during the six weeks before the fall of Baghdad every Arab was convinced that we were done for. Every Arab force previously organized by us mutinied and refused to fight for us or faded away in desertions. (Pages 214-215 of Somerset de Chair's "The Golden Carpet.")

No doubt when Glubb wrote this he would remember (what General Spears has forgotten) that, although the Jewish population in Palestine was only half that of the Arab, more than twice the number of Jews volunteered for service to protect our Mediterranean position, and that *at the time when the Iraqis declared war against us, and British tanks had to be driven into the Abdin Palace yard to compel King Farouk's consent to the appointment of a pro-British Government under Nahas Pasha, Haganah men were being dropped as British agents in enemy territory, that Haganah was recognized by C.H.Q. as the one reliable local defence force and Palestine the one base whose loyalty was never in doubt for a moment.*

And what now? No doubt if British officers and British-supplied tanks and aeroplanes continue the destruction of Jewish settlements and life we shall earn the bitter hatred of the Jews of Palestine. Is that surprising—a symptom of Zionist original sin? It is a policy choice for the British Government which will determine whether Israel becomes once more an ally as in the war, or an enemy beleaguered by British arms and equipment who must look elsewhere for aid for sheer survival. And may I say that our attitude—that Israel must show itself capable of functioning before being recognized by us—would sound more honest if it were not troops trained and equipped by British military missions, and the British officered and subsidized Arab Legion, which were at war with Israel to prevent precisely that functioning?

Does public opinion at home appreciate (as it does abroad) that *every tank and aeroplane now being used by the Arabs has been supplied from the United Kingdom; that the British air mission is still functioning in Iraq; that British missions are now working, training, and re-equipping Arab armies in Saudi Arabia and Iraq; that between 1945 and 1947 we supplied Egypt alone with 40 military aircraft, 38 scout cars, and 298 carriers, apart from a great quantity of small arms and light equipment; that the Arab Legion now waging war is wholly subsidized by us with £ 2,000,000 a year and is commanded by 38 British officers; that Transjordan under the March, 1948 treaty is bound to 'undertake not to adopt in regard to foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto'; that no word of protest has come from the British Government at the Arab invasions, but that the Jews within the boundaries given them by the United Nations partition decision (which still stands) are denied arms by the British?*

Finally, the Foreign Office viewpoint conveyed by your Diplomatic Correspondent on May 20 that "it should not be assumed that Transjordan is acting as an aggressor until it can be shown that she acted aggressively towards another State" (obviously meaning a State recognized by us) smacks a little too much of the legalistic

chicanery of the thirties which reduced Japan's war on Manchuria to the status of an "incident" and in so doing destroyed the League of Nations. Will we never learn that we cannot subsidize aggression in the Middle East and oppose it in Greece or Persia—that to climb now into the grandstand and attempt to wash our hands of responsibility for the slaughter perpetrated by our Spitfires and British trained and officered Arab troops is conduct utterly unworthy of the traditions of a great nation and indicates a moral degeneration within the political leadership of this country far more alarming than any signs of a merely materialistic or economic decline?

I am, Sir, yours,

House of Commons, May 20.

LYALL WILKES.

"White Australia"

We do not think that Dr. Evatt, Australia's Minister for External Affairs, expects us to accept the "fundamental" nature of the policy that discriminates against non-white peoples of the earth—the policy that "will not permit persons of non-European origin or birth to remain permanently in Australia"—as a recent *Reuter's* message interpreted the policy. It appears that Dr. Evatt's excursion into a justification of what is intrinsically unjust has been called forth by criticism of this policy in Malaya. A number of Malaysians who had come to Australia during war years and married Australian women were ordered to leave the country simply because they did not fulfil the conditions of this policy. For about six years they must have been tolerated as persons of requisite conduct as citizens of the Australian Commonwealth. And because their blood and pigment differed from those of the ruling classes of the country, they were required to break up their homes and start anew in life. This dispensation Dr. Evatt characterizes as "a fundamental right claimed by every nation to determine the composition of its own people." He also thinks that if this policy of discrimination had been departed from, "Australia might easily have been overrun by the Japanese in 1942." Dr. Evatt's argument opens out a vista of controversy that traverses the whole relation between the white and non-white peoples, the latter in an overwhelming majority and huddled in China, Japan, Indonesia and India and denied outlet into the empty spaces of the earth now under the control of the former. This arrangement cannot last, though it be regarded as part of "fundamental policies" of Governments which have most of the guns, bombers and atom bombs in this period of 20th century history. It separates, and keeps separate, the peoples of the earth, and forms part of the policy of "Apartheid"—Segregation—for which the Boer and the Briton in South Africa have attained a certain degree of notoriety.

Germany Split by Victor's Policy

While the leading victorious Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—have been paying lip homage to the concept of German unity in State and economic life, their failure to agree

to measures for such a consummation has exposed their sincerity to the derision of the world. It is a fact that they have failed to agree on any single item of German reconstruction since May, 1945, when the Potsdam Pact was signed. Instead, they have been engaged in political propaganda, the Western Powers accusing the Soviet Union of imposing her totalitarianism on Europe, and the latter returning the compliment by pointing the finger of accusation at American, British, and French monopolists. A news-item featured from Berlin under date of June 19 informed the world that the recent currency reform decided on by the Western Powers, has completed the disruption of German unity so much talked of by both sets of rival powers.

For a proper understanding of the present disagreement, we must recall the fact that the three Powers who dominate the world today did have a war-time alliance that was based wholly on the exigencies of war; their one purpose was to smash Germany. Even in that they disagreed with regard to strategy and tactics. The controversy between the Soviet rulers and Winston Churchill with regard to a "second front" was a case in point. And today the delay in launching an attack on Germany from the West or South is seen in perspective to have been a costly experiment. If in 1944, it had been launched, the Western Powers would have been in Berlin earlier than the Soviet Union, and they would not have to suffer the indignity of regulating their movements in this city by the directions of the Russian commanders. Berlin has stood forth and will continue to do so as the symbol of German unity and Germany's will to resume her position as a fashioner of Europe's life. The present arrangement has established complete Russian control over Berlin, and the master of the city will be regarded by Germans as the custodian of their future. This is a natural reaction on their part to the present confusion of things. And they can only wait and watch how the victors quarrel amongst themselves, and split in fact as they do in idea.

United States' Generosity

The people of the great republic became conscious of their destiny as the leader of the modern world during the second World War in the 20th century; they were to regard this century as the "American Century" when the rule of conduct will be dictated by New York and not by London. This consciousness has brought certain responsibilities at their door-step, and in various ways they have been trying to discharge these. The Lend-Lease operations during the war years were one of these; the Marshall Plan for the recovery of Europe is another. In this behalf, the U.S.A. Congress has been persuaded to sanction the expenditure of about six hundred crores of rupees in 16 European countries in course of the next 15 months beginning from this month. This was propagandized as an act of great generosity. But the first flush of elation in European countries appears to be receding as the conditions attached to the grant of this help

in goods and services are being scrutinized by the recipient countries. We cannot say that we fully understand the many implications of these conditions; but the following summary of certain of these, sent out by *Reuter* from Washington on June 22, 1946, explains their consternation and exasperation.

"The original draft would have bound all the European signatory countries to "consult" with the U.S.A. on the devaluation of their currency whenever the U.S.A. desired this, a provision which European diplomats argued put their currencies in an unfavourable light and might contravene the powers of the International Monetary Fund.

"The original provision has now been almost entirely deleted and replaced by an article merely binding the signatory country to maintain an "appropriate" exchange rate. How far controversial provisions such as compensation to American nations affected by European nationalization programmes, termination of the agreement granting "most favoured nation" treatment to Germany and Japan, and freedom of movement for visiting Congressmen, have been the subject of a compromise has not been disclosed."

Every recipient country is required to sign an agreement by the 2nd of this month. And as the conditions are stiff in all conscience, the Governments of the different countries think that it would be difficult to persuade their people or Parliaments to accept these. The British Government propose to go into the matter with the help of the Opposition; the French Government apprehend a storm of opposition from the "Leftists" who command almost half the allegiance of the people. The U. S. magazine, *News-week*, discussing the dilemma says: "The British face a desperate choice: either they must accept restrictions on their sovereignty or renounce all U. S. aid."

Annammalai Chettiar

The Tamil country is the poorer today by the death of Annammalai Chettiar, the founder of the Annammalai University and leader of the Chettiar community, the masters of finance-capital in South India. We think that the foundation of the Annammalai University was the first example in India of an individual benefaction financing a university; Dr. Hari Singh Gour's Raipur University in Mahakoshal, Central Provinces, is the second. Annammalai Chettiar's example has changed the ideas of his community and helped to widen their vision beyond mere money-getting. A lover and promoter of modern education, he held fast to the traditions of Tamil culture tracing a history of more than twenty-five centuries. His gift of ancient Tamil books and manuscripts to the library of the Visva-Bharati of Rabindranath Tagore was in line with this phase of his life. In South India, disrupted by Brahmin-non-Brahmin rivalry, his was reconciling part which held aloft the ancient social polity that had made an attempt to reconcile diversities of functions with allegiance to a composite national life. The death of such a man at this juncture in our country's life is a loss to be marked and noted.

WAS IT CONSTITUTIONALLY PROPER ?

By D. N. BANERJEE, M.A.,
University Professor of Political Science, University of Calcutta

In the course of an otherwise excellent reply to an address presented to him by the Darjeeling Bengalee Association on 23rd May, 1948, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has been reported to have observed :

"Don't worry about the size or number of districts in Bengal, don't worry and get a headache over it now. Everything will be looked into and done properly, but nothing can be done properly if done in haste. In the old days there was some meaning in the autonomy of the provinces. Hereafter all the provinces have to be so closely knit together with Delhi, that there will be no distinction whatsoever between province and province . . . The Dominion of India is so closely knit together that this is not the time to look to provincial borders. All provincial borders are practically abolished now, and India is one. What strength can we develop now in the present overall difficulties, if we go on fighting with one another inside ?

"Therefore I appeal to you all, friends, let us for the time being drop our narrow ideals. Let us learn to *entertain broad ideals*. (The italics are mine). Until we are safe, sound and strong, we cannot afford to quarrel with one another on matters which are essentially domestic."

By these remarks, not often informed by a sense of realism, His Excellency has not only discouraged, but also disapproved, the growing movement in West Bengal for the re-inclusion of the Bengali-speaking areas now comprised in Bihar, within the Province of West Bengal.

At a Press Conference, however, held on 20th May, 1948, Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, had been reported to have given out the information that the Cabinet of the West Bengal Government had, four weeks before, placed through him before the Government of India for its consideration, a proposal for the inclusion of Dhalbhum, Manbhum and a part of the district of Purnia, adjoining the district of Dinajpur, in the Province of West Bengal.

It appears from what has been given above that the Government of West Bengal are divided in opinion on the question of the desirability of the present move in this province for the inclusion of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar within the province of West Bengal : the "formal" or "dignified" part of the Government taking one view, and the "political" or "efficient" part of the Government another view. Has not this publicly-revealed difference of opinion created an awkward position for either part ? And has it not created a confusion in the minds of the general public ? To me it appears that it has done both.

Now the question is : Was the Governor, as the constitutional Head of the Government of West Bengal,

justified in publicly expressing a view on a very important question, now rightly or wrongly exercising the minds of the people of West Bengal, which was apparently not in harmony with the attitude which his Council of Ministers had previously taken towards it, and which the Premier had made known to the public through a Press Conference ? My respectful submission is that he was not ; and that in making the observations he did, His Excellency did not strictly keep himself within the limits of constitutional propriety ; nor did he conform to the ethics of the parliamentary system of Government as it obtains in England. Let me explain the constitutional position as it stands today. Under Sub-clause (2) of Clause 3 of the India (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947, issued by the Governor-General in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Governor of a Province in India has no power today either to act "in his discretion," or to exercise "his individual judgment" in any matter. And Section 50 of the Government of India Act, 1935, has been amended accordingly. As a result of this, the Governor of a Province in India has, with effect from the 15th of August, 1947, become a purely constitutional Governor. And what should be his position and functions in relation to his Council of Ministers, i.e., his Cabinet ? For this we must refer to the "traditional maxims" of the parliamentary form of Government as it exists in England since our present system of Government has been really based upon the English model. These maxims or principles embody, in the words of Todd (*Parliamentary Government in England*), "the matured experience of successive generations of statesmen, and are known as the precepts of the (English) constitution." Among other things, these maxims enjoin, to quote the words of Sir William Anson (*Law and Custom of the Constitution*), that

the King of England "should not give public expression to opinions on matters of State without consulting" his Cabinet Ministers ; that "he should accept their advice when offered by them as a Cabinet, and support them while they remain his servants (i.e., Ministers)"—(the italics are mine) ; that he "either accepts the advice of his Ministers in any matter to which they attach importance, or must dismiss them ;" and that "the Cabinet, on the other hand, are bound, as is each individual member, to inform the King of all important measures of the executive."

We also find in Maitland (*Constitutional History of England*) that

"The King must govern by the advice of Ministers who are approved by the House of Commons."

Thirdly, Lowell says in his *Government of England*:

"The Ministers, being responsible to Parliament for all the acts of the Crown, are obliged to refrain from things that they cannot justify; and to insist upon actions which they regard as necessary. In short, the Cabinet must carry out its own policy; and to that policy the Crown must submit."

Again,

"The Ministers direct the action of the Crown in all matters relating to the Government. The King's speech on the opening of Parliament is, of course, written by them; and they prepare any answers to addresses that may have a political character. . . . Almost the only public acts that can be done by the Crown before the public eye are ceremonies, public functions, speeches which have no political character and deeds of kindness that are above criticism." (The italics are mine).

Another eminent authority, namely, Dr. Ivor Jennings, has also observed (*Cabinet Government*) that

"Although an able Monarch can have considerable influence in the policy of the Government, yet he must, in the last resort, accept a Cabinet decision."

And he has quoted the views of Mr. Asquith in support of his position.

Finally, we find in Laski (*Parliamentary Government in England*) that

"An active King, whose opinions were a matter of public concern, is unthinkable within the framework of the English Constitution; that a 'Patriot King', whatever the character of his opinions, is incompatible with parliamentary democracy in its British form; that the King (of England) must act upon the advice of his Ministers; that is the central theme in the metaphysics of the English Monarchical system; and that the King's public acts must be of an automatic character, he must, in the public view, accept the advice of his Ministers."

If I have quoted above the views of some eminent authorities on the theory and practice of the British Constitution, I have done so only with a view to showing that under our present constitution based as it is on the British model, the Governor had no constitutional right publicly to express any opinion which was not quite in harmony with the action which his Cabinet had already taken some weeks before, and that in so far as he did express any such opinion, he departed from the traditions which the Constitutional Head of a parliamentary form of Government should strictly adhere to. I presume here, of course, that after the West Bengal Cabinet had taken its decision in regard to the Bengal-Bihar-boundary-dispute question, it must have, as it was constitutionally bound to do, informed the Governor of the same through the Premier, Dr. Roy, and that, previously to it, the Governor had had ample opportunities of putting his own views before his Ministers, of pointing out objections which might have seemed valid against the course they had been contemplating, and of suggesting, if he so thought

fit, an alternative policy. If, after all this, the Ministers had come to the decision which Dr. Roy revealed as Premier at the Press Conference held on 20th May last, it was a constitutional duty of the Governor to support them publicly: That is to say, if he could not persuade his Ministers to accept his own point of view and if they insisted on their views being carried out, then he should have yielded and accepted their decision, and publicly backed it up. It is true that, technically speaking and according to the older theory of parliamentary Government, the Governor could disregard their advice, in case he thought it definitely wrong, if, however, he could find others who were willing to adopt his policy and assume responsibility for it. But it has also to be borne in mind in this connexion that the right to dismiss a Ministry even in England, although unquestionably within the legal prerogatives of the Crown, seems to be regarded, as Lowell has shown, "as one of those powers which the close responsibility of the Cabinet to the House of Commons has practically made obsolete." A constitutional Governor, even in the context of our Indian politics today, cannot be such a Governor and a Congress politician at the same time. This is the price he must pay for his exalted position.

I have dealt above with the constitutional position. Governor C. Rajagopalachari's remarks are open to objection on another ground. He is shortly going to occupy the position of Governor-General of India, and the Bengal-Bihar controversy is likely to be taken up at an early date at the Government-of-India level. Any public expression of opinion by him at this stage otherwise than as a purely constitutional Governor backing up his Ministry, might create later on a difficult position for His Excellency himself, and might make the people interested in the matter, rightly or wrongly, feel that, so far as he was concerned, he had already committed himself to a particular point of view and to a definite course of action. And this might not help an easy solution of the question.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we need not doubt that the Governor, when he expressed himself as we have seen before, did so wholly from a conception of patriotic obligation. The point, however, which I have tried to make above is that his action was not quite in keeping with the traditions of parliamentary Government. A constitutional Governor, I need hardly emphasise, should not merely act constitutionally in fact, but he should also appear to act constitutionally. At any rate, it seems to me to be highly desirable in view of what I have set forth above, that Dr. Roy's Ministry should explain to the people of West Bengal what exactly the position of the Government of West Bengal has taken in regard to the question of the re-inclusion of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar in the province of West Bengal. We really seek enlightenment. On our side we forbear from expressing any view on this question here as it is not the object of this article to do so.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

THE Drafting Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly of India to draft a constitution for India on the basis of its deliberations has at last submitted its Report to the President of the Assembly embodying its recommendations as to the future set-up of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution has been drawn up on extant models, such as those of the U.S.A., England, Canada, and Australia. U.S.A. and Canada have perhaps influenced the minds of the constitution makers most. That is as it could be expected, seeing that conditions in India in many respects, such as the problem of racial minorities, linguistic and religious divisions, strong feeling of local patriotism and consequent jealousy of concentration of authority in the Centre, resemble those obtaining in the U.S.A. and Canada at least in the days when their constitutions were drafted. Of course, India has many problems peculiar to herself necessitating the introduction of many innovations and the Committee has also done that.

As regards the basic character of the Constitution it was defined by the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in January, 1947, as being a "Sovereign Independent Republic" which was necessarily binding on the Committee. The Committee has, however, thought fit to make a slight verbal alteration in the phrase by replacing the word "Independent" by "Democratic." The Committee justifies the change on the ground that as independence is usually implied in the word "Sovereign," the addition of the word "Independent" becomes superfluous. The argument appears to us to be plausible. Moreover, the insertion of the word "Democratic" in the preamble of the constitution is particularly welcome as laying emphasis on India's faith in democracy and her determination to put democratic principles into practice in her government at a time when democracy seems to be at such a discount within the country as well as in the world outside. The use of the phrase "Sovereign Republic" does not mean necessarily withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth system, as the precedent of Eire eliminating the Crown from her constitution shows that there is nothing incompatible in a Republic continuing as a member of the British Commonwealth. The question is left open for the present. The Chairman of the Drafting Committee in submitting the Report pointed out that the question of the relationship between the Democratic Republic of India and the British Commonwealth of Nations was to be decided later by the Constituent Assembly.

The objectives placed before the nation and as embodied in the preamble of the Draft Constitution are justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation. All these except fraternity were already in the

Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly. The fraternity clause was added by the Committee in the perspective of the poisoned atmosphere of communal discord and hatred to bring to a focus emphasis on "the need for fraternal concord and goodwill in India" which, they pointed out, "was never greater than now." These have been further developed in the chapters on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State policy, i.e., Parts III and IV of the Constitution which we shall discuss presently.

As for the general structure of the Indian polity recommended by the Committee India is to be a "Union of States," that is, a federation of a number of constituent units which, although described by a common appellation are classified under three distinct categories to mark some differences that are to exist as between them, viz., those which were known under the previous constitution as Governor's provinces, Chief Commissioners' provinces and the Indian States. The recommendation for a federal constitution is suggested by the compulsion of events. It is the logical consummation of the process of constitutional evolution since the assumption of administrative responsibility by the Crown. The prevailing conditions of India, its vastness, variety in local conditions, linguistic, religious and racial heterogeneity of her population, point inexorably to a federal solution of the Indian problem. So perhaps no one will find fault with this feature of the Draft Constitution. That measure of agreement will, however, not be forthcoming in regard to the scheme of distribution of legislative powers between the Union and the units and their administrative relations. Following the model of the previous constitution subjects have been classified into three lists—"Union," i.e., federal, "Concurrent" and "State." The "Union List" comprises those subjects in respect of which the Union Parliament has exclusive jurisdiction to make laws. The "Concurrent List" consists of those matters in respect of which the Union Parliament and the Legislature of any State which was formerly a Governor's province have concurrent legislative jurisdiction. The "State List" comprises those matters in respect of which the Legislature of a State that was formerly a Governor's province has exclusive power to make laws. So far it is all right. The matter of real consequence in connection with the distribution of legislative powers as between the Centre and the Units in a Federation is the location of residuary or unenumerated powers. Federations have followed two prevailing patterns in this respect—usually known as the American and the Canadian model—according as the residuary powers vest in the Units or the Centre. The real significance of the device lies in the fact that it determines in a way the centre of gravity in the federal system—whether it should be in the Centre or the Units. Those who are champions of autonomy of the constituent units would view with misgivings the

provision in the Constitution* allocating residuary powers in the Union Parliament. At one time it seemed that the pattern of the Indian federation would take after the American model, because of the suspicion and jealousy of the Muslims of a strong Hindu-dominated centre. But after the concession of Pakistan by the Congress, the urge for such a scheme of distribution disappeared and the emphasis was shifted to the need of a strong Centre symbolising national unity. The case for a strong Centre rests both on economic and political grounds. The fissiparous tendencies purposefully fostered in the country by British imperialism can be held in check only by a strong Central authority. Communalism has been put an end to once for all by the declaration of India as a secular State and equal treatment of all irrespective of religion, caste or creed.

But although communalism is showing signs of decadence a new centrifugal force with no less potentiality for evil is rearing its head, *viz.*, provincialism. If it is to be combated, the Centre must have an overriding authority in some matters at least and to step in to set matters right when anything goes wrong between any two provinces.

There is also a strong economic urge towards federation in the urgent need for the country's economic regeneration. If independence is to mean anything real to the common man, it must secure him two square meals a day, adequate clothing and shelter, education and medical aid. That requires harnessing the economic resources of the country as a whole on a co-ordinated plan and not piecemeal by provinces. That can only be done by the Central Government equipped with sufficient powers to that end. A strong Centre vested with residuary powers is also dictated by that urge. It has, therefore, been wise of the framers of the constitution to make the Centre strong by vesting residuary powers in it. Moreover, the way provincialism is developing in the provinces makes it imperative to give more powers to the Centre to overcome the centrifugal forces rather than to make the units independent of the Centre. Otherwise there is every chance of the provinces and States cutting away from the Union and India already truncated by partition being Balkanised with all the evil consequences of such fragmentation both for the people of India and also the world outside. Such a catastrophe should be averted by all means particularly in the context of the world situation today. If India is to rebuild her war-shattered economy and achieve ordered progress she has urgent need of complete unity and solidarity among her people and of team work among the different constituent units. Of course, this need not mean domination of the units by the Centre. Each province and State has its local peculiarities, its distinctive culture and tradition which requires cultivation on distinct lines. The Draft Constitution in its scheme of distribution of powers and administrative relations between the Centre and the units has left enough

elbow room to the Provinces and States for the purpose while making possible the due discharge by the Centre of such functions and obligations as can in the nature of things only be discharged by the Centre. Some discrimination has been allowed to be made in this respect as between the Provinces, Indian States and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces in view of the difference in their respective positions as a result of their historical growth, (*vide* Sections 217(4), 224, 225 and 236).

So far as the Chief Commissioners' Provinces are concerned the Federal Parliament has been given power to make laws with regard to the subjects mentioned even in the State List. (Section 217(4)). Restriction has been imposed on the power of the Federal Parliament to make laws with respect to some matters falling within the Union List, such as Posts and Telegraphs, Telephones, Wireless, Broadcasting and other like forms of communications in any of the Indian States except so far as the right of the States to legislate in these matters is specifically ceded by agreement between the Government of India and a Indian State or group of States, although this restriction will not apply to making laws for the regulation and control of such matters. (Section 224).

Generally speaking, the power of Union Parliament to make laws for an Indian State or Group of States will be subject to the terms of agreement entered into between the two parties and the restrictions contained therein. (Section 225). The Government of India may also by agreement with an Indian State take power to itself to exercise executive, legislative and judicial functions vested in the State. (Section 236). This apparently privileged position of the Indian States as compared with the Provinces is dictated by historical necessity and is expected to disappear in course of time, as the States coming more and more under democratic control are likely to be assimilated steadily to the Provinces. For the present without the offer of such concessions the States could not be induced to accede to the Union and Indian leaders could not afford to add to the complexity of an already complicated problem. This is also one of the vicious legacies left by British Imperialism which was purposefully created by the latter to perpetuate its hegemony. The Federal Parliament has also been armed with extraordinary powers in the sphere of the States in certain contingencies, such as when it is necessary in national interest, in the event of a proclamation of emergency in a State or when a matter affects more than one State. (Sections 236, 227 and 229).

It is only natural that Federal Parliament should exercise jurisdiction in these matters. On the whole, it may be said that the scheme of distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units and adjustment of their administrative relations is satisfactory in the present state of things, but it will require revision and readjustment from time to time as circumstances change.

(To be continued)

* Section 223 of the Draft Constitution.

POTTER : THROUGH THE POT'S EYES

By DR. BAL D. KALELKAR, B.E. (Bom.), M.Sc. (M.I.T.), Ph.D. (Cornell)

Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make

—OMAR KHAYYAM

WHENEVER I unroll the canvass of memory in an attempt to have a fresh glimpse of the pictures painted thereon, like a child presented with a basket of fresh apples, I am unable to pick and choose. There are pictures still rich in colours, there are others which are hazy and indistinct; and yet, each one of them is so sweet—on occasions bitter-sweet—that it seems almost impossible to make a deliberate selection. This is particularly so with regard to my recollections of Bapuji, spread over a period of over twenty years. I am using the words 'twenty years' to be correct historically; if I were to go by my mental impressions, I should say I have been under Bapuji ever since I can remember, to this very day. However, it would be quite correct to say that I came under Bapuji's discipline right since the days when buttoning and unbuttoning my shirt was for me a complicated mechanical operation, too difficult for my manual skill.

Although hailed as the champion of South African Indians Bapuji was not quite an international figure in those days of my early childhood. Being a firm believer in teaching by example rather than by precept, and being less preoccupied with public activities in those days, Bapuji used to spend most of his time in organising and sharing the *Ashram* activities which also included keeping imps like us out of mischief. To what extent he paid attention to the details of our training can be easily understood if I tell the readers that one afternoon at lunch, he systematically taught me how to crush a well-baked *chapati* into fine powder and prepare a kind of pudding out of it. No work was too insignificant for busy Bapuji. Sabarmati *Ashram* was a wild place then; one couldn't say it was exactly in a jungle, but it certainly was not far away from it; the *Ashram* ground was covered with shoulder-high grass—or so it seemed to my tiny eyes—infested with snakes and other animals. Tents, huts and other improvised dwelling-houses gave the little commune not very comfortable shelter. Verily Bapuji was giving the inmates practical training in bringing order out of chaos! From clearing the ground for open-air prayers, to digging ditches for movable latrines, there was nothing that Bapuji did not personally supervise and actively participate in. His special attention to personal and civic cleanliness, and his insistence on everyone learning and meticulously observing rules of hygiene left a deep and lasting impression on my mind.

Bapu of those early days was much more strict and exacting with his associates than Bapu of today. But his keen sense of humour and his angelic love for children were no less pronounced then. How can I forget how immensely pleased I used to be when at dinner time Bapuji quietly passed a big chunk of raw

sugar (*gur*) to me as a kind of socialistic recognition of 'to every one according to his needs'; it was notorious that I had a sweet tooth!

During my teens, I acquired a special position in Bapuji's heart, and it used to be said by some of the veteran *Ashramites* that Gandhiji was pampering and completely spoiling Kanti (Gandhiji's grandson) and myself. My elder brother, now Principal of the Commerce College in the Nagpur University, used to tease me by saying that we had learnt the art of 'fooling' Bapuji by observing his impossible discipline and then wringing concessions out of him! Kanti and myself were practically the first inmates in the *Ashram* to learn all the 700 verses of the *Geeta* by heart; we were able to create records in spinning—even in non-stop spinning for twenty-four hours; so on and so forth. Bapuji was very pleased with all this, and I might frankly confess that we were quite conscious of having been 'Bapuji's pets.' Poor Bapu! he thought he was building model *Ashram*-youths out of us! Little did he know that the young boys who, he hoped, would renounce all the material pleasures, would one day fly out, one taking to engineering and the other to medicine. And yet, just when he was preparing us for a life of renunciation, he was constantly impressing on our minds that we were like little birds and that when we had grown enough feathers and strength, the most natural thing for us to do would be to fly alone in God's free air. It is this quality of deliberately encouraging the independent spirit in the hearts of his followers that has made Gandhiji the idol of the modern youth that hate idolatry.

Kanti and myself, it is hardly necessary to add, fully exploited Bapuji's attachment to us. I remember how one evening we carefully planned and prepared a 'sound' case to be presented to Bapuji for a special grant of money towards our expenditure on photography which we were just learning. We 'convinced' Bapuji, to our entire satisfaction, that *Swaraj* would not come unless we mastered photography. And to our great joy and much to the chagrin of some of the orthodox *Ashramites*, each of us was sanctioned a monthly allowance of five rupees from that very month. Oh, what a triumph it was! On another occasion, I was responsible for winning a point and getting an order cancelled by him. Bapuji had decided to make a slashing cut in the supply of washing soap to the *Ashram* inmates on the ground that we had no right to the luxuries which the poor villagers were denied. We youngsters who used to vie with each other in washing our clothes snow-white and dressing immaculately, resented this new order very much. I took up the case and made a special appointment with

Bapuji to argue it out. He said, that the poor villagers had never even seen a piece of soap and that if they could get along with *khar* (a yellowish-white alkaline deposit left on the banks of rivers) which was a good substitute for soap, why couldn't we? My immediate answer to this was that it was wrong to want us to adopt the same dirty habits of villagers and that clothes could never be washed so clean with *khar* any way. He now changed his strategy. Why, he asked me, I alone of all the boys had resented the order which others had accepted without demurring? I retorted that the others felt the same way about the order, but that they were dumb! He challenged me to get the signatures of 70 per cent. of the boys to prove my contention. I very nearly accepted; but the next moment I saw no triumph in all this. I therefore pretended to be angry with his demand: I told him frankly that I was tired of arguing with him, that he was always obstinate in his pre-conceived notions, and that I would accept his challenge only on condition that he would grant my request if the necessary 70 per cent. signatures were produced; I was not interested in merely proving my contention. I knew only too well that Bapu the democrat would never reject this condition. Within a couple of days I produced signatures of 90 per cent of the boys and the order was rescinded. What a victory! We, mere kids, we had 'convinced' the great Mahatma and brought him round to our view! And when do you think we taxed his time in this unthoughtful manner? It was when the Simon Commission had agitated the whole nation, when Bapuji's advice was sought by politicians of all shades of opinion, and when he was busy studying the Nehru Report on the future constitution of India. But that is how Bapuji treats all those who come in contact with him; he has learnt to be patient with the most ignorant and this has given him the miraculous power of correctly feeling the pulse of the nation.

My 'childish' accusation that Gandhiji was obstinate reminds me of similar charges made by some of our leftist Congressites who see in Gandhiji an impossible dictator. They mistake his insistence on being convinced about his stand being wrong for obstinacy; and they dismiss him as an impossible dictator autocratically imposing his views on others when Gandhiji refuses to budge an inch from a position which he has taken on point of principle. Those who have watched him from closer quarters know how deeply he ponders over the opponents' point of view, not only studying their criticism but actually inviting it. Gandhiji is too much of a democrat to forget that criticism is the pillar of democracy. Why, even we youngsters in the *Ashram* got an audience with him to air our views about what he had said or done in the political field! He used to be quite patient with our comment and spent considerable time in meeting our criticism. Truly has an old Chinese proverb observed: "The sea is great not because of

its size, but because it retains its humble level giving chance to rivers and rivulets to aspire into it."

During the preparatory weeks before he led us as a batch of 80 volunteers to break the salt-laws at Dandi, we were given permission to ask questions in public after the evening prayers every day. One evening I asked a moot—and therefore, perhaps unnecessary—question of him: "Which would you rather have, the Indian mill cloth or the British hand-made cloth?" Not willing to waste time over a moot point, he dropped the question and asked me not to raise such unhelpful points. I felt very much hurt at that time, but I received his answer in another form some four years later. It was at the time of his 21-days' fast in the *Parna-kulhi* at Poona. I had the proud privilege of being his full-time nurse all through that fast. One day when he saw that the bottle of vaseline which he was using for enema was nearing exhaustion, he asked me to purchase a new one. Critical about every little detail, he asked for an explanation when he did not see a new bottle of vaseline on the following day. I told him that I had tried hard to purchase one in the Cantonment area which was nearby, but had found that bottles of English manufacture alone were available there. I had therefore postponed the purchase and that I was going to make a special trip to the city area that very evening to purchase a bottle of Indian make. He listened to my explanation with his usual calm and pondered over the discrimination I had practised for his sake. I could read all this on his face; it is quite easy for those who have come in intimate contact with Bapu to read, from his forehead as it were, or from his pronounced veins, the thoughts that pass through his mind. He told me in gentle but firm tone that the principle of *Swadeshi* which had actuated me was quite correct and that he hoped I would practise it in my future life; but, he said it quite unequivocally, I was not to discriminate between British goods and other goods as far as his personal purchases were concerned. He added that perhaps it would be difficult for me at that stage to grasp the deeper significance of his apparent inconsistency, but that I was to follow his instructions all the same. But I knew I had received an answer to the question I had put to him four years previously.

Surprising as it may sound, this happened at the very time when Bapuji was busy persuading such of the A.-I. C. C. members as were out of jail and preparing them for giving a fresh fight to the British Raj by reviving the Civil Disobedience Movement! Leaders like the late Satyamurti with their clever dialectics and forensic skill would put their point of view with all the force at their command and it was a pleasure to us young followers of Bapu to watch him demolish their case and win them round to his own view. The very man who would refuse to discriminate against the British goods was preparing the leaders to give the Britishers a tough fight. But there lies

Gandhiji's inner greatness and strength; he is, in spite of what the fashionable 'internationalists' say, essentially an internationalist; if there ever was a man with a deep sense of universal brotherhood, it is Gandhiji.

My most intimate contact with Bapuji for almost a quarter of a century and my study of his philosophy of politics prompts me to say with full confidence that he is nothing if not a man of international outlook; indeed he is something more than that; he is a Messiah working for the liberation of entire humanity. In the thick of the national movement his mind is always working out plans of action that have bearings on human welfare transcending narrow nationalism. And it was this man who, in 1942, was being systematically maligned throughout America as a confirmed pro-Facist and Anglophobe; he was even called an astute opportunist! The Britishers were spending huge amounts of money on this kind of anti-Gandhi propaganda, and they were, doing this with the help of the Indian agent and fifth-columnists like Raman and others. We Indians who happened to be in America then, were helpless witnesses to this shameful orgy of lies in which agents of British imperialism were indulging. It is hardly necessary to add that I tried my utmost—how insignificant it was before the barrage of systematic propaganda of a mighty empire!—whenever and wherever I got an opportunity of doing so, to dispel doubts and disseminate truth about India among the Americans. It used to pain me beyond words to see intellectual giants of Britain and America not raising their little finger against this vile and shameful propaganda; it seemed as though every Britisher was an imperialist under the skin if you scratched him. What an irony of fate it was that the only statesman of repute who openly gave the lie to this false but formidable propaganda was General Smuts, an erstwhile 'enemy' of Gandhiji. The conspiracy of silence which I witnessed among the intellectuals of Europe and America made me wonder whether the Western civilisation had not been tested and found bankrupt after all. Would it ever be that the West awakens one day and finds that there is no hope for humanity except through the Gandhian philosophy? The East is wide awake from her slumber and having found a new orientation is anxiously beckoning the straggling West which is heading for a dangerous precipice. If only the West could take the hand that is stretched out in a spirit of universal brotherhood!

As a student of science and as a budding engineer I try my best to wean the villagers away from their belief in miracles and supernatural agencies which, in my opinion, has wrought havoc with India, breaking the very backbone of her culture and civilisation. Not for a moment would I subscribe to Gandhiji's view that the Bihar earthquake of 1934 was a divine punishment for the sin of untouchability. But then, I would be untrue to myself if I did not narrate an

incident to which I was an eye-witness and which would appear nothing short of a miracle to a layman.

It was at the time of the Rajkot agitation in 1938 when once again Gandhiji had to resort to fast. This time also, I had the privilege of acting as one of the nurses who attended on Gandhiji. Miss Chanduben Parekh who had just returned from America and who later was to marry my elder brother, was also one of those who helped nursing Gandhiji. The atmosphere, with all the filth that an Indian native state can produce, was extremely tense; the agitation had already assumed all-India proportions; this was very much resented by some of the high-ranking state officials and landlords of the place. They thought they could intimidate the public who were backing the agitation by creating panic among them at the time of open-air prayers which Bapuji used to hold in those days and which were attended by mammoth crowds. They engaged a gang of thug hirelings and arming them with *lathis* and batons let them loose on the congregation after the prayers were over. The Congress volunteers, with their usual non-violent methods tried in vain to hold back the *goondas* who were now pushing their way towards Gandhiji. Use of sticks made their way clear to Bapuji who was on his way to the waiting car which used to whisk him off from the admiring crowd after prayers. But on that day, before he could reach the waiting car, the hireling thugs rushed the cordon of Congress volunteers and surrounded him from all sides. I saw the seriousness of the situation; pushing and jostling, shoving and elbowing was producing frayed tempers and it was a matter of minutes before serious violence would break out. I cannot say how far I could have remained non-violent in the face of danger to Bapuji's person, but I at once plunged in the fray. I elbowed my way close to Bapuji through the unmanageable crowd which was now divided into small parties exchanging blows. As I was watching with a mixed feeling of anxiety and curiosity the behaviour of the crowd, I suddenly noticed that Bapu's whole body began to shake violently. It was not out of fear; his face could tell how free from fear he was; the physical reaction was his revolt against the disgusting atmosphere of violence. I became extremely anxious for Bapu's safety; he was in none too good a health and I thought he might collapse any moment. Suddenly Bapuji closed his eyes and started praying; I could hear him saying *Ram-ram* with an intensity of devotion that could never be surpassed. I joined him in his prayer and to keep time to our chanting of God's name I started patting my hand on his back. Half out of child-like faith and half out of silly egotism, I thought I was giving him a prop to retain his faith! Perhaps it was forgivable; when the house is on fire even a child may help its grandfather by bringing water in its tiny bucket. To my great astonishment and greater relief, the prayer worked. When Bapuji re-opened his eyes there was a new

strength that had appeared there like magic. In a firm tone Bapuji asked all the volunteers including us *Ashram* boys to quit the place at once and leave him absolutely alone at the mercy of the hired *goondas*. He would not, he said, return home in the car which he usually did; he would walk the distance! Then he called the leader of the gang who was busy breaking up the congregation and told him that he was absolutely at his disposal if he cared to argue out his point; if not, would he tell what he proposed to do next? To everyone's amazement, the thug's violence melted like ice before the warmth of love and non-violence. The leader of the gang stood before Bapuji with folded hands begging of Bapuji to rest one of his hands on his shoulder for support and promised to escort Bapu as far as he cared to go. That evening Bapu walked all the way home with one hand on the shoulder of the leader of the gang that had come to break up the prayer and terrorise the general public.

I will never forget that memorable evening which has given me faith of a life-time in the efficacy of prayer. But I would not like to call it a miracle. There have been cases when ablest mathematicians and engineers have solved most difficult and complicated problems by sheer intuition, but these are hardly miracles. Intuition after all is an inner directive that flashes into one's mind when it attains a certain critical temperature; it is as though some past experience speaks from within. The incident narrated above only proves that one who leads a life

of intensity for some noble cause may bank upon the power to prayer which would enable him to relieve the past struggles and get renewed confidence to march onward to Truth.

What we *Ashram* boys owe to Bapu is beyond calculation. For the last thirty years Bapu's kind but stern hand has tried to mould the precious but plastic youth of us *Ashram* boys into a life of duty and dedication. The master engineer has aimed at moulding according to the specifications of his inner voice. But each one of us acquired a shape according to our diverse plasticity of moulding sand. The defects in casting are entirely due to the presence of dry sand in the green mould; the master engineer is in no way responsible for these defects, just as he is not responsible for the loss of stature in the final casting which too is attributable to the plasticity of the material used.

The other day*, when I returned from America after my higher studies in engineering and still higher experiences of life extending over five years, I was feeling a little diffident—how foolish it was—about my reception from Bapu. But the same depth of love and affection were waiting for me when after landing in Bombay on the *Diwali* Day of 1945, I went to the Nature Cure Clinic at Poona and once more received his blessings on the Hindu New Year's Day. It, indeed, was a New Year's Day for me.

* The article, unpublished so far, was written by the author in 1945.

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CRUCIAL INDIAN PROBLEMS

By PROF. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University

THERE are certain vital problems which brook no delay. Immediate solution is urgently called for. They are : (1) The Hyderabad question. The civilised government has ceased to function for several months. The *Rasakars* have indubitably taken control of the governmental machinery and dictating terms to the people of Hyderabad. A reign of terror envelops that state and the majority party is in deadly peril of their honour, life and property. The honour of the women belonging to the majority community has almost ceased to exist, and robbery, dacoity, arson, brutalities are the order of the day perpetrated against the majority community. The Nizam is following the policy of delaying settlement with the Indian Union as long as possible. He, it seems, is being ruled by the *Rasakars*. Either, therefore, he must control the *Rasakars* ruthlessly, and establish law, order and justice or he must abdicate. There is no other alternative. The India Government can no longer afford to allow the perpetration of deadly crimes against humanity. It is the bounden duty of the Indian Union, therefore, to assert

its position and since misrule and disorder of a wild type have been prevailing at Hyderabad, the Indian Union will be completely justified in giving an ultimatum to the Nizam in the shape of reducing the *Rasakars* and other lawless elements of the state to submission and of giving Hyderabad full responsible Government under the aegis of the Indian Union.

Hyderabad is the last citadel of feudalism where sits entrenched more firmly than ever the privileges of the feudal lords and vassals and the people's voice remains muffled. Hyderabad is the Bastille of India and just as Fox states on the fall of Bastille, "How much the best and the greatest event in the world has happened," so the people of the whole of India, nay, the civilised peoples of the world, will acclaim with joy the establishment of full responsible government in Hyderabad State, which is today the Augean Stable of repression, disorder and misrule.

The inalienable birth-right of the people to make its voice felt in the Hyderabad State cannot be ignored even for a moment and with the recognition of the

sovereignty of the people the gangrene in the state policy of Hyderabad will disappear. Let the Nizam establish a democratic rule and be guided by people's representatives who shall hold the reins of office after a democratic constitution has been framed.

The second vital question is regarding Kashmir. The Government of India is doing excellent good work in quick expulsion of the raiders from Kashmir and that work must continue with unabated fury against the raiders till the last raider has taken his exit from Kashmir. The Security Council must be once more told about the real state of affairs, namely, that the accession to the Indian Union by Kashmir did not spring from coercion or undue influence but was the outcome of a spontaneous desire of Kashmir to be linked up with India. Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir and accredited leader of the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir, who is participating in the struggle for freedom of Kashmir from the raiders' hand, has unequivocally stated many a time and oft that Kashmir would remain within the Indian Union. Almost the whole population of Kashmir is under the freedom banner of Sheikh Abdullah, most popular and beloved leader of the people therein. The raiders had not the slightest justification according to any tenet of International Law or of public morality in trespassing on Kashmir territories and the creation of terrible havoc and bestialities there. The Pakistan Government has been shown to be palpably siding with the raiders and there is no vestige of justification for Pakistan State for the attitude taken by it. Pakistan has flagrantly violated its fundamental responsibility to the Indian Union. Sheikh Abdullah's Government which is sustained and nourished by the entire population of Kashmir is really the only representative, popular and democratic government imaginable there, the entire population thereof owing willing allegiance to him and his government.

The third vital issue is whether India is to remain any longer within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Only a straight answer can be given to this question and it is this that India must not in her own interest and also in the interest of international peace and security remain fighting with politics and economy of Britain. There is no fascination for India to be linked up with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The fate of the Indians and the natives of Africa is

well-known. They are treated as helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water, as it were, with fundamental civil liberties and human rights denied to them. Australia does not allow Indian immigration. The Indian settlers in Africa and in other parts are not treated with any amount of self-respect and dignity. In Africa, the Indians are treated by the European settlers as veritable plagues. And the tragedy today is that we all are regarded as members of one Commonwealth. Now the association of the British Commonwealth will be gall and wormwood for India. Politically, economically and, above all, morally India must be a completely sovereign state divested of any association with Britain except friendly relations but by no means remaining member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The fourth problem is whether the Government of India should recognise the Jewish state in Palestine. Justice, fairplay, humanity and love for democracy, all point to one direction, namely, that the India Government should recognise Jewish state in Palestine. Britain's attitude is highly suspicious and Britain wants to keep both the Jews and Arabs weak fighting with each other so that Palestine may be a playground for many years more of the continuance of British colonial or semi-colonial policies.

Ever since the Balfour Declaration was propounded and accepted by Britain, Britain had encouraged the Jews to migrate to Palestine, and now when the zero hour has come, and when the Jewish homes are burning and Jewish quarters are presenting scenes of terrific spoliation and devastation, Britain is siding with the Arabs! Britain can say that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds but India is not to be duped by British Government's policy. India knows to her cost the British game for power politics which shattered the economic and political future for well-nigh 200 years, and India, therefore, without a loss of a moment in her own interests and also out of the desire for stabilising the future peace of the world and in concord with a sense of justice and maintenance of world peace must at once cast her lot in this matter with the USA and USSR which have adopted the right attitude towards Palestine issue and not with Britain that is following a dubious, callous, suspicious and unwarranted policy.

2nd June, 1948

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NAI TALIM

By NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA, M.A.

NAI TALIM or New Education originated by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Indian Nation, has been engaging the serious attention of the people as well as of educationists.

It is a happy augury that thawing in the age-long frozen indifference to the matter of educational reconstruction has begun in West Bengal. The Government of West Bengal have taken up the matter in

right earnest. Education is one of the most potent nation-building factors. And it is in the fitness of things that new orientation should be introduced in the system of education and a proper ideology instilled in view of the changed political, economic and social conditions of the country.

Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the first Premier of Independent Bengal, took the initiative in respect to educational

reorganisation. He accepted the principle of introducing Basic Education, and as a preliminary to the introduction of the scheme, training of teachers was begun and other necessary arrangements were taken in hand.

Basic Education propounded by Gandhiji as early as 1937 did not find favour with the Muslim League Government in Bengal though it was accepted on experimental basis by the Congress Provinces. With the exception of a few small centres of such education in the district of Midnapore, the people of Bengal, therefore, did not have an intimate idea of the working of the new scheme. On the eve of the momentous change in the educational policy of West Bengal, we should do well to understand the ideas and ideals inherent in the scheme and assess the results achieved by experiments in several provinces.

IDEALS OF NEW EDUCATION

The main features of Basic Education are the imparting of instruction up to a certain standard (present Matriculation Standard minus English) through a basic craft and the attainment of economic self-sufficiency in the process of education. Nobody had greater and more intimate knowledge than Mahatmaji of the economic and sanitary condition of the 7 lakhs of Indian villages, none had been more pained at the distress of the villagers and none more sincerely interested in their welfare and more eager to raise them from the squalor of poverty and insanitation, forced inactivity and superstition. As a remedy to most of the ills of the village-folk Gandhiji suggested adoption of Nai Talim. It is one item in his 18-point Constructive Programme held out before the public for the realisation of Swaraj and all the good envisaged by it.

Nai Talim is in complete consonance with Gandhiji's philosophy of life. The author of the scheme wishes to rear up an India where class-prejudices and inequity of wealth will not spread disparity and discontent among the inhabitants, where dignity of labour will be recognised, where full employment will bring health and happiness, peace and prosperity.

The Zakir Hussain Committee, which was entrusted with the drawing of detailed syllabus for Basic Schools, commented on the craft work in elementary educational institution thus :

"Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education.

"Psychologically it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of the nation, will tend to break down the existing barriers between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way of true sense of the dignity of labour and of human

solidarity—an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

"Economically, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously.

"From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life and its various aspects will be correlated with one another."—*Basic National Education*, pp. 9-10.

SARGENT SCHEME AND BASIC EDUCATION

The Report of the Central Board of Education popularly known as the Sargent Scheme accepted the main principle underlying Basic Education, viz., learning through activity but it was unable to endorse the view that the Basic schools should be self-supporting. The most which can be expected in this respect, says The Report, 'is that sales (of articles produced by the pupils) should cover the cost of additional materials and equipment required for practical work.'

The Sargent Scheme has drawn up a colourful plan for National Education on the pattern of British educational system. The cost estimated to rear up the mighty machinery and have it on the run is stupendous. Bengal, according to this scheme, will need Rs. 57 crores annually for her educational system. Out of this sum 40 crores will be spent for Primary education.

As a result of the partition, West Bengal has shrunk to about one-third of undivided Bengal in land. Her revenues have naturally been curtailed. Besides, as a new-born state she has other important and pressing obligations to look to, e.g., defence, agriculture, irrigation, public health, communication and the like. So if we have to augment Revenues we have to do it mainly by taxation. For the estimated cost of education alone West Bengal public may have to pay 1900 per cent of their present taxes. How can any sane man propose such a demand on the public without previously enhancing their present income by at least 2000 per cent? A vicious circle has been created: No comprehensive project of universal national education, as of any development scheme, can be worked out without money and no sufficient money can be had as a result of people's affluence without public education of the right type and all-round development of national resources.

The realist in Gandhiji realised that if elementary education for the masses had to wait for big accumulation in the public exchequer the dumb millions would have to wait in the gloom of ignorance and misery 'till Domesday.' So Mahatmaji had to evolve a plan of education that would ease the financial stringency of the public funds and not be pathetically dependent on public money. His New Education has, therefore, the touch of a practical thinker.

Associated with the name of the political leader of the people and the greatest political party in India—Congress—Basic Education had to share the vicissitudes

of fortunes of the freedom-fighter. With the assumption of power by Congress the scheme got encouragement in the Congress-ruled provinces and when Congress went into wilderness the new system had to stand on its own intrinsic merits. The Congress Governments of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, C. P., U. P., and the State of Kashmir along with several independent organisations introduced Basic Education in selected areas on experimental basis.

Occasionally the educationists engaged in connection with the new education met at conferences to appraise each other of the results obtained as also to suggest modifications, if any. The second such conference of Basic Education was held at Jamianagar, Delhi. It was inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain. In a three-day session discussions centred round three main problems in the practical working out of the basic education, viz., (1) syllabus of basic education at work, (2) the technique of correlated teaching, and (3) the training of teachers. One of the important findings of the conference runs thus :

"This conference records with satisfaction that the reports on the working of basic schools by the Governments, local bodies and by private enterprise are almost unanimous that general standards of health and behaviour as well as intellectual attainments are very encouraging. The children in basic schools are more active, cheerful and self-reliant and their power of self-expression is well-developed; they are acquiring habits of co-operative work and social prejudices are breaking down, considering the difficulties inherent in the initial stage of a new scheme of education, involving a new ideology and a new technique; the progress reported holds out the promise that even better results can be expected in future."—*Seven Years of Work : Eighth Annual Report of Nai Talim, 1938-46.*

The results of experiments in 27 basic schools in Bihar were carefully assessed by an expert committee of educationists. Their observations are interesting and illuminating. From the clearly-defined objectives of the New Education we get an idea of Basic schools as a man-making factor—as an influence in unfolding the nobler and manly traits of the pupils.

The educationists expect development of the following qualities in children educated in basic schools : (i) skill and efficiency in the handling of craft work, (ii) sense of discipline through work as opposed to discipline super-imposed, (iii) development of intelligence, (iv) formation of alert and active habits, (v) habit of systematic and thorough work, (vi) development of interest and sense of pleasure in good work for its own sake, (vii) stimulating of curiosity, development of the spirit of enquiry and power of observation, (viii) awareness in the children of their social and natural environments, (ix) growth of a spirit of co-operation and service.

The observers were pleased to note that they found most of these qualities in the basic-school pupils—some were well developed, while others in the slow process of growth. Superiority of basic schools

as an educative institution was further proved by a comparative test of the attainments of pupils who got instruction in basic and ordinary primary schools for four years in the same area under similar environments. Comparative tests were held only with regard to school subjects common to both, viz., reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, general science and hygiene. Prof. U. C. Chatterjee of the Patna Training College, who conducted the test, concludes thus :

"Thus my study makes it clear that the achievements made by the basic school children during the period of four years are superior to those made by the children of ordinary primary schools in the same locality in the same time—the superiority being highly marked in oral reading, elementary science, hygiene and social studies but not so in other subjects."

The scope of Basic Education was widened by the father of the scheme, Gandhiji, who when he came out of jail in 1945 extended Nai Talim or New Education to the whole span of life of children from the moment of conception to the hour of death. According to him 'Education must become literally the education for life.' Mahatmaji said :

"This Nai Talim is not dependent on money. The running expenses of this education should come from the educational process; whatever may be the criticisms, I know that the only true education is that which is self-supporting. The idea is new; it is revolutionary. But I am not ashamed of it. If you can work, if you can prove that this is the true way for the development of the mind, those who mock at us today will become our admirers. Nai Talim will become universal and the seven lakhs of villages which indicate our all-round poverty today will constitute our prosperity. That prosperity cannot come from without, but must be evolved from within. This is the objective of Nai Talim nothing less than this."

It has to be recognised that basic education offers a solution to the educational impasse in the sphere of universal primary education for rural children. If basic education is adjusted to the educational system in such a way that children capable of profiting by higher education may be provided with easy avenues for the development of their latent abilities to the benefit of the country, it is sure to revolutionise education and usher in a new era in the domain of learning and living.

Sri P. Banerjee, the present Assistant Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal, who visited Sevagram and observed Nai Talim in action there, says :

"Nai Talim is capable of bringing a revolution in the field of education. But it is extremely difficult to harmonise the new method and outlook with the old ideas of the present system."

It is up to the educationists and other men of ideas and lead to help re-organisation of the educational system and thus bring about a regeneration of the nation. By so doing they will be rendering a noble and patriotic service to the country as upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends.

LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM OF HINDI

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

In the first week of January this year (1948) Clement Attlee, the British Premier, charged Russia with pursuing a policy which threatened other nations "with a new form of Imperialism—ideological, economic and strategic." Of one imperialism Russia has not been accused to be guilty—of the linguistic imperialism, of the attempt to impose its own language over others.

But the framers of the Constitution of the Union of India, almost all of them experienced Congressmen, are going to impose Hindi as the *Rashtrabhasa* or State language of India. The first Resolution of the Constituent Assembly declaring its determination to establish a 'sovereign, independent, republic' in India—passed actually in English—has been translated into Hindi and issued as a poster to be hung up at all Government offices and Courts and rail-stations, etc., at Government expense. The debates of the Constituent Assembly are being translated into Hindi and published as official documents. They are out to establish Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India. There was hardly a debate or scarcely a protest as to the suitability or otherwise of Hindi as the State language, because some day in the recent past, when it was merely an agitating body and had not to face realities, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution adopting Hindi, or Hindusthani to be more accurate, as the *Rashtrabhasa*.

The genesis of adopting Hindi as the *Rashtrabhasa* was this. Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, challenged the Indian politicians, who were vociferously clamouring for more political power, to produce an agreed constitution; and taunted them that they cannot speak with or address each other except through the medium of the language of the much-hated and much-maligned Englishmen. The results were the Dead-sea fruit of the (Motilal) Nehru Report, always talked of with respect but never followed, and the adoption of Hindusthani with Nagri and Urdu as its two scripts as the *Rashtrabhasa*.

When it is a question of adopting Hindi as the State language, a past resolution of the Indian National Congress is sufficient with the Hindi-speaking President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and the Hindi-speaking (rather Urdu-speaking—for he speaks Urdu better than Hindi) Premier of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But when the question is of amalgamating the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar, Orissa and Assam with West Bengal, resolutions passed by the self-same Congress, both before as well as after the one adopting Hindusthani as the *Rashtrabhasa*, do not count. The recommendation of the Nehru Report to that effect, penned by Pandit Motilal Nehru, is thrown to the winds by the son Jawaharlal Nehru. The Premier of India pleads that

"The present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa."—(See his Reply to the New Bengal Association in March 1948).

And he goes on reiterating it whenever an opportunity occurs. (See his speech at Octacamund on the 2nd June, 1948). One almost hears the Morleyan ring of "time is not yet ripe" for self-government, that one was used to hear when the Liberal John Morley was the Secretary of State for India. And Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly as well as of the Indian National Congress, criticises the *Hindi Prachar Samity* (Society for the Propagation of Hindi) of Bihar for not attempting to Hindi-fy vigorously the Bengali-speaking areas of Dhalbhum (which contains the iron and steel manufacturing centre of Jamshedpur) and Manbhum (which contains the richest coal-bearing area in India).

So much for consistency or adherence to principles often formulated by themselves, of the big guns of the Congress, in whose hands the destiny of India has been placed accidentally.

In the Draft Constitution of the Union of India, English has been put as the alternative State language to Hindi. [See Article 99(1)]. So apparently the stigma that it is the Conqueror's language no longer attaches to it. For maintaining world contacts and international relations we must learn English. Pakistan is adopting English and Urdu as the State languages. For speaking to Pakistan, we must either learn English or learn Urdu. It is easier and better to learn English. French and English have been the official languages of the League of Nations. The same is the case with the United Nations. Its publications are in English and French. In Europe French is the traditional language of diplomacy and English that of commerce.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th edition, says:

"Greek, Latin and Arabic have had at various times the status of international languages. French occupied a similar position, particularly in the 18th and early 19th centuries, in diplomacy, social life and literature; it is still the usual international language of Europe and the Levant. English, however, has come to share the prestige of French in diplomacy, while in the Orient the normal international language is English."

The Japanese understand it, study it and publish researches in it. The Japanese Journal of Botany, for example, is in English with brief resumes in Japanese. This was long before the war. The same is the case with China; and many of the official publications of Siam are in English. The Filipinos are almost all English-knowing. Burma and Ceylon and Malaya understand English, but do not understand Hindi.

English has become the most important of the

world languages. Dr. Otto Jespersen, himself a Dane, in his *Growth of the English Language* says:

"Nowadays, no one would overlook English in making even the shortest possible list of the chief languages, because in political, social and literary importance it is *second to none* (italics ours) and because it is the mother tongue of a greater number of human beings than any of its competitors." (P. 232).

No other European language has spread over such vast regions during the last few centuries, as shown by the following figures, which represent the number of millions of people speaking each of the languages enumerated. Where the authorities disagree the lowest figures are given and in the parenthesis the highest figures.

Year	English	German	Russian
1500	4(5)	10	3
1600	6	10	3
1700	8½	10	3(15)
1800	20(40)	30(33)	25(31)
1900	116(123)	75(80)	70(85)
1926	170	80	80

Year	French	Spanish	Italian
1500	10(12)	8½	9½
1600	14	8½	9½
1700	20	8½	9½(11)
1800	27(31)	26	14(15)
1900	45(52)	44(58)	34(54)
1926	45	65	41

Increase during 4½ centuries: English 42½ or 34 times; German 8 times; Russian 27 times; French 4½ or 3½ times; Spanish 7 2/3 times; Italian 9 times.

Whatever stigma there might have been attached to English in our eyes as being the language of our conquerors or subjugators is now wanting because the Englishmen have gracefully retired leaving us independent and because so many more Americans speak it than Englishmen that it has virtually ceased to be English and become American. For every Englishman three Americans speak it. H. L. Mencken in *The American Language* says:

"First, let us list those to whom English is their mother tongue. They run to about 112,000,000 in the continental United States, to 42,000,000 in the United Kingdom, to 6,000,000 in Canada, 6,000,000 in Australia, 3,000,000 in Ireland, 2,000,000 in South Africa, and probably 3,000,000 in the remaining British colonies and in the possessions of the United States. All these figures are very conservative, but they foot up to 174,000,000. Now add the people, who, though born to some other language, live in English-speaking communities and speak English themselves in their daily business, and whose children are being brought up to it—say 13,000,000 for the United States, 1,000,000 for Canada, 1,000,000 for the United Kingdom and Ireland, and 1,000,000 for the rest of the world—and you have a grand total of 191,000,000."

Mencken gives the figures for Spanish as 100, for Russian as 80, and for German as 85 millions, and adds:

"Thus English is far ahead of any competitor. Moreover, it promises to increase its lead here-

after, for no other language is spreading so fast or into such remote areas.... Altogether, it is probable that English is now spoken as a second language by at least 200,000,000 persons throughout the world."

The *World Almanack and Book of Facts* (1946 edition) puts the number of English-speaking people at 270 millions; and the further number of those who use English speech in barter, trade, exchange or other manner of communications at 47 millions.

The large number of speakers and its rapid spread are not the only advantages of English. Its vocabulary is copious, richer and more varied than that of any other European language. In Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* 550,000 words have found place. In the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* edited by Sir James A. H. Murray 4,12,825 words (including about 52,000 obsolete forms) have found place. In the *Dictionnaire de L'Academie Française* published by the celebrated French Academy in 1932-35, we find about 3,00,000 words. In another French Dictionary—*La Roussse du XXme Siecle* published in 1928-1933, 2,36,000 words have been listed and defined. In the latest edition of the German dictionary—*Deutsche Worterbuch* not more than 2,50,000 words have found place.

No other language is more suitable or more suited to our purpose for maintaining world contact. In 1931, the number of Literates in English was 31,22,491 males and 3,67,160 females. For a population of 338 millions this may seem small. The smallness is mainly due to our general illiteracy. The progress and proportion of literacy and literacy in English at the different censuses are shown below:

	Proportion per mille			
	1901*		1911†	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Literates	98	7	140	13
Literates in English	6.8	0.7	10.9	1.2

	1921†		1931†	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Literates	161	23	174	31
Literates in English	16.0	1.8	21.2	2.8

It will be evident that while literacy has increased by 25 per cent during 1911-31, or by 76 per cent during 1901-31, literacy in English has increased by more than 94 per cent during 1911-1931 or by 312 per cent during the thirty years 1901-1931. The progress of English is four times faster, thus showing that given sufficient opportunity all the races of India can acquire English rather easily.

We must learn English for international purposes and for maintaining world contact. It is the open sesame to modern science and modern technical processes. Besides

*Figures are for all ages.

†Figures for Literates are for ages over 10; those for Literates in English are for ages over 5.

opening to us the vast wealth of one of the grandest literature with richest poetry, it is the key to English law. For layman's information we say that two systems of law—the Roman and the English—govern the modern world. We, in India, have so long been governed by English law; and why should we discard it in favour of the Roman law and break our link with the immediate past?

If we are to learn English for world contact, why can't we use it for maintaining inter-provincial contacts? As a matter of history and actual reality, we are maintaining inter-provincial contact through English. Why the same process cannot be continued in future and if necessary, more effectively?

It has been urged that while we must learn English for international purposes, the number of men required for such purposes is very much smaller than that required for inter-provincial contacts. Why then waste our energies for learning English on a wider scale for inter-provincial purposes? English is much more difficult to acquire than an Indian language. Hindi can be learnt more easily. Taking Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi together, which are regarded by linguists like Dr. Sir George Grierson to be two distinct languages, it is spoken by about 30 per cent of India's population. It is easily understood by probably a further 15 to 20 per cent. This is the main reason for choosing Hindi as the *Rashtrabhāṣa*, the other being our pride.

But in choosing the *Rashtrabhāṣa* the criterion should be not whether it is easily understood by a large percentage of people in the form of *bazar-chaloo* or market-place Hindi; but whether it is rich in vocabulary with a developed literature and capable of expressing nice shades or differences in meaning. It is admitted that Hindi literature is not as developed as Marathi or Bengali. Not to speak of Rabindranath Tagore, Hindi has not produced either Bankim Chandra Chatterjee or Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. None of its living authors can come within a mile of Tarasankar Banerjee. Its vocabulary is not as rich as that of Bengali. The *Nagri Pracharini Sabha* of Benares has published a seven-volume dictionary of Hindi of over 4,000 pages, entitled *Hindi Sabda Sagar* or Ocean of Hindi Words. In it 1,02,575 words have found place. But in the two-volume Bengali Dictionary compiled single-handed by the late Jnanendra Mohan Das more than 1,15,000 words (after excluding many Sanskrit words as not being strictly speaking Bengali) have found place. Judged by these standards Hindi lacks the qualities of being the *Rashtrabhāṣa*.

In a democratic country the State language should be either equally advantageous or equally disadvantageous to all. Both English and Sanskrit fulfil this condition admirably. Why not make Sanskrit our State language, as suggested by H. E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju. Its vocabulary is richer, its grammar the most scientific; besides it is the language of our common culture and religion. Pakistan has solved its language problem by making Urdu the State language. It is not

native to any of its five provinces—although a considerable portion of its vocabulary is derived from Punjabi. Prof. Wahiduddin Saheb of Hyderabad (Deccan) has given the number of words in the Urdu language with their origin as follows:

Hindi (Punjabi and Purabi)	21,661
Words belonging to other languages but which are considered as belonging to Hindi	17,505
Arabic	7,584
Persian	6,061
English	500
Sanskrit	554
Other languages	181
Total	54,029

A similar classification and almost the same number of words are given in another Urdu dictionary, *Farhang-Aasia* by Syed Ahmed Dehlavi. The principle adopted by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah seems to be of equal disadvantage to all.

The absence of a common language or a *lingua franca* in Europe was keenly felt during the middle of the last century. It was proposed to make Norwegian the common language, as it is spoken by a few lakhs only, in fact, the smallest number speaking a well-developed language. But the proposal was rejected as it would give the Norwegians an undue advantage, especially in the matter of carrying trade. So several artificial languages, like Volapuk (1870), Esperanto (1887), Universia (1893), Novilatin (1895), Ido or Esperanto Reformed (1907) were created for the purpose. None excepting Esperanto had any success in any large measure.

If Hindi is made the State language, it would give those, whose mother-tongue is Hindi an undue advantage over the non-Hindi-speaking peoples. One cannot address an all-India Congress meeting in any language other than Hindi, without meeting with cries of *Hindi me bolo* or speak in Hindi. Although the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has not adopted any formal resolution about language, a speaker in non-Hindi meets the same difficulties. The adoption of Hindi as the *Rashtrabhāṣa* by the Congress has added to the insolence of Hindi-speaking people. At the Kakinarah railway waiting-shed, the writer asked a Behari gentleman to move off a little to make room for him several times; but he turned a deaf ear. On exclaiming whether he is deaf, he replied, "You should have addressed me in *Rashtrabhāṣa*." The man who has come to Bengal for earning his bread, and knows the language, refuses to speak it, because his mother-tongue, Hindi, is the *Rashtrabhāṣa*.

We fail to understand why our sons should be put to the trouble of learning Hindi, while Dr. Rajendra Prasad's son is busy perfecting his English. A Bengali Ambassador to the U.S.A. shall have to address them in English; and write out his despatches or instructions in Hindi for the benefit of Pandit Nehru. Are

the Hindi-speaking people more patriotic than the non-Hindi-speaking ones? For equalising the accidental advantage they are gaining, let the Hindi-speaking people pay, say 10 per cent, more taxes by way of surcharge, which sum is to be spent among the non-Hindi-speaking peoples for their benefit. Otherwise it would be sheer coercion on the part of the

Congress Hindi-ites to force down Hindi upon the non-Hindi-speaking people, specially those who speak Dravidian languages.*

* Although the opinion are not necessarily on all fours with that of this paper, I believe there are points which the writer has made, that deserve consideration of those on whom the question of adopting the vernacular of one language group as Rashtra-K.

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I PEEPED INTO NEW ENGLAND

By B. SAIKIA

It was a fine morning. The mild winter sun was reflected back from every angle of the snow-covered Columbia campus. It just occurred to me why not spend a few days way out in New England. It would be an escape from the noise of the ever-humming metropolis. I decided to start for New England. My pilgrimage, yes it was a pilgrimage, started at a point where I boarded the streamlined Yankee in the Grand Central station. The moment I went inside the great railroad terminus the awe-inspiring glamour of the New York sky-scrapers was no longer visible. I went underground and continued my journey for quite a few minutes when the famous skyline of the great metropolis again came into my view just to recede away within the next few minutes. The Yankee blazed its way through fields of white shining snow under a bright and mild winter sun. My destination was Boston, the very center of New England.

New England is the collective name given to the six eastern states of the United States of America, e.g. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut comprising an area of 66,000 square miles with about seven million people. It is quite a small place compared to the whole of the United States which is double the size of India and Pakistan taken together. Yet it is the most famous spot in the whole of the country. It is the center of American culture. Here was planted a new nation which grew to its present towering size within a period of two hundred years. It can well be said it is the very heart of the U. S. If anyone should ask "where is New England" the answer might well be "in the bodies and minds of men everywhere in the nation."

It might look a long distance off from New York to New England. No, it is not. New England just borders New York State. Yet I covered this distance by various means of travel by car, by railroad, on bicycles, by plane and on foot. Except for the pleasure of hiking I could as well avoid the last means of conveyance in this and of automobiles. Anyway I did it. The straight line distance I covered was hardly a couple of hundred miles.

The moment I saw the skyline of Boston there came flying to my mind things like the famous Boston Tea Party, the Apples and the Bostonian Brahmins with their Bostonian state of mind. Even

three hundred years back in this area there were nothing but a few settlements, if I may say so, of the real aboriginal Americans who are named after the people of my own country. Here is a people stirring with life, full of vigor, enthusiasm and always in a hurry to do something. That is their national characteristic. Boston is the center of the flowering of New England. It was here in this area the Pilgrim Fathers—one hundred and two of them who broke away from the Church of England and came to America in search of religious freedom—first settled and helped raising the present American civilization. Here in Boston is the oldest American university, Harvard, the very first and the most reputed in the country. Even today Harvard towers the rest of the educational institutions of the country. Boston with its suburb of Cambridge, separated from the main city by the winding Charles river has the famous M. I. T.—the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the very last word in American technical institutions. It is the pilgrimage of technically minded people all over the world. Bostonians are very proud of their public library which is one of the finest in the whole of America. Boston has a fine museum too with a notable collection of art. The Indian collection in the Boston museum is said to be the best. The credit for this superb collection goes to the late Indic scholar Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. It was in this museum for a while that I felt quite at home amidst the really representative Naga and other Assamese collections. Another piece of collection for which the Bostonians are really very proud is the Blaschka glass models in the Botanical Museum of the Harvard university. The models, called the Ware Collections, represent the artistic and scientific effort of two men, Leopold and Rudolph Blaschka, father and son. They are so natural that even after somebody tells you that they are really glass models and not live specimens you are still left with all the doubt in your mind as to the authenticity of the statement. It appears as though the whole section of the Harvard Museum has been planted with live fruits and flowers. The city itself is typically American. Being a comparatively old city it is a little bit dirtier. People are predominantly of Irish origin. But what's of that. The "Yankee land" is no more "Yankeeland." Besides the Irish, you will see the French, Canadians, Germans, Italians and possibly a

score of other nationalities all being fused in that great "melting pot" of New England. All these immigrants have made themselves good citizens of the country. Their children go to American public schools and speak the American language. This is the characteristic of the country as a whole. After all who are these Americans? Is not this country an offshoot of Europe? But the clime and soil of the country is such that it turns out good and loyal citizens. Bostonians, whatever their parental linkage might be, are very proud of their ancestry. Possibly, given a chance, every one of them would take the task of tracing their ancestry back to the Mayflower pilgrims. Bostonians in general are quite witty. It was in one of Boston's big hotels that over a drink of beer I had to take help of my poor algebra in answering an witty waiter over the bar as to the age of Marry when she was just double the age of Ann. Of course, the present age of Marry was supplied to me as a piece of helpful data. About Boston I shall ever remember the drive I had to take in an airline limousine through the dark and dirty half tunnelway and half slumway to the air port. It reminded me of a similar drive I had to take once through Chandni-chowk and the rest of my way to the Willingdon air port in Delhi.

I spent quite a while in Connecticut. Those days I was studying at Yale. Yale is also a very old and reputed university, possibly only next to Harvard. The university is in the city of New Haven, facing the Long Island Sound, an inlet of the Atlantic. Beyond the sound, the island can be seen at a distance almost at the horizon. It is a hilly town and has a number of lovely spots worthwhile going on a Sunday hike. From some of the hill-tops, the city looks very beautiful. The university gymnasium and the Harkness Hall along with the engineering building tower all the rest of the city structures. Yale has a very good reputation throughout the country. As quoted by Gunther "they teach better in Yale, but Harvard is more cosmopolitan and it spreads a richer feast." The President of Yale, Charles Seymour, is a distinguished historian. In the faculty of both universities are distinguished and seasoned professors. The Yale University Press is one of the most discerning in the country. Yale has got one of the finest and biggest university libraries along with a nice museum of natural history, the Peabody Museum. In size, according to the number of students, Harvard is bigger than Yale but Yale boasts of having more teachers in comparison to Harvard. In Yale you cannot escape the individual attention of the teachers who are very kindly and helpful. This is not possible in mighty institutions like Columbia University. Of course, these great universities do not belong to New England alone. They are national universities. Their influence is nationwide. It is through the influence of these great institutions that New England is intellectually the most influencing area. Besides these, there are

several other famous institutions. The Wellesley College for girls is only a few miles from Boston. Besides M. I. T., Harvard, Yale and others New England can well be proud of her industrial research laboratories. The one I visited is that of the American Cyanamid Company at Stamford, Connecticut, only an hour's ride from New York. Here is an industrial laboratory of the present-day—a combination of a large group of research and development laboratories of various types which controls the operation of various projects under the America Cyanamid Company all over the country. Besides these, there are factories and manufacturing concerns of various sizes and types in New England, generally surrounding Hartford, Connecticut, midway between Boston and New York City. Hartford, the state capital of Connecticut, is one of the leading manufacturing, railway, insurance and distributing centers of the Atlantic coast. Hartford is noted for its fine residential districts, extensive parks and notable buildings including the two and a half million dollar state capitol. Other industrial concerns to begin with the Singer Sewing Machine Company goes all the way to the giant E. I. du Pont whose Nylon is a magic word in fabric production.

The ever-vexing problem of color bar which is a big blot in the bright face of America is not so prominent in New England. Of course, the Negro lives as a secluded community everywhere. But in these New England states I did not see any particularly marked theatres or toilet for colored people. Neither buses nor other conveyances have any reserved hind seats for the Negroes. But the fact is there. The colored people are a colored people. The privileged classes enjoy food catered by the colored people and music and other entertainments by them are alright but simply they are kept at a distance which guarantees freedom from pollution by touch. I remember on one occasion I was asked by a friend of mine to go to one of their churches in Springfield in Massachusetts. It was a Negro church although there were a few white men. I liked the way I was welcome there, possibly they are a very kindly and hospitable people. Generally, the standard of living of these people in the New England area is much better than that of their kinsmen down in the south or in the densest concentration of the Negroes in Harlem in the city of New York. Harlem gives you the impression of a 'Bhang' colony, compared to the other surrounding places like the Morningside Heights on one side encompassing the Columbia University and the fashionable Fifth Avenue area on the other. In Springfield you could not say that you are entering the localities of a less fortunate people. As they say, whoever could move started moving north to escape the discriminating tyranny by their fellow citizens. This is to the credit of the New England people. I think every one of the enlightened New England people felt relieved if not rejoiced over the

death of the late defender of colour bar, Senator Bilbo.

The last of the New England cities I visited was Providence. It is the capital and largest city of Rhode Island, situated on the head of the Providence river, 44 miles southwest of Boston. Providence is noted for its jewellery and silverware. It was when I came to

Providence that I suddenly discovered that my classes were to start from the next morning. I had to hurry up and took the next available plane back to New York—to the midst of the ever-humming Columbia Campus. I came back to my *alma mater*.

Columbia University, N. Y. C.

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SRI-RANGAM

By SWAMI RITAJANANDA

TRAVELLING along the Madras-Dhanushkoti line in South India, we reach the important station of Trichinopoly. The rock temple visible from a great distance stands with a majestic grace, inviting the tourists for an easy climb to its top from where the lovely view of the surrounding country may be enjoyed. With no high hills in the neighbourhood, we can see the vast plains slowly merging into the blue hills near the horizon. The stretch of the green rice-fields and plantain-groves are broken only by the rugged sides of the few boulders scattered here and there. On one side we see the silvery waters of the river Kaveri flowing close by with a picturesque island in its bosom and there the cluster of *gopurams* or towers shooting up to the skies amidst the tall palm trees arrest our attention. We soon learn that it is the famous Sri Rangam, which has rightly earned the name of *Bhu-vaikuntham*—the abode of Vishnu on earth—for its grand natural setting combined with architectural magnificence. Rarely do we come across a pilgrim in the South, who has not heard about this holy place and its presiding deity Sri Ranganatha. Being associated with the lives of many Vaishnava saints from ancient times it has become a place of pilgrimage for all devotees of Vishnu. Of the three important shrines dedicated to Vishnu in South India this place has been mentioned as the 'Kovil' or temple. (The other two shrines are at Conjeevaram and Thirupathi). This has been the apostolic seat of Vaishnavism, even earlier than the period of the famous Ramanujacharya.

The exact date of the foundation of the temple cannot be ascertained easily, since tradition takes it as far back as to the times of the Ramayana. It is said that Sri Rama, after his coronation, distributed presents to all his friends and followers. The devoted Vibhishana, king of Lanka, also had his share. The gift he got was the precious family-deity of the Ikshwakus, worshipped by them from time immemorial. This is mentioned as the *Kuladhana* in the Valmiki Ramayana* and is identified as the deity Ranganatha. With this sacred gift in his hand Vibhi-

shana started for his distant capital in Lanka. While he was passing through South India he came to Sri Rangam. There, seeing a beautiful tank called Chandra Pushkarini—now shown in the temple enclosure—he desired to have a bath. He placed the treasure in his hand on the ground and finished his ablutions. When he tried to lift it after his bath, he found to his great surprise it was immovable. Sorely grieved at this sudden mishap, he began to cry bitterly for his carelessness. The Lord, taking pity on him, appeared and said that He desired to stay there Himself in that enchanting atmosphere, where there were many devotees. But Vibhishana was not consoled and so in order to please him, He agreed to face the direction of the South, the direction in which lay the kingdom of Lanka and assured him His grace, even if he worshipped Him at Sri-Rangam only once a year. In the innermost shrine we can see an image of Vibhishana and one night every year all articles for worship are kept inside and the doors are closed. It is believed that Vibhishana, one of the Chiranjeevis (immortals) actually performs the worship on that particular night. Another tradition about the establishment of the Lord here, with a touch of humour, is that Vibhishana gave the precious gift to a boy to hold it till he finished his bath. But the mischievous fellow placed it on the ground from where it could not be lifted. Annoyed at the naughty trick, Vibhishana began to chase the boy. The chase went on for a long time and at last the boy got up on the Trichinopoly rock and disappeared behind the Ganesha image. This provoked Vibhishana all the more but he could do nothing else than to express his anger on the Ganesha image; and even to this day we can see his finger-prints on the head of the stone image.

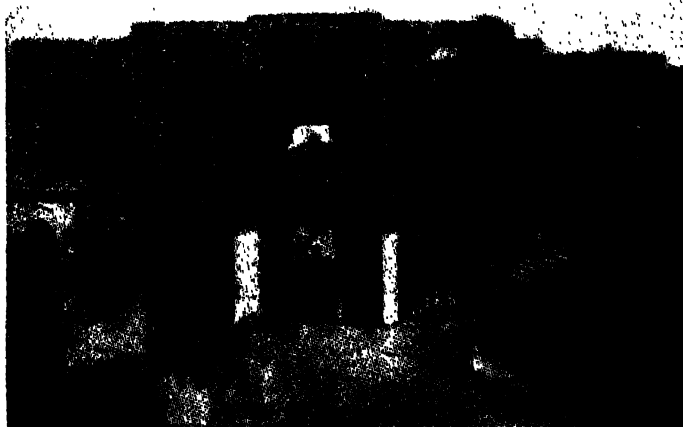
The main temple is undoubtedly of a very ancient period judging by its simple structure. The first temple might have been of wood before the use of stone for buildings. The ancient records say that Dharma Varma of the Chola dynasty constructed the first *prakara* or enclosure. Historically it is difficult to ascertain who he was and what was his period. The second is ascribed to Mahendra Varman of the seventh century A.D. and the third one to Thirumangai Alwar, who, though born of a low caste has

* कुरुवा कुलधनं राजा लंकां प्रयातिमीषणः

been raised to the status of a saint for his devotion. Various Hoysala, Pandya and Vijayanagara kings were responsible for the other *prakaras*, *gopurams*, and *mandapams* or halls. Particular mention must be made of Jitavarma Sundara Pandya, who spent very lavishly for the improvement of the temple. He

four sides with gates in the middle leading to the temple. In between the outer enclosures we find a busy town, where people carry on their normal walks of life and a brisk trade goes on with various curios of the country. There are seven *prakaras* to the temple and the number of *Gopurams* are twenty.

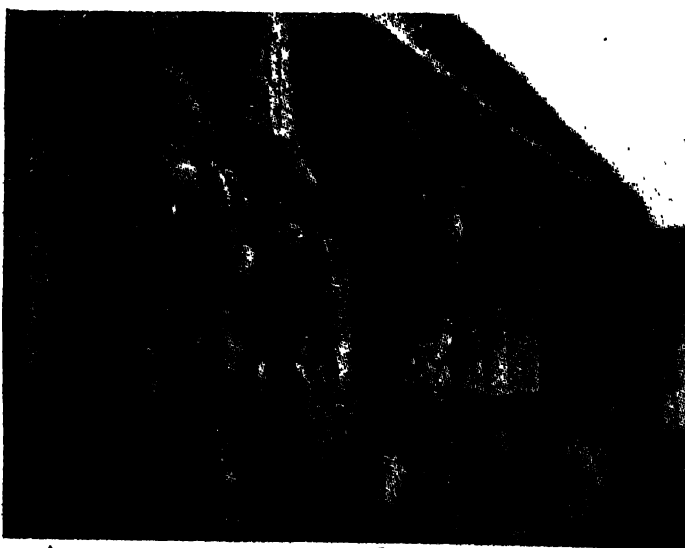
They are all of various shapes and the beautiful workmanship on these and the *mandapams* have won the admiration of many eastern and western architects alike. It is difficult to come across a second temple with such a masterpiece of architecture. It is really a great marvel, how the ancient builders could plan such huge columns of masonry without any of the modern conveniences and materials and at the same time take sufficient precautions against the ravages of nature. These monuments are representative of the high level of our ancient culture and we begin to wonder at the perfection of their arts and sciences. The first *Gopuram* the visitor sees on entering is an unfinished one and is generally known as the Rayar *Gopuram*. Achutaraaya of Vijayanagara dynasty is said to have begun the work during his stay



Rayar Gopuram or the first entrance to Sri-Rangam

celebrated his victories over his enemies by offering his weight in gold and this was done in the special halls, which have later earned the names of 'Tulabara mandapams.' Many parts of the inner shrine, walls and flag-staff were covered with sheets of gold. A large variety of jewels, gems and diamonds were presented to the deity. But shortly after this, there was Malik Kafur's invasion over the South and the temple shared the same fate with other shrines. Many of its structures were damaged and precious things were looted and had it not been for the timely removal of the important treasures and the chief deity 'Alagai Manavalan' the loss would have been very heavy. The Vijayanagara kings who began to rule the country later on renovated those structures

as far as possible and did many substantial improvements. It being a very ancient temple, the pious kings could not do much to the main temple and consequently many enclosures began to grow with huge towers at the four entrances. Gradually the area of



Seshagiri Rayar Mandapam with carved pillars

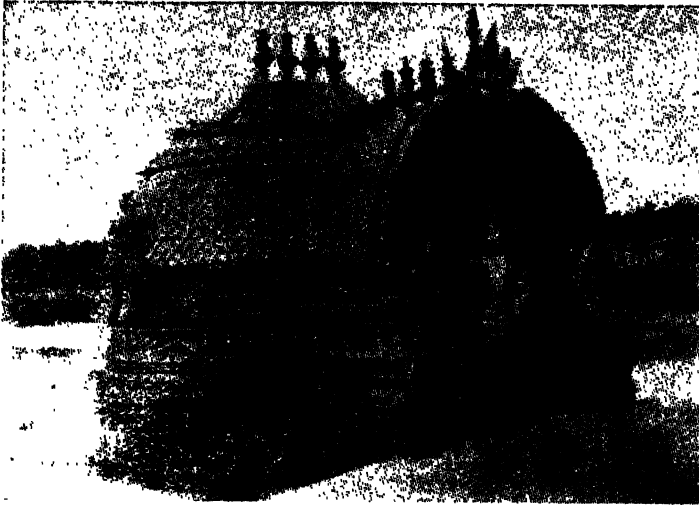
at Sri Rangam but he could not complete the work, and it is left in that condition. His aim must have been to build the most magnificent *Gopuram* in the whole of South India. It has a base of 130 ft. by 100 ft. and comparing the existing structure with the other ones,

Gopurams are of different sizes and of different designs. Of these the Vellai Gopuram is the tallest one reaching a height of 164 ft. and stands as a fine specimen of workmanship. The rules of the Silpa Sastras have been closely followed and this huge pyramid maintains a uniform proportion in its sections up to the

chief deity Sri Ranganatha is kept. Here what a contrast we find ! There are no highly decorated walls or pillars to greet our eyes, but a very small shrine as we see in any village. Its roof or *vimana* is also a small one very insignificant in stature compared to the tall Gopurams around. Although it was the custom later

on to have the biggest tower over the main shrine, as we see in the Tanjore temple, this ancient shrine has its *Vimana* as it was thousands of years ago. But it has a special shape with a projection on one side and the whole is covered with elaborately carved gilded metal as can be seen in the picture. In the projection we find an image of a deity who is known by the name of 'Paravasudeva.' Tracing the origin of the temple, it is said that Sri Narayana came down to the earth on a *Vimana* in the shape of *Pranavakhara* in order to teach Brahma the mysteries of that sacred syllable. Later on His image and the *Vimana* became the property of the *Ikshvakus* and was afterwards handed over by Rama to *Vibhishana*.

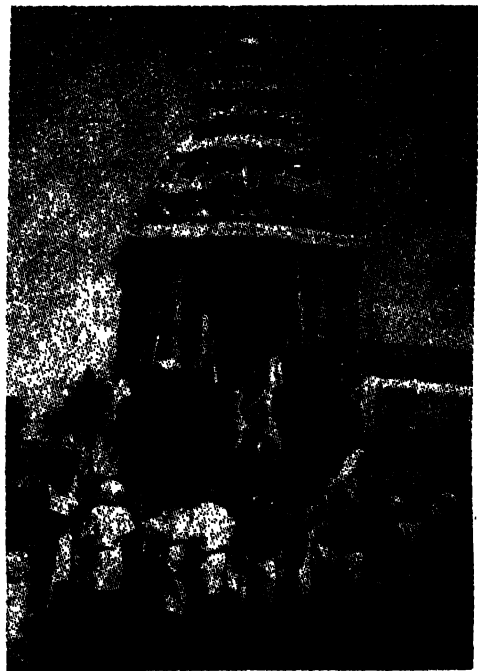
All the gigantic structures outside and the tastefully decorated halls



The Golden *Vimana* of the main temple

top. The elaborate decoration on it fills us with admiration and we try to understand why there should be so much of minute workmanship and such wealth of decorative borders and what is the need of fine tracery work in stucco in a huge structure like this. Perhaps the architects could never delight in plain surfaces even in tall buildings and the pyramids of Egypt might have never appealed to their tastes. Even on the modest estimate of the engineers the whole Gopuram will weigh about 25,000 tons and really it is a great marvel, how its foundation was laid in this island with the river-bed close by and no rocks in the vicinity. The temple proper is only in the fourth enclosure beyond which there are no dwelling houses but only a number of shrines dedicated to various gods, like Sri Rama, Parthasarathi, Vasudeva and also the Alwar saints and Acharyas. Sri Ramanujacharya, who has been responsible for the spread of Vaishnavism is installed in a temple and people say that his image is made up of the *garua* clothes used by him. Here and there we come across a *mandapam* or hall which is the place where the *Utsava* *Vigraha* of the Lord is kept and numerous devotees gather. One of these is the famous *Seshagiri Rayar* *Mandapam* where the pillars are covered with sculptured horsemen and lions. All the stone pillars have elaborate carvings and if it was not for this there would have pillars supporting the heavy

of architecture, we
temples, where the



Thai car. Car festival at Sri-Rangam

have prepared us to be introspective and we soon realise the fact that we are not walking through a museum of sculptured monuments, but a holy

temple. The mind slowly leaves the externals and becomes contemplative, seeking that Beauty from which all Art springs. The 'holy of holies' is a very small room, where a dim light burns to illumine the dark interior. Perfect calmness prevails all around and the devotee is left to himself. The glimpse of the reclining Ranganatha, which he gets by the burning of camphor by the priest, gives the final lift to the realm of the divine. The association of the temple with the Alvar saints, who intensely felt the living presence of the Lord, rushes along through his mind. This is the place, where the untouchable Thirupana, won the grace of the Lord and was carried into the shrine by the Brahmin priest and it is here where the beautiful Goda, who chose the heavenly bride-groom got herself merged in the image. The repentant Vipranarayana was also redeemed by the saving grace of the Lord at this place. Numerous accounts are there about the devotees, who experienced the Lord's presence in this holy shrine. Their out-pourings of devotion have found expression in their grand compositions and they occupy a very high position in Tamil devotional literature. No wonder that the Vaishnava Acharyas

gave these pieces a place along with the Vedas and the recital of these songs in the temple forms part of the regular worship in all Vishnu temples of the Tamil country.

A stay at Sri-Rangam will make us feel that there is a round of festivals going on throughout the year. *Ekadasi* are the special days and the *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* that comes in the second half of December attracts a huge crowd from distant places. On this day a special gate of the temple is opened. People who follow the image of Sri Ranganatha through the gate believe that they will go to Vaikuntha. The narrow gate and the huge rush of people trying to pass through that gate makes us realise how deep-rooted is their desire for salvation. On special occasions the Utsava Moorti of the Lord is taken out bedecked with all its jewels, with all the pomp and pageantry of ancient kings. These festivals help the devotees who are unable to visit him in the shrine; and it represents the eagerness of the Lord to save His devotees. The town spread round the temple typically represents that the life of the community has its centre in religion, which has been the ideal of the Hindus for ages.

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LONDON CRAFTSMEN

The Plaster-worker

By JEANNE HEAL

IN little odd workshops scattered throughout London is an army of skilled men, men whose hands and eyes have been trained through many years; until now their skill is unequalled. These are the craftsmen of London, the men with delicate sensitiveness of touch and sight, cherished and fostered by training and tradition.

A visitor to London's artists' quarter may come across a little cobbled courtyard, between houses that sheltered ostlers of great families long ago, with a steep iron staircase, in the far corner. At the top of this staircase is the studio of the man who is probably the best plaster-worker in England.

Many famous figures have climbed these stairs before. The Duke of Connaught laboured up them when a very old man, protesting that he was more used to "companion ways"; and more recently Lord Halifax has made many visits.

In the time of King Stephen, in the early twelfth century, these studios were a Manor House. Then law courts were built next door, and the judge and sheriffs used a secret passage under the building. Later, the house was turned into stables and coach houses. It is still possible to see where the loose boxes and hay lofts were, and where the coachman and groom lived before the artist converted it to its present use. The old skylights give an excellent light for working, and the long rows of casement windows admit plenty of the necessary north light into the rooms.

Though it is for his plaster-work that this artist is most famed, he also models in clay, sculps in stone, and carves in wood.

The walls, and even parts of the ceiling are hung with sketch models and works in preparation. In the



Mr. Burton, a master in the art of handling plaster, clay, stone and wood

main studio, a man is chipping a final finish on a stone statue for Ripon Cathedral, and he explains that a clay model was first sent to the Cathedral to see how it would look in the niche. Certain alterations were made, and then an exact copy was fashioned in stone with the aid of an instrument rather like a great pair of compasses, which marks not only exact surface reproductions, but depths as well. Finally, this figure will be painted and gilded.



Mr. Burton comparing a stone heraldic emblem with the original sketch

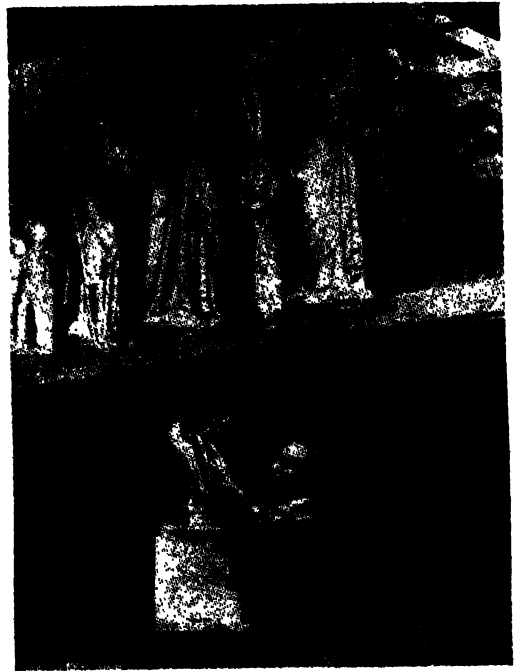
The sculptor picks up samples of stone, explaining that English stone is among the most varied and famous in the world. Here is a specimen of Rutland—it is very hard; and Portland stone, which weathers so well, and, being very acid-resistant, is ideal for city work. Somerset "doulting" stone is ochre, and goes silvery grey outside; and here is Hopton Wood, from Derbyshire, in whose quarries a great variety of different coloured stone is to be found.

But plaster is the artist's favourite medium. There is a panel now hanging on the wall depicting a beautiful fully-rigged ship sailing along on conventional waves with silly little fishes flipping up for air around it. On another wall there is a plaque of a wild boar, accurate in every detail, which somehow manages to convey a reminder that, for an inexplicable reason, all members of the pig family look faintly ridiculous.

The artist probes back into his experience and reminiscences about his work. There were the sketch models sent out to serve as guides for the builders of State Buildings in Delhi—and a fine job they made of

it. There was an old window at Winchelsea, blocked up to form a strong point at the rebellious time of the Reformation, which the sculptor restored; the memorial to Octavia Hill, Britain's first woman housing expert; and a tombstone high up in the Welsh mountains.

Lovely Wells Cathedral contains work by this sculptor, and he has designed a wooden stool for Quebec Cathedral, as well as wooden candlesticks,



Mr. Burton finishing off the model of an eagle

gilded and burnished solid, for the royal parish church of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London.

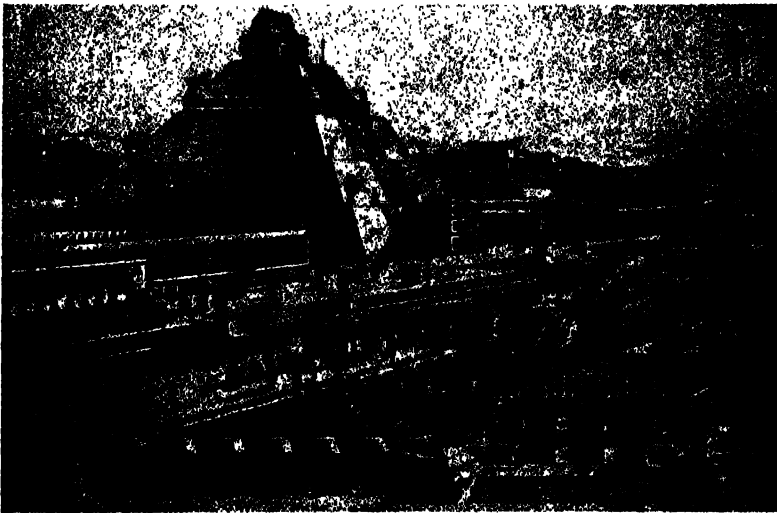
There are so many lovely things to examine and admire: an organ case designed in squares, with a figure connected with the church carved in each panel; a chandelier in bronze and carved wood; a photograph of a plaster ceiling modelled on the spot; and designs for plaster-work in the dining room of a country house famed for its shooting, in which the four seasons are depicted by appropriate animals.

As the visitor picks his way across the light, dusty room, the artist brings him back to the world of today with two observations. The first is almost a miracle, for he points out where the south wall of his studio was scorched red-hot by a fire which somehow was prevented from burning his highly inflammable workshops. The other is a very old wooden chest of drawers which he found lying in the street one day outside some bombed buildings. No one claimed it, and it was about to be burnt on a huge bonfire, when he recognised under a layer of filth a really fine old piece, and undertook to restore and preserve it "for the duration."

THE INCAS OF PERU

By CHAMAN LAL

In this article it is my intention to give a brief sketch of the great Inca civilisation of South America by means of a series of quotations from the best authorities, especially Garcilaso de la Vega (who recorded first-hand the story of the Incas in the sixteenth century), Hyatt Verrill, author of *Old Civilisations of the New World*, Mrs. Nuttall, the most energetic American woman-scholar and some Peruvian witnesses of Inca glories.



The great temple in Mexico
(Photo from a reconstruction of a model by Maudslayi)

MESSENGER OF CULTURE

"The best authorities agree that the inhabitants of the country, now known as Peru, lived in barbarism until civilisation was introduced amongst them by the Incas. One tradition designates an island in the Titicaca lake, another Tiahuanaco, as the place where, 'after the deluge,' a man or deity appeared, divided the land into four parts and distributed these to four brothers.

"Four being the sacred number of the Hindus was strictly adhered to by the Hindu emigrants to foreign countries, and we find the 'order of four' in Greece, Egypt, Syria, Indonesia and America. The centre of the Inca capital, Cuzco (Kush-ko) consisted of a great square whence four roads radiated to the cardinal points. In the centre of this stood a gold vase from which a fountain flowed. The Spaniards also found in Cuzco a large, beautifully-polished stone-cross (Swastika) which evidently symbolized, as in Mexico, the four quarters and must have been appropriately placed in the square. Garcilaso de la Vega states that the capital formed an actual image of the whole empire, 'for it was divided into four

quarters' and an extremely ancient law rendered it obligatory that representatives of each province and of each class of population should reside there in homes, the location of which precisely corresponded to the geographical position of their respective provinces. Each lineage was thus represented and occupied separate dwellings, assigned to them by the governors of the quarters. All persons were obliged to adhere to the customs of their forefathers and also

wear the costumes of their ayllus or tribes (Cieza de Leon, *Cronica*, Chap. XCIII). For the Incas had decreed that the dresses worn by the members of each tribe should be different, so that the people might be distinguished from each other as, down to that time, there had been no means of 'knowing to what locality or tribe an Indian belonged.' In order to avoid confusion, the modes of wearing the hair were rigidly prescribed, and the bands worn on the head by the vassals had to be black or of a single color only. The higher in rank a person the more his costume resembled that of the Inca, without, however, approaching it in length and richness. 'Thus,

even in an assemblage of 100,000 persons it was easy to recognise individuals of each tribe and of each rank by the signs they wore on their heads.'

"It was obligatory that each should permanently live in the province he belonged to. Each province, each tribe and in many parts each village, had its own language which was different from that of its neighbours. Those who understood each other by speaking the same language considered themselves as related to each other and were friends and confederates....."—(Mrs. Nuttall).

INCAS' PRIVATE LANGUAGE

The Incas employed a private language of their own,* which none but members of the royal lineage presumed or dared to learn.

Garcilaso de la Vega, who claimed royal descent, stated that unfortunately no records remained to enable one to form an idea of what the Inca language was like.

UNIQUE CASTE SYSTEM

The autocratic, though questionable way, in which

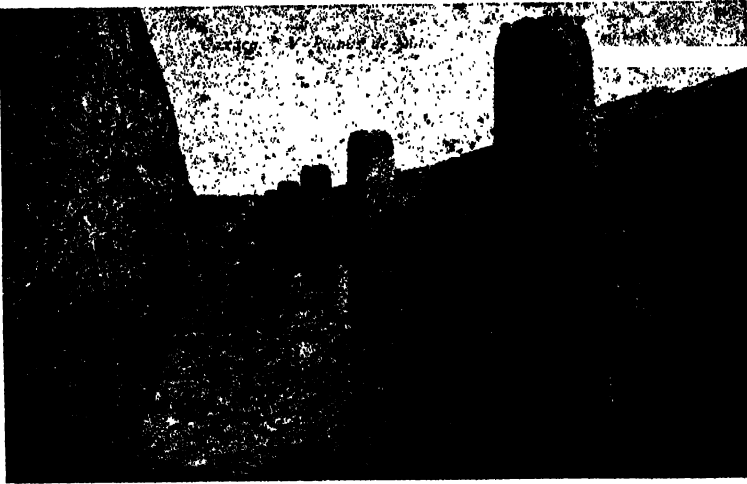
Must be the language of their mother-country—Sanskrit.

the novel scheme of government was imposed upon the inhabitants of Peru by the foreign chieftains is best proved by the following passages from the *Rites and Laws of the Incas* (page 77) and Garcilaso de la Vega (pp. 9 and 10).

"With a view that each tribe should be clearly distinguishable and after assigning a different costume to each, they were ordered to choose their respective *pacariscas*, a word meaning, literally, their birth and origin. They were told to choose for themselves whence they were descended and whence they came, and as the Indians were generally very dull and stupid, some chose to assign their origin to a lake,

time thirteen Incas reigning over the empire, the first Inca and the founder of the empire having been Manco-Kapac, who with his sister-wife, Mama-Oello, appeared on the scene from Lake Titicaca and declared themselves the Children of the Sun. At the spot now known as Cuzco (Kush-ko),† they established their capital and laid the foundations for a vast confederation that eventually extended for more than three thousand miles north and south and from the pacific coast to beyond the Andes, an area of more than twelve hundred thousand square miles, containing upward of twenty million people,—the largest area and the largest population under one government existing in the New World prior to the Spanish conquest.

"Whatever may be the truth regarding Incan history, whether the empire had been in existence for six hundred or six thousand years prior to the European invasion, there can be no question regarding the heights it had reached. Fortunately for us, the Incan Empire was still flourishing at the time, and innumerable accounts of the people, their customs, life, government, religion and other matters were written by Spanish priests and others who recorded their personal observations, and whose invaluable works are still in existence."—Hayatt Verrill, *Old Civilisations of the New World*.



Thousand-columned temple in Yucatan. It corresponds with the famous *sahasra-stambha* temple of Madura

others to a spring, others to a rock, others to a hill or ravine. But every lineage chose some object for its *pacarisca*. Some tribes (subsequently) adored eagles because they boasted to have descended from themothers adored fountains, rivers, the earth, which they call Mother, or air, fire.....snow-mountains, maize, the sea named mother-sea."

According to Garcilaso de la Vega:

"The Peruvian tribes subsequently invented an infinity of fables concerning the origin of their different ancestors....An Indian does not consider himself honorable unless he can trace his descent from a river, fountain, lake or the sea, or from some wild beast like the bear, puma, ocelot, eagle, etc."

A 3,000-MILE EMPIRE

"When the Spaniards arrived on the west coast of South America, they found the country from Ecuador to Chile inhabited by vast numbers of highly cultured and civilized people under a king or emperor known as the Inca. At that time the ruling Inca, Atahualpa, had recently been victorious in a civil war and had taken his brother, Huascar, prisoner. According to the Incan tradition, there had been up to that

INCAS—FATHERS OF COMMUNISM

"To students of sociology they are of the utmost interest, for nowhere else in all the known history of the entire world, has there been such a complete and successful communistic society. Individuality and freedom of thought, life and action were all subservient to the community. From birth to death, the lives, actions, tasks, social status, homes, marriages of the people, and even the destinies of the offspring, were planned, regulated, ordered and carried out according to inexorable laws. Every individual, other than those of royal blood or the priesthood, was a mere cog in the mighty wheel of the empire, and every individual was a numbered, tagged unit of the whole. At birth a man's or a woman's place in the scheme of things was ordained. At five years of age every child, male or female, was taken over by the government and reared and trained for the occupation, the position or the task to which his or her entire future life was to be devoted. A man was forced to marry when he reached the age of twenty-four and eighteen years was

† It may have been named after Kush, son of Emperor Rama, like many other places in different parts of the world.—C. L.

the age limit for spinsters. Once married, neither husband nor wife had any say as to the future of their children."—Hyatt Verrill, *Old Civilisations of the New World*.

NEW WORLD'S RICHEST TEMPLE

The Incas had the richest temple of the New World at Kushko (Cuzco). The temple was converted into a church.

"Architecturally this Temple of the Sun is one of the most remarkable buildings in the entire world. It is built of immense blocks of amazingly fitted stone, no two of which are exactly alike in size or shape, but which are so accurately designed and cut that the circular interior with its radii is mathematically and geometrically perfect. No engineer of our times, equipped with the most delicate of instruments and the most modern appliances and mathematical tables could excel the work of the long-vanished designers and artisans who constructed this remarkable temple.

"In the days when the Incas held sway, the temple presented a sight which would have made Aladdin's cave look tawdry by comparison. The walls, outside and inside, were completely covered with plates of burnished gold. The gardens were filled with trees, shrubs and plants of silver and gold. Among the leaves and branches of precious metals were birds, animals and insects of gold and silver, and even the fountains, the tools and the implements of the gardener's trade were of the same metals. But dazzling and marvellous as was this amazing garden, the interior of the temple was a thousand times more wonderful. Upon one wall, above where the Christian altar now stands, was an immense sun of massive gold studded with jewels which flashed and scintillated in the sunlight until the eyes of the marvelling Dons were blinded by their brilliance. Opposite this glorious sun was a huge representation of the moon wrought of polished silver, while about these two chief luminaries were the stars of silver and gold, with an arching rainbow of gold tinted in some remarkable manner to imitate the natural prismatic colors.

"Beneath the wondrous image of the sun were seated the mummies of the Incan emperors wrapped in their robes and mantles of tapestry and feathers, their false heads adorned with golden crowns, golden masks representing their features, gold and jewelled ornaments upon their breasts, and with ornate staffs and symbols of office before them. And opposite them beneath the silver moon were the mummies of their queens and princesses, attired in all their most prized robes and richest jewels together with twelve life-sized solid gold statues of the dead Incas. Golden and silver images of deities and mythological beings were on every side. Priceless ceremonial and religious symbols, utensils, vessels and ornaments filled the immense room. Marvellous draperies and textiles covered floor and walls and gorgeously attired priests offered up prayers and sacrifices to the sun-god.

"Even the hardened Spanish campaigners (why not robbers and murderers), satiated with wonder, glutted with treasure, stood gazing with incredulous awe when they first entered this Temple of the Sun. For a space they could not believe their eyes. Before them were greater riches, more gold than they had ever imagined in their wildest dreams. But they were there to rob and despoil, not to admire. Ruthlessly the precious symbols were torn from their places; the regal mummies were thrown down, hacked to pieces



The Astec Calendar (Monolith). The Sun is in the centre

and their regalia and ornaments torn off. Holy vessels were battered and smashed. Priceless tapestries were wantonly ripped to bits and destroyed. Magnificent rugs and textiles, such as the world had never seen, were cut and hacked to pieces with swords and daggers, and were used as wrappings in which to bundle up the golden loot. Struggling, fighting among themselves, each striving to gain the lion's share of treasure, the mail-clad soldiers trampled jewels and images, battered and hammered gold utensils into shapeless forms to be more easily carried, and stripped the temple and its marvellous garden of every vestige of precious metal and precious stones. Heedless of the beauty, the art, the incalculable value of their loot, the contents of the temple, the golden plates which had covered its walls, the amazingly wrought trees, birds and other objects in the gardens, were cast into

the melting pot and transformed to bullion. Of that vast treasure of the Temple of the Sun, all that remains intact today are a few bent and battered plates of thin gold that once formed part of the covering of the outer wall, and which were dropped, trodden into the earth and overlooked by Pisarro's men.

"Throughout the immeasurably ancient capital of the Incas, and everywhere throughout the empire, it was the same story. Every object of intrinsic value was seized by the Dons. Everything that hinted of paganism and that could be destroyed was destroyed by the priests. Countless palaces, temples and other buildings were torn to pieces to provide material for erecting Spanish churches, the cathedral and other structures."—Hyatt Verrill, *Old Civilisations of the New World*.

BELIEVED IN FOUR YUGAS

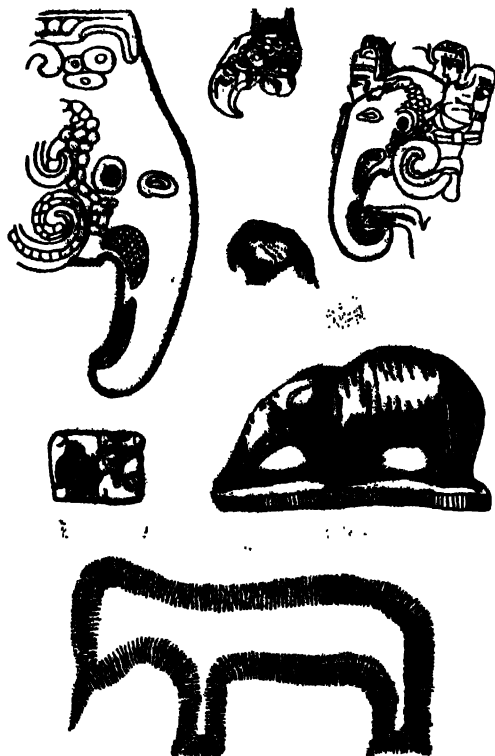
"The Incas had a perfect calendar similar in many respects to those of the Mayas and Aztecs (who believed in four Hindu Yugas—epochs). The Incan year consisted of twelve *quillas* of thirty days each, with five days added at the end of each year. As the *quillas* were computed from the moon's rotation, instead of from the sun's and as the monthly moon rotation is completed in three hundred and fifty-four days eight hours and forty-eight minutes, the Incan months or *quillas* of thirty days, plus the additional five days, brought their year very close to the solar year, and to make it exactly coincide an extra day was added every fourth year, precisely like our system of leap-years."

INCA ASTRONOMY

"As far as is known, the astronomical instruments and devices of the Incas and pre-Incas were of the simplest character. By means of a sun-dial-like arrangement, or *Intihuatana*, consisting of a cone surmounting a large rock on which were cut marks dated as the sun festivals, the sun's course, the hours and all important dates were determined by the position of the shadow cast by the cone-shaped *gnomon*. For determining the solstices, the equinoxes and many other dates, stone columns were used. These were arranged in four groups of two each and were known as the *Panchacta unanchac*. (Note the resemblance with *panchanga*—Sanskrit for calendar). They were set perpendicularly upon high hills, two being placed toward the east and two to the west. By marking the extreme variations of sunrise and sunset, the declination of the sun could be measured, and the solstices determined whenever the sun passed beyond the central pair of columns. Probably the pre-Incas and Incas possessed various other means of obtaining astronomical data; the instruments and devices of which we know nothing, and which may have been utterly destroyed by the Spanish priests, who regarded them as devices of the devil, or which may have been lost during the centuries that have passed."—Hyatt Verrill.

TEN AGE DIVISIONS

"Besides the scientific caste system (call it guild system), the Incas had divided the people into ten groups by age in order to have a complete record of the nation's manpower, industrial wealth and the number of old and disabled people to be looked after. Following is the list of ten groups :



Indian elephant symbols in Mexican temples

1. Mosoc-aparic : baby, "newly begun," (just born);
2. Saya-huarma : child, "standing boy," (age 2-6);
3. Macta-puric : "child that can walk," (age 6-8);
4. Itanta-requisic : "bread receiver," (boy about 8);
5. Pucllac-huarma : "playing boy," (age 8-16);
6. Cuca-pallac : "Coca pickers," (age 16-20);
7. Yma-huayna : "as a youth," light service, (age 20-25);
8. Puric : "able-bodied," tribute and service, (age 25-50);
9. Chaupi-rucca : "elderly," light service, (age 50-60);
10. Punuc-rucca : "dotage," no work, (60 upwards).—Mrs. Nuttall gives the above valuable information.

IMMENSE MONUMENTS

The Surya-Vanshis were great builders of temples, palaces, roads, rest-houses, etc., whether in India, Rome or Peru. "In several places in Peru, and even in Bolivia, there are immense monuments and images formed of a stone which, as far as is known, does not occur within hundreds of miles of their present sites, the nearest deposits of the rock being in Ecuador, fully fifteen hundred miles distant. One such monolith is

Sayunin or La Piedra Cansada near Ollantay. This immense stone, known also as El Monolito Abandonado (the Abandoned Monolith) measures nearly seventeen feet in length, ten feet in width and three feet in thickness. It is of a peculiar rock identical with the formation about Chimborazo in Ecuador, and which, it is claimed does not exist anywhere in the vicinity of Ollantay. According to the Indians and to Incan tradition, the Saycunin was quarried at Quito, and the monolith saddened at being carried so far from home, wept blood, which still adheres to it (it is marked with a red



Sculpture in Mexico

pyroxene oxidization) and at last exclaimed: 'Saycunin! I am weary!' At this manifestation of its supernatural character, the cacique, Urcon, dropped dead, and the stone was left, abandoned by the terrified Indians, at the spot where it still rests about a mile north of Ollantay.

"Of course, this is a purely fanciful and allegorical myth invented by the Indians or their ancestors of Inca days to account for the immense stone with its blood-like stains lying by the roadside. As a matter of fact, there are several similar monoliths of the same

material which also were abandoned in the vicinity. But there is no denying that they are of a stone unknown even to the Indians of the district, but identical with formations in Ecuador. Possibly the pre-Incas who cut these stones knew of a nearby quarry which has not yet been rediscovered, or perhaps they exhausted the supply of that particular mineral. But there may be a basis of truth in the ancient legend, and it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that these immense monoliths actually were cut in distant Ecuador and dragged overland to Peru. It would have been a herculean task, it is true, a task that would have required many years to accomplish, and yet it would have been no more difficult, no more astonishing than many of the feats which we know these ancient Peruvians actually accomplished."

MARVELLOUS ROADS

"Among these was the construction of the marvelous Incan road, a splendid highway stretching from Quito, Ecuador, to southern Chile, a distance of over three thousand miles in a direct line. No race, not even the Romans, ever equalled this feat of pre-historic road-building. The highest ranges of the mighty Andes, the deepest, most impassable canyon, the most fearful precipices, the widest deserts, the snow-capped peaks and the foaming torrents were treated as though non-existent. Vast abysses were spanned by suspension bridges, their immense cables of fibre and hair ropes fastened in holes cut through solid rock. Gorges were filled with masonry to form immense causeways. Mountains and cliffs were pierced by tunnels which are still in use. The loftiest ranges were surmounted by the most perfectly computed gradients and hair-pin curves, and throughout much of its length the roadway was paved and surfaced with asphalt, and to this day some portions of it are still used as a motor highway. At intervals side roads branched off to east and west as far as the Amazonian jungle and the seacoast. Here a second 'King's Highway' ran north and south along the seashore."

REST HOUSES EVERYWHERE

"At regular distances of about twenty miles apart were rest-houses or stations for messengers, while every forty miles there were 'Imperial Inns.' These served as store-houses for food, supplies and equipment for the army or for relief of villages in case of famine; as eating-places for the army when on the march; and as stopping-places for the Inca when travelling. There were also a series of sentry stations, watch-towers and forts, as well as a system of signal fires or lights by means of which the men on watch could transmit messages from one terminus of the road to the other in an incredibly short time. At the time of the revolt of the Caras at Quito, word was sent by means of these signals, and news of the uprising was received at Cusco four hours after the rebellion broke out. One of the duties of the watchers

at these beacons was to signal an eclipse of the moon. The Incas believed that during eclipses the moon was suffering the agonies of childbirth and, as soon as the signal of an approaching eclipse was sent out, everybody beat drums and shouted prayers and supplications to aid the planet in her trouble." (A Hindu custom, no doubt).

TRANSPORT SERVICE WAS UNIQUE

"Throughout the entire length of the road, there were mile-posts showing the distance to the next rest-house, and transportation over the road was as rapid as over the railways to-day. Fresh fish caught on the coast reached Cuzco within thirty hours—six hours sooner than by way of the Mollendo-Cuzco Railway (Southern Railroad of Peru). From Lake Urubamba, fish caught in the morning reached the Incan capital the same afternoon, and the fruits and vegetables of the coastal districts reached Cuzco within fifteen hours."

WONDERFUL TEXTILES

"Their textiles were wonderful, although the true Incan textiles never equalled or approached those of the pre-Incas. Many of these are more finely woven than would be possible on any machine loom to-day, and examples are known in which there are three hundred threads to the inch. The types and weaves of these textiles are practically numberless. They vary all the way from the heaviest, coarsest blankets, rugs and *ponchos* to the finest, most delicate fabrics as thin and soft as silk. Many were of the tapestry class, others were tied or knotted, and others were direct wrap-and-woof weaving. The dyes used have never been equalled, and to-day after having been buried for centuries in the desert sand and in stone tombs, the colors on these remarkable-fabrics are as sure, clear and bright as on the day they were first woven."—Hyatt Verrill.

HOW INCA EMPIRE VANISHED?

The story of the tragic end of this glorious culture is told by Prescott on the authority of the Spanish historians of the 16th century. He describes the treachery of the Spanish embassy (invaders) to the Inca ruler in the following moving words:

"The treatment of Atahualpa (Inca Emperor) from first to last forms undoubtedly one of the darkest chapters in Spanish colonial history. There may have been massacres perpetrated on a more extended scale and executions accompanied with a greater refinement of cruelty. But the blood-stained annals of conquest afford no such example of cold-hearted and systematic persecution, not of the enemy, but of one whose whole deportment had been that of a friend and a benefactor. From the hour that Pizarro and his followers had entered the kingdom, the hand of friendship had been extended to them by the natives. Their first act on crossing the mountains

was to kidnap the Emperor and massacre his people. The seizure of his person might be vindicated by those who considered the end as justifying the means, on the ground that it was indispensable to secure the triumphs of the Cross. But no such apology can be urged for the massacre of the unarmed and helpless population—as wanton as it was wicked.



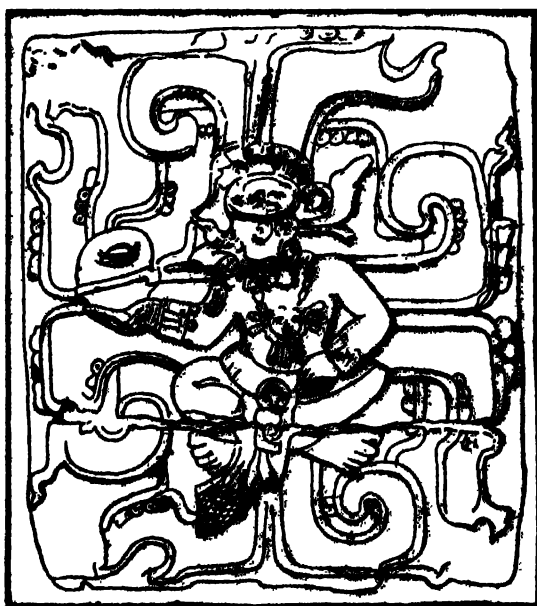
Turbans and ear-rings of Mexican gods in a palace at Palenque (South Indian imprints in Mexico)

"The long confinement of the Inca had been used by the conquerors to wring from him treasures with the hard grip of avarice. During the whole of this dismal period, he had conducted himself with singular generosity and good faith. He had opened a free passage to the Spaniards through every part of his Empire; and had furnished every facility for the execution of their plans. When these were accomplished, notwithstanding their promise to release him, he was arraigned before a mock tribunal, and under pretences equally false and frivolous was condemned to an excruciating death."—Prescott.

That lack of diplomacy and too much faith in truth led to the utter ruin of the mighty Empire of the Incas will be evident to the reader after going through the detailed account of the treachery played

by the Spanish gang who visited the Emperor as guests.

While the simple-hearted host offered the best hospitality to the invaders, they planned his capture and the trap was well laid in his own palace, where he had agreed to give them audience. The chief of the bandits saw that arms were in order, says Prescott, and that the breast-plates of their horses were garnished with bells, to add by their noise to the consternation of the Indians.



Ganesha in America

Prescott says: "These arrangements being completed, mass was performed with great solemnity invoking His help to spread His shield over the soldiers who were fighting to extend the Empire of the Cross." They posed like a company of martyrs, about to lay down their lives in the defence of their faith; but instead, they were a licentious band of adventurers, meditating one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy in history!

"At noon the Emperor marched in a huge procession with oriental splendour. Numerous people just sweeping every particle of rubbish led the procession. Within a mile of the city the Emperor wanted to have his camp, but Pizarro, determined on his murderous intention said he was waiting to dine with him and that he must come to the palace the same evening. The Emperor agreed and advised his general to leave the army behind and enter the palace with only a few of them and without arms (non-violence and etiquette). The Spaniards were overjoyed to hear that he would spend the night with them. The Emperor reached the square which was bigger than any in Spain. The attendant nobles were loaded with

gold and silver ornaments; the Emperor was carried on a sedan, a solid throne of gold of inestimable value.

"Not a Spaniard was to be seen and still the Emperor did not suspect any trap and he surprisingly asked his people, 'Where are the strangers?' Then came Valverde, a Spanish missionary. The missionary told the imprisoned Emperor to accept Christianity and become tributary of the Emperor of Spain, who had been commissioned by the Pope to conquer and convert the natives of the western hemisphere. The eyes of the Indian monarch flashed fire, and his dark brow grew darker as he replied: 'I will be no man's tributary! I am greater than any prince on earth. Your Emperor may be a great prince; I do not doubt it, when I see that he has sent his subjects so far across the waters; and I am willing to hold him as a brother. As for the Pope of whom you speak, he must be crazy to talk of giving away countries which do not belong to him. For my faith I will not change it. Your own God, as you say, was put to death by the very men whom he created. But mine,' he concluded, pointing to his deity—then alas! sinking in glory behind the mountains—'my God still lives in the Heavens, and takes care of His children.'

"He then demanded of the priest by what authority he had said these things. The friar pointed to the book (Bible). The Emperor taking it turned over the pages a moment, then recalled the insult, he threw the Bible down and demanded an explanation for the misdeeds of Spaniards committed on his people during their journey from the coast.

"The Emperor was then arrested by his Spanish guests and his people murdered and then robbed. And soon the Emperor discovered that the Spaniards were not messengers of Christ, but they had a lurking appetite for gold. As we hear in proverbial Hindu stories, the Emperor offered his captors that if it was gold that they were after, he could undertake to fill up gold in a hall (17 x 20 ft.) and then they could take it home and release him. The Emperor actually carried out his promise but the Spaniards cheated him again and executed him in a ruthless manner."

INCA TREASURES

A Spanish writer of the 16th century writing of the Inca treasures said:

"It is a well-authenticated report that there is a secret hall in the fortress of Cusco, where an immense treasure is concealed, consisting of statues of all the Incas, wrought in gold. A lady is still living, Dona Maria de Esquivel, the wife of the last Inca, (perhaps a relation of the Inca who served as Spain's puppet) who has visited this hall, and I have heard her relate the way in which she was carried to see it.

"Don Carlos, the lady's husband, did not maintain a style of living becoming his high rank. Maria sometimes reproached him, declaring that she had been deceived into marrying a poor Indian under the lofty

title of the Lord or Inca. She said this so frequently that Don Carlos one night exclaimed, 'Lady! do you wish to know whether I am rich or poor? You shall see that no Lord or King in the world has a larger treasure than I have.' Then covering her eyes with a handkerchief, he made her turn round two or three times, and taking her by the hand, led her a short distance before he removed the bandage. On opening her eyes what was her amazement! She had gone not more than two hundred paces, and descended a short flight of steps, and she now found herself in a large quadrangular hall, where, ranged on benches round the walls, she beheld the statues of the dead Incas, each of the size of a boy of twelve years old, all of massive gold! She saw also many vessels of gold and silver. 'In fact,' she said, 'it was one of the most magnificent treasures in the whole world.' (The anonymous author of *Antig. Y. Monumentos del Peru* MS.)

Spain's Cultural Mission.—Let those who still believe in non-violence at all times read the gruesome tale of Spain's cultural mission in South America.

"The Kingdom had experienced a revolution of the most decisive kind. Its ancient institutions were sub-

verted. Its heaven-descended aristocracy was levelled almost to the condition of the peasants. The people became the serfs of the conquerors. Their dwellings in the capital were seized and appropriated. The temples were turned into stables; the royal palaces into barracks for the troops. The sanctity of religious houses was violated, and thousands of matrons and maidens, who lived in chaste seclusion in the conventual establishments, were now turned abroad and became the prey of a licentious soldiery. A favourite wife of the young Inca was debauched by Spanish officers."—Prescott, p. 298.

It is painful to note that excesses like those described above were perpetrated in the name of Christianity! But when religion prostitutes itself for proselytisation nothing better can be expected. Time has its revenges. Was it not the hand of fate which ordered that these same Spaniards, after full four centuries, should see themselves humiliated at the hands of the Moors!

Some of the illustrations refer to the author's previous article, "Aryan Rulers of America," published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1940.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

By ASOKE KUMAR MAJUMDAR

On 1st of April, the 'All Fools Day,' the *Statesman* of Calcutta came out with an editorial on "Archaeology since Partition." The title was a bit misleading, for in fact it had little to say about Archaeology in India (except what was totally wrong) but a great deal about its present Director-General, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler. This fulsome eulogy of an otherwise obscure ex-Brigadier came at a very opportune moment, that is just when his term of office was practically over with his re-appointment under consideration. May be that was the reason for his being lauded sky high, and an otherwise sane editor had the temerity to declare: "Archaeological Survey of India especially under the energetic management of Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler regained and surpassed its former prestige." That a British editor writing in an Anglo-Indian *Daily* should ignore the works of Mr. E. D. Banerjee, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Mr. Dayaram Sahni and others, is not to be wondered at. But why did he throw into the limbo of oblivion Cunningham, Vogel and Marshall?

In view of the mis-statements contained in the *Statesman*, some discussion of the present working of the Department of Archaeology seemed to be necessary. So I wrote a letter to the Editor of the *Statesman*, pointing out the harmful nature of his

editorial. To this I received a prompt reply that owing to want of space my letter could not be published. Anybody who has been reading the letters to the editor of that paper since then, will understand what this reply really meant.

In 1938 the Government of India appointed Sir Leonard Woolley to investigate into the workings of the Department and suggest reforms. The Woolley Report revealed the scandalous manner in which the department had worked during the 'twenties and thirties.' The department was found altogether lacking in trained personnel for the necessary works, and pathetic instances of utter inefficiency, with which the work was being carried, were cited.

Apparently, the most important and probably the only result of the costly report was that Brigadier Wheeler was brought practically straight from the battle-front and became the Director-General of Archaeology in 1944. It was pointed out at the time, that he was a fresh man, and had no knowledge of Indian history or archaeology. The Government however supported his appointment in the Assembly on the specious plea that he knew about the methods of archaeological works and his main work would be to train the officers, so that when he would leave 4 years later there would be no dearth of suitable

officers to supervise the branches of the Department. Dr. Wheeler also declared that, if after he retired India was forced to go outside for selecting his successor, he would have failed in one of his main tasks.

However, in May 1947 in a plan for the future development of official archaeology in India, Dr. Wheeler wrote: "It is not to be wondered therefore that the amount of research produced by the average officer of the Survey during a long career spent with some of the most important archaeological materials in the world is generally negligible. Instead, the prospect is too frequently one of combined ignorance and inertia." Again in the same report: "Without such further training, combined with systematic reading at home, it is useless to send them abroad, where they will serve as ambassadors of ignorance and will give a totally false impression of the true capacity of their countrymen."

Apart from the propriety of describing his colleagues, some of them eminent Indologists, epigraphists or numismatists, in the language he has thought fit to use, it should be noted that in spite of his being imported to train our officers, Dr. Wheeler admits that so far as training goes he has been a total failure. As he was never taking any steps to train even a single officer, the Advisory Board of Archaeology recommended that suitable officers should be sent abroad for regular training so that they might be put in charge of the Department as a whole or hold other responsible posts in its various branches. The necessity of such training was admitted by the Director-General and the proposal was unanimously accepted. But still, although his term of appointment is practically over, no practical steps have been taken.

Of course, the Director-General had opened certain classes for training students in the methods of archaeology, but the public is still unaware of the mode of teaching adopted in the different centres opened for the purpose and also the extent to which the plan has been successful. It is rumoured that, in most of these training centres the Director-General himself took but little part in the training which was mostly imparted by very junior officers. Although several attempts have been made to get details of the training, no detailed report has yet been submitted to the Advisory Board of Archaeology.

Thus, not only the Director-General has done any good but has been responsible for many evils. He started with the idea that the main work of his department is the preservation of antiquities and not its interpretation. As a matter of fact, he has discouraged all manner of research work and during the last few years that he has been at the helm of affairs, the officers of the department have given little evidence of critical study of epigraphic or numismatic material or other sources for reconstructing the history of India. Their efforts have been strictly limited to writing reports on the excavations undertaken by them.

Dr. Wheeler was very eloquent about the necessity of sending cultural missions abroad. One such mission was sent to Iran which consisted of Dr. Wheeler himself, his wife and his senior Muslim colleague. The report of this mission which visited Persia in November 1945 has not been made public. It is widely rumoured that the mission was more political than cultural and that the report contained a series of diatribes against the Russians and that major part of it was filled with observations about the military movements of the Russians on the frontier. Being a soldier, Dr. Wheeler was eminently suitable for this sort of work which probably the Russians in their characteristically blunt way would describe as espionage. Anyway the Russians refused this mission permission to visit the places under their occupation and turned it out. Next year the Director-General again accompanied with his wife, took Sir Norman Edgeley, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and the Curator of the Peshawar Museum on another of his peripatetic mission of Afghanistan. It is to be observed that in none of these missions was an Indian scholar of repute selected to accompany him and it may well be imagined that the result of such missions could not be of any benefit to India or to the countries which they visited.

Another plan of this ex-Brigadier was to establish a Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology. Curiously the Committee that was appointed to draw up a plan of the Museum consisted entirely of Government officials and with the exception of the Secretary, Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, there was not a single person on that body who had any knowledge of Ancient Indian History or Archaeology. The Chairman of this Committee was Sir Maurice Gwyer. The Committee recommended the appointment of a Director on a very high salary, Rs. 1750—100—2250 and the qualifications were laid down in such a way that a person without any knowledge of Ancient History or Archaeology, such as Dr. Wheeler, could be appointed to the post. In fact, it was generally believed at the time that Dr. Wheeler was anxious to secure the post for himself. But unfortunately for him, the All-India Oriental Conference passed a resolution that the Director of the proposed Museum should be a scholar conversant with ancient Indian History and Archaeology and that preferably he should be an Indian. As a result of some amount of agitation from outside, the recommendations of Gwyer Committee were not given effect to and the proposals have been put before the Archaeological Advisory Board.

Dr. Wheeler has done another mischief by creating communal feelings of a new type: He not only in season and out of season brings prominently to notice the difference between Hindus and Muslims but also between North India and South India, and in several places he has taken credit that it was he who has done justice to the South Indians.

Quite a large number of officers have been ap-

pointed during the regime of the present Director-General and most of these appointments have been far from satisfactory. As he is himself ignorant of Indian History and Archaeology, the recruitment has proceeded on the basis that such a knowledge is a disqualification. Again and again the Advisory Board of Archaeology emphasised the need for making these appointments through a special expert committee and though these recommendations were placed before the Government of India, nothing has been done so far. Once a brother of Mr. Casey, the ex-Governor, was appointed by Dr. Wheeler at very high salary to do some trivial work. Another very important appointment is held in the Department by a man whose ignorance, it is said, does not stop at Indian History but to all subjects taught at any University. This, I was told, was the reason why I could not find out the last mentioned gentleman's qualifications in spite of some searching enquiries. As this and most of similar appointments are permanent, the Director-General will indeed leave a very poor legacy to his successor.

In the Draft Constitution the preservation, protection and maintenance of monuments and places of national importance forms one of the forty 'directive principles of state policy.' Hence the Archaeological Department is bound to have greater prestige and importance in future as custodian of the rich national heritage of our past. We look forward to it to supply materials for the reconstruction of our ancient history and civilisation. As such, its progress and welfare should be a matter of great concern to those who wish well of the country. Unfortunately, the Indian public being too much absorbed in politics, have not devoted in the past that amount of care and attention to this Department which it deserves. At the present moment things have come to such a pass that permanent injury of a great character is likely to be inflicted upon the Department, unless prompt steps are taken to completely reform the department. I hope this article has given enough indication as to the reform which is most necessary and urgent.

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WINDSOR CASTLE

By OWEN MORSHEAD, C.V.O., D.S.O., M.C.

LONDON's river, the Thames, touches history at many points in its wanderings, but one of the most interesting must surely be the precipitous escarpment on which stands one of England's Royal Castles—Windsor. Rising steeply from the gentle embrace of the river, this site was chosen for the castle as long ago as the eleventh century, by the Norman King William I. Today it is still used as one of the homes of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

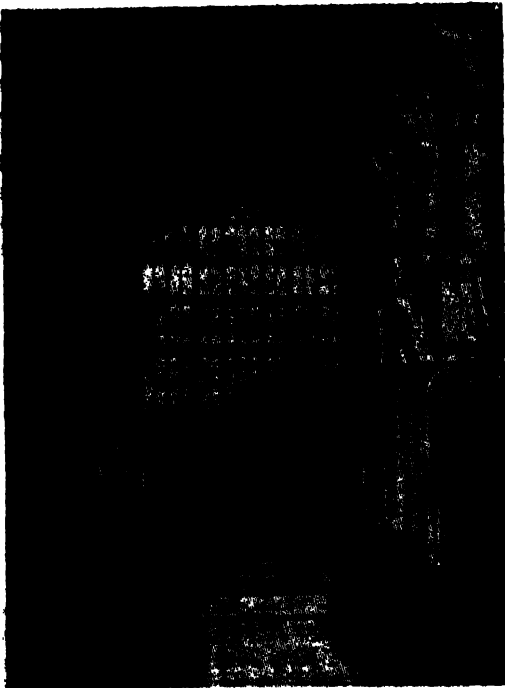
There is one date in English history which every child knows; it is "William the Conqueror 1066"—the last time that England was conquered. This William of Normandy, on first arriving in the country, at once looked to the defence of his capital, which had grown up on its present site, the point nearest to the sea at which the Thames could be bridged. He built the famous Tower of London to defend the approach up the river Thames from the sea and at a radius of about twenty-five miles (forty kilometres) he further erected a circle of strongholds, of which Windsor Castle was the most imposing. Not that even this was the first association of Windsor with the monarchy, for the Saxon kings had before him chosen it for their retreat on account of the hunting facilities afforded by the royal park and forest, which at that time was vastly more extensive than it is today.

The Palace of the Saxon kings had been situated in the low-lying area of the forest, conveniently near

the river Thames up which they would travel from London, and not far from Runnymede—that great riverside meadow where King John in 1215 granted the Magna Carta upon which Britain's social liberties still rest today. Some two and a half miles (five kilometres) away, however, the river has scooped out for itself a channel at the foot of an abrupt escarpment; and William the Conqueror, observing the strategic possibilities of this formation, moved the royal residence to its summit, and laid out the Castle very much as it is now. Its walls are extremely ancient; so are the various buildings which they contain, although naturally these have undergone alteration as the centuries passed and the standard of domestic comfort rose. The most extensive changes were those made by King Edward the Third in 1360, King Charles the Second in 1670, and George the Fourth in 1825. Such adaptations are to be expected in a building of such unusual antiquity.

Covering some fourteen acres (five and a half hectares) in all, the Castle lies along the top of the cliff, in form resembling an elongated hour-glass, or figure of eight. Where its two main courtyards join, at the waist of the figure, there rises the lofty and noble Norman Keep, on a green mound, constructed in 1084. This bars the approach to the royal apartments, restricting the entry to a single archway defended by massive walls and a portcullised gateway.

Up in the Keep, where formerly the Governor and the garrison had their quarters, are now housed the Royal Archives. From the summit, at the top of an immense flagstaff, flies the royal standard. From the battlements, to which the public are admitted, the eye travels far over undulating woodlands in every direction, returning to dwell upon the silvery Thames which divides the Castle grounds from the historic buildings and playing fields of Eton College in the valley below.



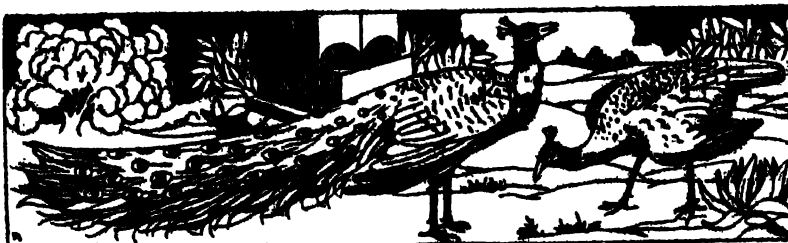
The interior view of St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle

The Castle is approached from the South by a straight avenue three miles (five kilometres) in length flanked on both sides by double rows of tall elm trees; this avenue, the most spectacular in the country, was planted in 1664 by King Charles the Second. One of the quadrangles of the Castle is appropriated to the accommodation of the Sovereign, and on gala occa-

sions, when it is filled to capacity, with Their Majesties' guests and the royal household, some 200 beds are occupied. This figure comprises only what may be called the migratory population of the Castle; in addition there are fifty separate families occupying independent houses within the precincts all the year round, whether or not Their Majesties are in residence. When to these is added a small army of workmen of all kinds of trades, whose professional life is passed within the Castle although they inhabit houses in the town, it will be seen that this ancient assemblage of buildings embraces a social community of considerable size.

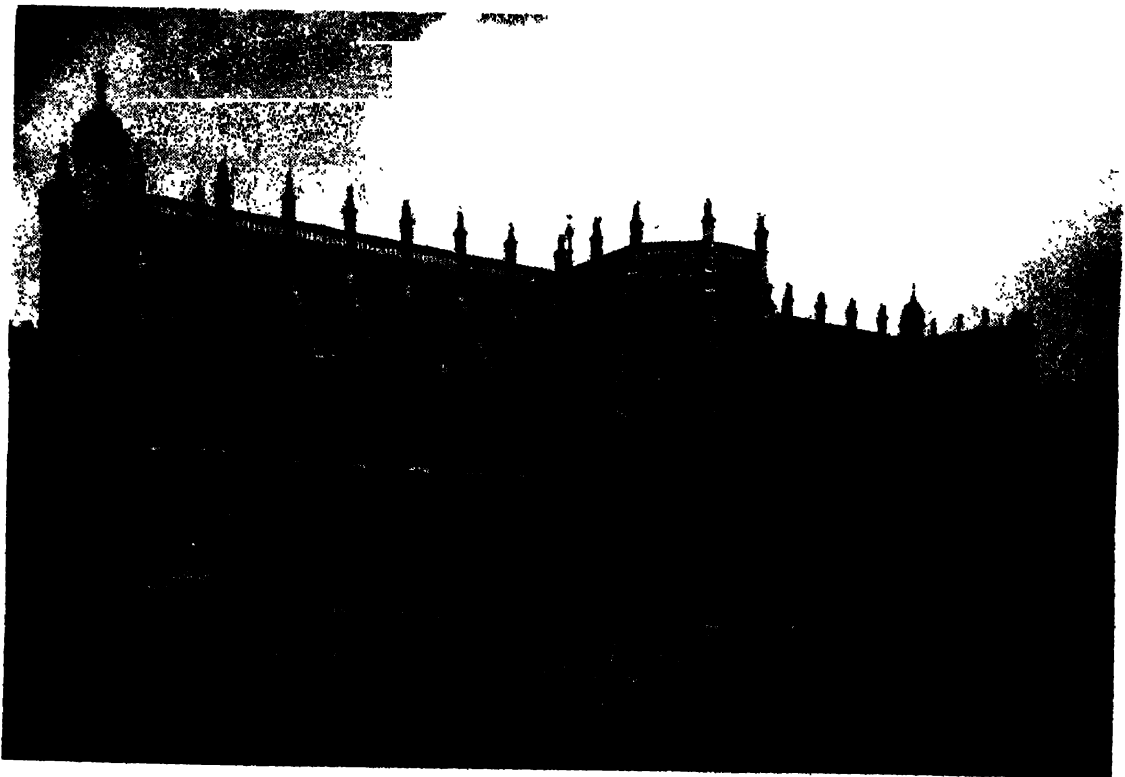
Enclosed within one of the two courtyards is the equivalent of a complete cathedral establishment, clustering round the illustrious St. George's Chapel. Grouped about its quiet cloisters are the residences of the Dean and canons, the choirmen and the sacristans. This chapel, dedicated to St. George, the patron Saint of England, is one of the most beautiful ecclesiastical buildings in the country. Built just before 1500, its wide span is vaulted with a solid stone roof of matchless grace and loveliness; and the fretted canopies to the carved choir-stalls are surmounted by the banners of the Knights of the Garter. For this is the central shrine of that ancient and honourable Order; and here are to be seen some 800 heraldic stall-plates, executed in coloured enamels, which reach back in continuous sequence to 1348, the year in which the Order was founded.

Windsor Castle has long ceased to be a fortress, being now and for the past four hundred years one of the official residences of the King. It is so large that the Sovereign now-a-days prefers to inhabit a smaller house in the Great Park, as affording that occasional privacy which even a monarch needs. Nevertheless for several weeks in the year the Royal Family still reside within its august walls, notably in peace time for the famous race meeting at Ascot, when its courts are filled with a gay concourse and all its storied past comes to life once more in the glitter and gaiety of the present. Embosomed in trees upon its proud eminence, today, the Castle sleeps, to reawaken in happier days and resume the unbroken tradition of close upon nine hundred years.





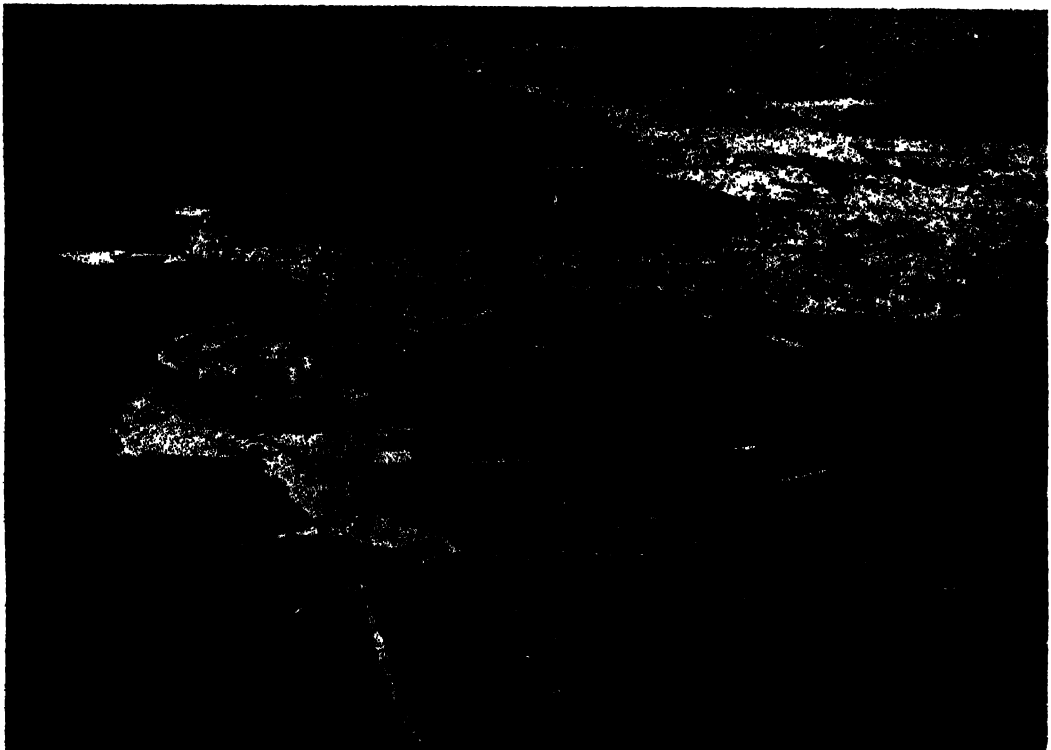
Windsor Castle



St. George's Chapel stands in one of the two courtyards of the palace in Windsor Castle



The harbour of Haifa, Palestine, terminus of the pipeline which brings oil from the Mosul wells.
It is now a Jewish naval base - the Arabs contend for it



Alexandria, the chief port and city of Egypt in the Mediterranean Sea, which is one of the
chief military bases of the Arabs against the Jews of Palestine

LEADERS, GENIUSES AND THE HOME

By CYRIL MODAK

A FREE country stands in need of the right leader and the best genius. Some feel that leaders like geniuses are born and not made. Others hold that a leader is made and so is a genius. Many believe that money not only makes the mare go, but also raises a man to the pinnacle of leadership and makes the world recognize another man as a genius. But few indeed realize that the home plays a great and significant part in the making of leaders and geniuses. Probably the home is eclipsed behind a gray cloud of commonplace everydayness, while leadership and genius are fringed with the aura of glamour. That is why leadership and genius are not often associated together in most minds.

There is an enticing romance about being a leader or a genius. But a strenuous discipline is also involved and this discipline ought to start in the home. How many are willing to submit cheerfully to this discipline? Undisciplined leaders are either climbers, unscrupulously using other people to rise higher, or proxies wanting the kudos but not the labour; whereas disciplined leaders are men and women who have trained themselves for the eminently complex task of inspiring, toiling, suffering and leading their group through every valley of disappointment, every forest of prejudice, up the steep path of progress.

Undisciplined geniuses are like a leaking vessel put to sea, doomed to shipwreck; whereas disciplined geniuses are men and women who have educated themselves to express truth and beauty through the medium of their choice to refine, ennoble and inspire their group. They have infinite patience for they know that they are striving after perfection. If the leader expresses the will of the people, the genius expresses the ideals and emotions of the people. They are both made or unmade in the home.

There is a three-fold difference between one who can lead and those who wait to be led. The difference is necessary. Without followers, there can be no leaders. The leader has *insight*, and can perceive the signs of the times, and being aware of the goal, can decide what must be done, what risks taken and what course followed, while the others wait for a signal for something to happen. The leader has *initiative* and is never afraid to act as the changing situations demand, without the driver's whip, while the others wait to be urged on or driven to do their duty. The leader has *integrity*, and is not influenced by personal considerations or sectional interests or social conventions. He accepts the authoritative verdict of conscience and the logic of events, while the mob sways this side and that by this influence and that, cheering whosoever is in power. Thus when a leader surrenders his insight, initiative and integrity to the will of the

group, he ceases to be a leader and becomes a much-moved pawn in a confused game that must end in calamity. Is this a Fascist stand? Is it opposed to the ideal of Democracy? Fascism, let us remember, demands that the leader be trained as a demi-god and the populace be made just so many mechanical men and women without the right to think. Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. A good leader is the representative of the people, the common, disinherited, down-trodden masses, who is a leader because there is a historical need for him to lead his people a day's march nearer the Promised Land. But it is he who must lead. If he follows the prejudices and superstitions of his people there is bound to be a shipwreck. A people can go astray for the want of a strong, animating and purposive lead.

This does not mean that a good leader must be an autocrat imposing his dictatorial will on the group. That would kill the potentiality of the race and the personality of each individual member. On the contrary, he must be so much better educated, cultured, refined, and inspired that he can be patient and patiently enable his group to understand each situation and the reasons that determine the course of action that he thinks right. He must have abundant faith in his people and in the historical process. He must have a sterling character so that he can give a challenge when a challenge is inevitable, and command confidence and respect without ever having to stoop to demand them either by word or armaments. Thus alone can good leadership become not an imposition, but an exposition of the vaguely felt finer aspirations of the group through the chosen leader. For it is through the leader that the race comes to awareness of its own strength and shortcomings, of its own ambitions and needs, of its own progress and destiny.

The education for leadership must be in the Home. It is in the home that the child must learn to be independent, courageous, and large-hearted. But many Indian parents, mother and grandmothers in particular, scoff at an ambitious child who leaves the elder's fingers in a crowd or who stands in front of a full-length cheval-glass and acts the part of a leader. We seem to be lamentably unable to appreciate independence or the desire to stand on their own legs in our children. If the children assert their independence and wish to be adventurous and experiment with things the grown-ups are always ready to throw a wet blanket on the enthusiasm of the children. How often have we not heard a dear grandmother say to a boy of twelve or fourteen, "No! No!...Darling! you must not go out swimming!...You must not go

near a river!....Or....or....a lake....or....or any water....Be careful, darling!" Or she says to a younger boy, say of ten, "No, my pet, you must not go to that school picnic because....because....No! those boys going with you....they might push you into the river!"

One can appreciate the maternal instinct but one has to condemn the effect of such sentimentality. It turns out boys and girls lacking in self-confidence which is the very foundation of independence. Only moral cripples are turned out by this kind of sentimental insistence that the child should depend on his parents for everything, from serving his meals to choosing what he shall wear. This is certainly not the way that Jawaharlal Nehru or George Washington or Oliver Cromwell or Martin Luther was brought up. This is the way those children are brought up who are destined to uphold the horrible tradition of slavery.

If freedom of choice, independence of character, the spirit of initiative and courage of originality are smothered in a boy or girl between the ages of six and sixteen, what can they be but good slaves? Someone else must choose for them what is right or wrong. Someone else must tell them what to do. Someone else must set the example for them to follow. Someone else must create precedents which they may imitate. They dare not think or love or even do anything that is off the beaten track. In the home they have been broken in according to orthodox and time-honoured (or time-discredited?) prejudices. Their minds and their hearts are put into strait-jackets and must continue to feel uncomfortable. But they cannot break open that strait-jacket and find release.

Another tendency in the home is to shield the child from the consequences of his actions. Mother and father discuss the matter. "Our son has done wrong. But you must support the child otherwise his prestige and the prestige of our respectable family will be lost," says the mother. The father silently or with a grunt acquiesces. The urchin realises that his father is a title-holder and the Headmaster will not dare to cross swords with a Rai Bahadur. What is the ultimate result? The boy goes on becoming a worse urchin, a worse citizen and a worse character. He can never be a leader. He is only half a man. It takes brave and wise parents to let their children suffer the penalty for their wrong actions.

Seldom do parents inspire their children to respect other people, other people's property, other people's rights, other people's point of view. It is always, "O! what impertinence! Those low-born X's think so-and-so and expect our son to do this or that and our daughter to marry their good-for-nothing son!" And the children absorb this superiority-complex to suffer and through bitter suffering in later life try to get rid of it. It is in the home that our children, our girls and boys, should learn naturally and without coercion, that everybody good and useful is worthy of respect; that everybody's property is to be respected; that every-

body has the right to think and feel and believe as he or she does, provided it is reasonable. When children cannot do this, they cannot become leaders.

The home must not be the grave, but the cradle for those qualities which make men and women worthy citizens and some of them worthy leaders. Read the biographies and auto-biographies of the world's great leaders and it will be found that the home played a leading part in making them what the world later acknowledged them to be.

If parents let children grow up like plants and leave them to the mercy of the law of nature, the children will become selfish, wilful, uncivil and unworthy leaders, if at all. They may attract public attention by becoming *goondas* or gangsters but they will never attract attention as great leaders. The home and all that term connotes, parents, grand-parents, elder brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts must consciously shape children to become leaders.

And India desperately needs leaders in every field of activity, leaders capable of succeeding those who are stalwarts today, leaders capable of filling the breach where that exists. In science and industry, in literature and art, in social and political activities, we need men and women of insight and initiative and integrity to give a reasoned and bold lead to the country. The stalwarts of today may well become the immortals of tomorrow. Yet tomorrow they may not be in the flesh with us. Who will adorn their places worthily? Let us be quite sure that without leaders, or with incompetent ones, those who lack insight and are intolerant, those who lack initiative and are tied to the apron-strings of others, those who lack integrity and are self-seekers, a free country cannot prosper and must eventually fall on evil days.

Yet how many potential leaders are stunted and crushed by the eccentricities of the home and those who govern it! How many boys and girls develop all manner of complexes and psychoses because of maltreatment like Byron! Paroxysms of parental rage, the spirit of paternal domination, selfishness, indiscipline, discourtesy, back-biting, irresponsibility and the like on the part of parents and the senior members of the home are not likely to foster the qualities of leadership in a child, however, promising he or she may be.

All this implies that parents should be educated. whereas in India it is our misfortune that over 90 per cent of the parents are illiterate. But in some cases the illiterate father and mother know by some instinct how to bring up a child while the semi-educated parents do not. It would be a great day when all the 400 millions of India and Pakistan would find the portals of education thrown open to them. But it would be a greater day when we would organise some sort of special education to create that kind of a home with Love and Beauty and Truth which touch the mind and heart of every child like the sunlight that makes the lotus open its petals.

Someone might well ask, "What is the school meant

for then?" Schools and colleges must continue the good work begun in the home. They give the students opportunities for the cultivation of those qualities of insight, initiative and integrity which are intrinsic qualities of leadership. Knowledge, of course, they must acquire. But they must acquire so much more than book-learning. Students who pass through our schools and colleges must be mentally vitalized not devitalized; must be morally enriched not made insolvent; must be culturally nourished not emasculated. They must learn to admire the great men and women of the past and to emulate them. They must grow more and more conscious of the evils that need to be reformed, the task that wait to be undertaken, the problems that have to be solved, the pitfalls that must be avoided. It is not as if a man or woman can read through a book on 'Parliamentary Procedure' overnight and turn into a leader on the morrow. Leaders have to fill in the hard term of apprenticeship, and where can they do this better than in school and college? "Leaders are born and not made" is a convenient adage for escapists. But it does not absolve parents, teachers, or educational authorities from their share of the res-

pensibility and their share of the blame. Children are born. They have to be *made* leaders. Some children may have inherited all the potentialities of leaders but may be crippled by the wrong kind of environment, the wrong kind of teaching, the wrong kind of punishment.

It is welcome news that a school to train leaders has been started in Naini Tal with the well-known educationist, Mr. Pearse of Gwalior as the Principal. The aims and ideals of the school seem to be praiseworthy. We have confidence in Mr. Pearse and in those who are on the governing body of the school.

Yet no school and no college, no matter if the Angel Gabriel or even Saraswati, the patron-deity of learning, herself took over charge, can take the place of the home. Nor can one expect schools or colleges to become mental hospitals to remedy and treat and cure defects and maladjustments and damages caused by the home. The home is the kindergarten for leaders no less than for geniuses. It is the earliest training-ground for all that greatness, heroism and moral grandeur that makes nations great, glorious and triumphant.

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THE PLACE OF ENGLISH IN FREE INDIA

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

Now that the political freedom of India has been achieved, what should be the place of English in independent India is one of the big problems that confront the country. So far English has occupied a very important place in the cultural and intellectual life of India, as a result of which our mother-tongues have been relegated to the background. As a matter of fact, in our schools and colleges, much more time and attention are devoted to the teaching of English than to that of our mother-tongue, which is usually neglected. English is still the medium of instruction in the higher courses of study. We set so much store by English that a sound knowledge of it is very often considered to be the criterion of one's efficiency in one's official career, even, and serves as a passport to cultured and enlightened society, so to say. Many of us are the products of a hybrid education and culture, which we pride ourselves upon. A good deal of the present importance of English may be mainly attributed to the fact that it was until recently the language of the ruling nation. But now that India has shaken off the foreign yoke, all the sensible people of the country feel that things should not be what they are at present, and have become rather intolerant of the undue importance that has been attached to English so far. The pressing need of the reorientation of the entire educational policy of the country on national lines has come home to us all, and has set us seriously thinking as to how to evolve a system of education that will be more in keeping with the

changed condition in our motherland, brought about by the attainment of freedom. At the present moment, we all realize the folly of assigning such an important place to English in education as well as in our everyday life, and are fully alive to the fact that it is derogatory to our national prestige and dignity to neglect our mother-tongue, and deprive it of its rightful place. Apart from all this, there is no denying the fact, also, that to-day the average Indian student is being intellectually cramped, being compelled to learn all subjects and express his thoughts and ideas through the medium of a foreign tongue which he naturally finds it hard to master. He cannot be expected to be able to express himself as freely in a foreign language as he can in his mother-tongue, over which he has got a far greater command.

Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. It was he who first included the vernacular in the higher courses of study. In Bengal until recently English was the medium of instruction in schools. It still forms an important part of the school curriculum, and is one of the principal subjects to be taught. The pupils are debarred from promotion to a higher class if they fail in English. In colleges English is still the medium of instruction, all the subjects being taught in English. The University question papers are set in English, and the candidates are, willy-nilly, required to answer them in English. Very often they find it difficult to pass the examinations, even if they happen to be thoroughly

conversant with the subject-matter unless they have a fairly good command of English. In a good many cases they fail in the examinations only because of their inability to express themselves correctly in English. Sometimes the students also fail to grasp the subject-matter properly, if they are weak in English, all the books being written in English. This really constitutes a serious stumbling-block in the passing of the examinations as well as in the acquisition of knowledge, in the present state of affairs. Besides, there seems to be very little point in over-taxing the brains of the children of tender age by thrusting a foreign language on them.

Up till now English is the State language of India. All the correspondence at the Government and mercantile offices is carried on in English. All the proceeding in the courts and legislatures of the country are also conducted in English. A good command of the language therefore stands us in good stead in our public and official career.

English also constitutes the *lingua franca* of India, which is inhabited by a variety of people, speaking different languages and dialects. We are unable to make ourselves intelligible to the people of our sister provinces unless we possess a fairly good knowledge of English. There are so many languages and dialects spoken in India that it is really impossible for the people of one province to learn and master all of these. So all intercourse social, political, intellectual and commercial between the different provinces of India will be rendered impossible unless there is a *lingua franca* understood by all.

Apart from all this, the great cultural value of English cannot also be overlooked. It has forged out a link between the cultured countries of the world and has helped to provide a bond of unity and intellectual fellowship between them. Through a knowledge of English we have been able to keep in touch with the most advanced trends of world thought. Through English we have become acquainted with the great literary achievement of the whole world—the masterpieces of the world's best literature. Had we been ignorant of English, we would have been denied the enjoyment of the immense wealth of English literature. So the cultural value of English, as an international language, should by no means be under-estimated. It is quite in the nature of things that at the present time a knowledge of English is looked upon as the *sine qua non* of education in our country. While stressing the cultural value of the English language and literature, I am not at all belittling the greatness of our Bengali language and literature. Tagore's invaluable contributions to Bengali literature, even barring the literary achievements of other eminent Bengali poets and authors—the unparalleled beauty, music, and lift of his diction—have served to enrich the Bengali language and literature so much that it can claim a place, second to none, among the world's best literature.

But it is a pity that at the present time, Bengali or any other Indian language is spoken and understood by an infinitesimally small fraction of the whole population of the world. English holds a unique position as the international language of the cultured nations of the world. So even if English is replaced by Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India, the importance of English as an international language will remain as it is to-day.

It has been decided by all the Provincial Governments of India that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction, so far as primary and secondary education is concerned, and that the change in University education should be effected by stages, without impairing the standard of education. The suggestion of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that "the change-over" should spread over a period of five years seems to be a very sound one. An immediate replacement of English in collegiate education is sure to lead to a good deal of serious inconvenience on the part of both the teachers and the taught. Besides, some practical difficulties will also have to be solved before the scheme can be carried into effect. It has been proposed that in the sixth year the mother-tongue should be made the medium of instruction up to the highest standard. English will not, however, be abolished altogether. It will continue to be taught as a second language in schools and colleges, and will be a subject of study for the post-graduate students. Thus it is only those who have a special taste for the language will go in for it, and will learn English for the sake of English. Although so much stress is laid on English, which is a compulsory subject in our schools and colleges at the present time, only a small number of people really learn the language. So if the present artificial importance of English is thus done away with, it is expected to secure its true place in the academic life of the country.

Two recent decisions of the Government of West Bengal mark the beginning of a new phase in the educational policy of the day, which is expected to have far-reaching effects on the entire system of education. The first of these is that the teaching of English should be stopped in all primary schools and the primary classes of all middle and high schools of West Bengal. The second decision is that the candidates for the I.A. and B.A. Examinations (including I.Com. and B.Com.) may, if they like, answer the question papers in Bengali. It appears from a notification issued by the Government of West Bengal that the decisions are to be implemented immediately. These are certainly a move in the right direction, and should be appreciated as such by all. But at the beginning, these proposals are sure to be looked upon with some suspicion, and to meet with some opposition, as all new measures are. As for the abolition of English at the primary stage, English is only an optional subject in the primary schools of the Pro-

vince. As a rule, the subject is so badly taught at the average primary school that it had better not be taught at all. To my mind, it is no use teaching a subject unless it is well taught. There are very few teachers, capable of teaching English well in the primary schools of the Province. But so far English has been a compulsory subject in the primary classes of the secondary schools. In the course of my inspection I have always insisted that the English lessons should be mainly oral and conversational in these classes and that too much stress should not be laid on reading and writing English at this stage. In my opinion, it is a more rational mode of teaching a language. A child first learns to speak a language before it knows how to read and write it. But in the event of English being started from Class-V, as has been proposed, the present prescribed English readers should be replaced by easier ones, more suited to the needs of beginners. In that case, the standard of teaching needs also to be lower, and the text-books, too, should be written accordingly. The beginners will really find it hard to follow the present English text-books prescribed for Class-V. As for the other decision of the Government of West Bengal, at the beginning some difficulty is sure to be experienced in making Bengali a really effective medium of instruction. None can deny that there are certain initial difficulties which will have to be overcome in doing so. The pre-requisite of the implementation of this decision of the Government of West Bengal is the writing and publication of books in Bengali on all subjects. The task will probably prove a tremendous one for the authors and publishers of the country. But the work should be undertaken in no time. In collegiate education English cannot therefore be immediately replaced by Bengali as the medium of instruction. The proposal that a maximum period of five years should be fixed as the deadline for the retention of English as the medium of instruction in higher University education seems to be a very sensible one. In the meantime the recent option allowed to the candidates to answer the question papers in Bengali at the University examinations is expected to go a long way towards the achievement of the desired object. So it is an experiment worth carrying out, although the candidates who have been used to studying a certain subject in English may not find it easy at the beginning to express their ideas in Bengali. To my mind, Bengali can hardly be turned into an effective vehicle of instruction in colleges, unless and until the books on all the subjects including scientific ones are either composed in Bengali or translated into it. The writing and publication of the necessary books in Bengali is, therefore, the crying need of the day. Co-ordinated efforts should be put forth by all the eminent scholars and educationists of the province to put the scheme into practice, as soon as possible. This will probably be an uphill work for them. Perhaps they will be

hard put to it to find out appropriate Bengali words for certain scientific and technical terms. Attempts should be made to enlarge and enrich our vocabulary on these lines. Some new words will have to be coined, and certain terms will have to be borrowed from other foreign languages. The foreign words which will thus find their way to Bengali will probably be gradually absorbed into it. As all students of Philology know this is not quite a new and unprecedented thing in the history of a language. It is not unlikely that it will take us at least a few years to get the necessary books written in Bengali.

There is talk of the adoption of a Provincial language in place of English as the court or official language in each province. The present set-up of things, consequent on the attainment of freedom, has rendered such a measure absolutely necessary. But certain practical difficulties are to be encountered in the event of the replacement of English, which has been in vogue for such a long time. At the present moment all the correspondence and report work at the Government offices, all business transactions in commercial concerns, and all the proceedings in the law-courts and legislatures of the provinces of India are being conducted in English, which serves the purpose of the *lingua franca* of the country. The sudden imposition of a provincial language is sure to occasion a good deal of inconvenience on the part of such people and employees as hail from other provinces and are not well-acquainted with the language of the province in question. Let alone other provinces, Bengal, for example is a cosmopolitan province, which is inhabited by the people of all nationalities—it is not for the Bengalees alone. The Government and mercantile offices of the province are also staffed by the people of various provinces. So in case Bengali is adopted as the court or official language, the non-Bengalees must be allowed a reasonable time for the purpose of acquiring a workable knowledge of the language. Besides, the problem of supplying an adequate number of Bengali typewriters for the offices of the province should also be solved, as otherwise copying in manuscript will entail a good deal of waste of time and labour.

Now the question is what should be the inter-provincial and State language of India, in case the vernacular is adopted as the court and official language in each province, there being a variety of languages spoken in the different parts of this sub-continent. It is quite impossible for the people of one province to pick up the languages of all the sister provinces. So there must needs be an inter-provincial language, which should be understood by the people of all provinces. It has been suggested that Hindi should replace English as such. In that case also, the change should be gradual. At the present time, the people of all the provinces do not know Hindi. It will take them at least a few years to master the language, so as to be able to speak, read and write it fairly correctly.

WHAT THE WAR WROTE ABOUT

By RAM SARAN SHARMA

NEVER before did so many write so much about so unimportant a subject as India, as they did during the last war. Almost everybody who is anybody, or was, created a book about this country. It almost seems that if actual blood could not flow over India, ink was surely not spared. And these books and writers spoke for India and against her, ridiculed her and revered her, analysed her and put her together again; no personality was spared, no institution was let off, no story or suggestion was too fantastic for the printed page.

Of course, the main reason was either justification of British rule in India or its exposure as an untenable system. In between everything was pushed in.

We shall remain perennially indebted to those great and noble souls who championed our cause, raising it to its real and lofty level, at a time when the whole world had turned against us. The reader will surely recollect that at one stage the entire Indian nationalism was considered enemy-inspired and India's demand for freedom a 'stab in the back.' It is to the untiring efforts of our dear friends in Allied countries, specially the U.S.A., that our cause did not suffer in public esteem. There were no Indian leaders at the moment free to advocate her cause; whoever passed as a representative of India was guided by sheer opportunism.

I propose to recapitulate the better known of our friends and enemies, so that we may forget none. Of course it is not possible to include those numberless men and women who contributed to our fight for freedom or opposed it through stray articles in the press.

The first two names that come up for honourable mention are those of Louis Fisher and Pearl Buck. Fisher's book *Empire* created a furore, because it was written so brilliantly and forcefully. While in India he had seen her on the very eve of the 1942 revolution, had been in intimate touch with the leaders preparing for the struggle, and had become the great ambassador of Indian militant nationalism. Naturally his book stirred the Tory mouthpiece, *The Times*, into a passionate justification of British Imperialism. Said Kate L. Mitchell:

"I believe Imperialism is no accident but a product of definite and powerful economic forces... Mr. Fischer would have served his purpose better had he sought to probe deeper into the real nature of Imperialism....."

John MacCormac angrily wrote:

"But if Mr. Fischer's object is to persuade England to free India, it is doubtful whether he has furthered it..... To assert dogmatically that they (Indians) will make good use of it (freedom) is another matter. Freedom and unity like many other precious things are generally born in the blood. If India had not been under the British four years ago, she would have been under the

Japanese to-day. Who will hold the ring for her blood-letting tomorrow?"

I wonder what poor MacCormac has to say today.

Sorokin, whom we seem to have forgotten, wrote a book entitled *The Crisis of Our Age* in which he discussed with remarkable power and precision "the bloodiest crisis of the bloodiest century." While discussing the agonising evils and terrors of the present age, as portrayed by Sorokin, John Haynes Holmes reproduced the news-despatches from India and compared them to the news-items from Nazi-occupied Europe. They proved to be the most convincing condemnation of British rule in India, specially their methods of crushing her demand for freedom.

It may not be out of place to point out that any such comparison suggested by any Indian writer those days would have surely landed him in prison.

The Indian author Kumar Ghoshal published a book in America—*People of India*. The writer sought to prove that the root cause of India's trouble was her economic misery, which in its turn was the result of her political slavery. Apropos the August Resolution he said:

"If the British Government really considered the defence of India and the preparation for war as its major concern, it could have at least bent to the degree of opening negotiations.....but it resorted to arrests... The Congress actually hoped to avoid civil disobedience but were not given a chance. The violence which broke out was the result of the arrests of the Indian leaders and was not according to any pre-arranged plan."

And then there came that sensational book *One World* by that equally sensational person Wendell Willkie. It was the result of his hurricane tour round the world, from which despite the best will on the part of Mr. Willkie, India was excluded. It is generally believed that the India Office prevented his seeing India, because they feared that what he might have seen here would have so enraged him as to forget the Nazis and remember the British only.

In that book Willkie said:

"If we believe in the ends we proclaim and want the stirring forces in the Middle East to work with us towards those ends we must cease trying to perpetuate control by manipulating native forces by playing off one against the other for our own ends."

An obvious reference to India.

Please remember that India had been excluded from his tour, so he could not put it in his records. But India troubled him all along the journey. He says that from Africa to Alaska he was asked only one question—"What about India?" And China's wisest man told him:

"When Indian aspiration for freedom was put aside to some future date it was not Great Britain that suffered in public esteem, it was the United States."

I have always wondered what would have Mr. Willkie written had he seen India of those days with his own eyes. He might have published a separate book under the title *Dark World or One Dungeon*.

Mr. Panikkar also wrote a book which was published in the U. S. A. by the Institute of Pacific Relations. In it he insisted on a free government of India, declaring it as essential for the future of the country. Surprisingly enough the learned author advocated a sort of diluted Pakistan, perhaps indicative of a very cautious and apprehensive mind.

One of the most breath-taking surprises of the war-literature about India was the book *Strangers in India* written by Penderel Moon, an officer of the Indian Civil Service till the year 1943. The reader will recollect that Mr. Moon lost his job for being sympathetic towards that graceful political prisoner Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. After losing his job Mr. Moon went and became an author, a very brilliant and understanding writer on India. How this gentleman could remain so long in the stultifying and rotting atmosphere of the I. C. S. must remain a puzzle, and I personally feel quite thankful to Amery and Linlithgow for having given the world an author.

Naturally Mr. Moon—an odd name suggestive of supineness—cannot get rid of his foreignness in approaching the Indian problems. That needs a Fischer and a Pearl Buck. But, he has done some quite daring thinking. He says :

"Nevertheless Englishmen will perhaps do well to remember just who the men are who have gone to gaol in India. Whatever may be thought of them, they are and are likely to remain national leaders; and only a few years ago they formed the Governments of seven of India's provinces."

About Pakistan, he has stated something remarkable in support of the attitude taken up by Congress leaders.

"Once we have firmly made up our mind," he declares, "and also made it unmistakably clear to others that India is to be independent, Congress and the League will at last be forced to attempt to reach agreement. Congress will not deny this, for they have repeatedly claimed that a settlement with Britain must precede a communal settlement. We have said that it must be the other way round. This rather than the communal conflict itself was the real cause of the deadlock during the first three years of the war."

This by a man who had been grounded for years in the British Government's view of putting the cart before the horse in India.

Mr. William B. Ziff, the author of that best-seller of 1942—*Coming Battle of Germany*, was yet another American to take up cudgels on our behalf. What the costly and treacherous British propaganda was doing in the U.S.A. must have been pretty futile, seeing that author after author stood up to speak out for this ignored, tortured, insulted land.

In his book Ziff sounded a warning and came out with a scathing condemnation of British rule. He declared that

"A phenomenon of great importance to the world which is eventuating from this troubled situation (Indian) is this: India is turning her back on the West.....Out of the inconceivable poverty, ignorance, degradation and festering rancour which has gripped the population, there is rising a radicalism, which gains in strength daily. The tide has turned away from such moderate men as Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and even the socialist intellectual Nehru, who, but a few years ago, was considered a fire-brand."

He named his book—*Gentlemen Talk of Peace*.

Almost everybody who was anybody in the world of letters pleaded that Britain should reopen negotiations with India, but all that advice fell on deaf ears, although it contributed materially towards the downfall of the clique then in power in India and Britain. Among those who served India with their pen in those dark days was Mr. Dewill Mackenzie who argued in his book *India's Problem Can Be Solved* that a peaceful India at that stage would have enormously strengthened the Allies.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford's splendid book *Subject India* received fulsome praise here as well as abroad, and it deserved it every bit. This Englishman has always been one of those who have given their services unstintedly for the just cause of this country. And India remembers all that. In his book, Brailsford very rightly suggested that if India decided to leave British protection, Britain should give her a parting gift—a dowry—of capital equivalent to £100 million and complete freedom, the gift being to set her on her way to economic recovery.

Considering that Britain has ruined our economic life, making us primitive and poor, the idea of the gift was not a bad one. In fact it should be called token compensation, for the systematic impoverishing and emasculation of an entire nation cannot be adequately compensated for.

Subject India created a furore in the U.S.A. too because of its outspokenness and determined bitterness against the British handling of India. Great attention was focussed on the ten suggestions made by the author. Perhaps these will interest the reader even now. They were : United Nations' joint offer of independence to India in a Pacific Charter; transference of control of India from the India Office to the Dominions Office; political amnesty and the transformation of the Executive Council by Lord Wavell into a National Government; simultaneous with this action, Congress to call off the revolt; Viceroy to see that the princes agree to enter the Indian Union and concede civic rights to their subjects; coalition governments in all the provinces immediately; Congress and League to negotiate on Pakistan, if necessary with the help of a mediator; the Viceroy to summon the best man to form a National Cabinet chiefly to conduct the war and prepare a draft constitution for India; new elections as soon as hostilities cease, both in the provinces

and the states; and lastly a treaty between the Indian Union and Britain.

Unfortunately all this was not done to the eternal detriment of Indo-British relations.

And then came out two books, the purpose of one was to vilify India and of the other to provide facts to the British and American troops present in the country. The authors of *Introduction to India*, F. R. Moreas and Robert Stimson, said that their book was an attempt "to give the British and American troops now in India a quick and balanced survey of the country." The author of the other book *This is India*, Peter Muir, claimed that he went to India wholly unprejudiced—a usual claim of the usual class of national black-mailers and pen-prostitutes. The book spat forth venom against the Hindus and the Congress. It was an ugly attempt, full of spite and venom against an unoffending people; obviously somebody had paid Muir to write that muck, else he had a perverted vision.

One of the most fascinating books to come out during this period was Professor Laski's *Reflections on the Revolution of our Time*. It is full of forthright condemnation of British rule and methods in India. In addition it contains some very illuminating reflections on world-conditions and trends of the time in general. He said that the demands made by Indians were neither "impossible nor made at an impossible time" thus disposing off the usual excuse of the then rulers of India. He also condemned the way the Cripps negotiations were conducted, and he had a lot to say against what had been done to India by the British. He said:

"In both the material and the intellectual realms Indians have made less progress in a century and a half than the one-time subject nationalities of the Soviet Union in 25 years."

There is no doubt that the book must have profoundly influenced the outlook of the Labour Party on India.

Mrs. Francis Gunther, said to be one of the most eloquent advocates of Indian freedom in America, also wrote a scintillating book—*Revolution in India*. In it she sought to enlighten the American public about the real position in India and to stimulate their interest in the country. Needless to say, it succeeded admirably.

She appealed to all thinking men and women of the United Nations, in passages that are lit up by her enlightened sympathy and understanding of our problems and misfortunes, to think seriously and sensibly about the incongruity of the British rule over India. It is really impossible to quote passages out of this 120-page book, for the whole of it is quotable. India should feel proud of finding such a zealous advocate of her cause.

The writings of all these people, along with

world events and the growing resurgence of Asia, finally made even the ruling circles of the U.S.A. realize the urgency of a just solution of the problem of entire Asia. Mr. Sumner Welles, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State, wrote a book, *Time of Decision*, wherein he pleaded that a new recognition must be made of the colonial problem, and that a readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe was essential. Writing of India he said, "Obviously the ideal method of a solution is through direct negotiation between the British Government and the leaders of India.....However should these methods continue to fail, an executive council of the international organization, through its agencies, should stand ready to assist in composing the difficulties....."

One of the most talked of books about India was written by Professor Coupland, *Future of India*. It was widely discussed and commented upon and to an extent can be said to have provided the basic idea of the present plan of redrawing the map of India. Coupland rejected the Pakistan of the League's conception, and suggested regionalism, drawing his inspiration from the Swiss model of government.

Yet another book which was even more talked of, for quite different reasons of course, was Beverley Nichols's *Verdict on India*. It has been so widely and uniformly condemned, quoted and answered that to write anything at all about it is redundant. In any case a drain-inspector's report does not deserve more than a hurried mention. My only comment was and is: Nichols overdid his job so that it boomeranged on the head of his sponsors.

The Curtis Plan was elaborated in the two pamphlets *Decision and Action*. The Plan was an apologia for the continuation of British rule in India as it is. Curtis said:

"No serious thinker would propose to entrust the safety of the British Commonwealth, and indeed the peace of the world, to any electorate of which three-fourths would be people who have still to acquire the art of governing themselves...."

No serious thinker paid much attention to the Curtis Plan.

The last book on my list is the one written by Sir Geoffrey De Montmorency, a former Governor of the Punjab. The ex-panjandrum spoke the language of the die-hard Tories and the book went almost unnoticed. However he declared pompously:

"The efforts and sacrifices of the people of India in the two great wars on behalf of the Empire are reasons which, apart from any other things, alone make any weakening on this point the gravest betrayal of the sacred imperial trust...."

It seems that the King Canutes of the world never die out. They may be swept off wholesale, but they never give up. And they never know how foolish they look.

INDO-PERSIAN RELATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A.,
Superintendent, Archaeology and Museum, Jaipur

THE connection between India and Persia can be traced from the early times when the ancestors of the Hindus and the Persians formed an undivided branch of the Aryan stock. Though the separation of these two kindred peoples took place more than 3000 years ago, there remained a certain community of interest which had a bearing upon the early history of Northern India. The sway exercised by Persia over North-West India is described in detail by Herodotus in his book *Historia* but the knowledge of the ancient Persians about India is revealed in some of the texts of the Zend and Pehlavi literature.

The relationship between the Hindus and the Persians through ties of common Aryan blood, close relationship and affinities in matters of religious beliefs, ritual observances, manners and customs is evidenced in the Vedas and the Avesta, which are the earliest literary monuments of India and Persia. For instance, a certain relationship is acknowledged to exist between the Vedic Divinity *Varuna* and the Avestan deity *Ahur Mazda* (mazd), the supreme God of Zoroastrianism. Equally well-known are the points of kinship between the Indian *Mitra* and the Iranian *Mithra* and in no less degree between the victorious *Indra Vritrahana* of the Rigveda and the all-triumphant *Verethraghna* of the Avesta. Again, the parallel existing between *Yama* (Vedic) and *Yuna* (Avestan) or between the sacred drink *Soma* (Rigveda) and *Haoma* (Avestan) points to the long-established connection between India and Persia in ancient times.

There are certain passages in the Rigveda, which contain allusions, direct or implied, to Persia in a broader sense. Thus the Parthavas in the Rigveda (Mandal VI) are to be understood as referring to the ancestors of the Parthians in Iran. Under the designation Parshavas in the Rigveda (Mandal X), the Persians seem to have been referred to. The name *Balhika* (Atharvaveda) has been interpreted by some Indian scholars as containing some allusions to an ancient Iranian tribe of the Bactrians. Such examples are very common in the Vedas and in the Avesta.

Linguists have found that the language of the Rigveda shows its affinity in forms of grammar and roots of verbs to Persian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic as if they were descendants of a common ancestor. They have in common words expressive of primary relationship, such as those for father, mother, etc. (For instance, Sanskrit *Matri*, Latin *Mater*, English *mother*, Persian *madar*; Sanskrit *pitri*, Latin *pater*, English *father* and Persian *pidar* and so on).

The linguistic evidence is the evidence of some important primitive history. The language thus related points to their common origin from a common language spoken in a common home by the ancestors of the present speakers. The speakers of these languages became separate peoples migrating from their original

common home but their ancestors were one Aryan people whom we may call the *Wiros* after the word *Wiros* for men occurring in the majority of the languages in question.

We are here concerned with the Persians only so far as they play their part in the history of our culture. When we look to the records relating to the Aryan migration we find that they had visited Persia by the road between Tabriz and Tehran or proceeded towards Mashad, Herat and Bactria in search of fresh fields and pastures new and got ultimately settled down in the land of the *Aryavarta*.

As has already been illustrated above, the Aryans who were the ancestors of the Indians (referred to in Sanskrit as 'Arya') and the Iranians (referred to in the Avesta as 'Ariya') lived in the region referred to above in a scattered and unsettled manner. Their respective religious books, the Rigveda and the Avesta show closer affinity in language and thought than with Greek, Latin or other Indo-Germanic works.

"Not only single words and phrases but even whole stanzas may be transliterated from the dialect of India into the dialects of Iran, without change of vocabulary or construction."

This may be illustrated by the following example :

AVESTAN	VEDIC
<i>Tat thwa persa ers moi</i>	<i>Tat tva prichha riju ma</i>
<i>vacha Ahura.</i>	<i>vacha Anura.</i>
<i>Ta Chit Mazda Vasmī</i>	<i>Ta chit medhishtha</i>
<i>anya cha vidye.</i>	<i>vasmī anya cha vide.</i>

It will thus be seen that the ancestors of the Hindus and the Persians had lived longer together than their other Aryan kinsmen who had migrated towards the West. They were probably the last to leave the original Aryan home because their language carried off the largest share of the common Aryan inheritance, as traced in roots, grammar, words, myths and legends.

It is interesting to note that both Indian and foreign evidences corroborate one and the same thing in fixing up the age of the Rigveda. An unexpected light comes from a source outside India. Some inscriptions of about 1400 B.C. discovered at Boghaz-koi in Asia Minor recording contracts concluded between the King of the Hittites and the King of Mitani mentioned some gods as protectors of these contracts. Their names are : *Itaru Mi-it-ra as-si-it* (irani), *U-uru-w-na as-si-it* (ilu), *In-dar* (itani) *na-sa-a* (*ti-i-a-a*) *n-na*.

The names are considered to correspond to the names of the Rigvedic gods, *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Indra* and *Nasatya*. As these gods are also known to Avesta, some scholars think that they were the common gods of the undivided Aryan people prior to their separation as Indians and Iranians. But the spelling of the names in the Mesopotamian inscriptions points clearly to their Rigvedic origin. In that case we must assume that Rigveda and its culture must have been established

in India much earlier than 1400 B.C. so as to be able to influence the culture of the Asia Minor at that time.

Of the same time as the Boghaskoi inscriptions are the famous letters from Tel-el Amarna in which some Mitani princes are mentioned with names of Sanskrit form, such as Artatma, Tusratta and Suttarna. Some of the princes of the Kassites who ruled over Babylonia between C. 1746 to 1180 B.C. also have Sanskrit names like Shurias (*Surya*). Marytas (*Marutas*), etc. In the library of Assur-banipal of about 700 B.C. was found a list of deities worshipped in Assyria which includes the name Assara Mazas equivalent to Avestan chief god of Ahura Mazda, although the form Assara is nearer Sanskrit Asura than Avestan Ahura.

The same antiquity of the Aryan migration to India and of the Rigveda is pointed out by literary evidence. If Buddhism originated in C. 600 B.C., the Brahminical literature and culture it presupposes must be of earlier age. We have to allow adequate time for the growth of such different types of Brahminical literature as the Sūtras, the Aranyakas, the Upanishads, the Brahmanas, the four Vedic Samhitas preceded by the original material which was later edited in the Rigveda Samhita. Thus on the basis of both the evidences hereto weighed, we come to the conclusion that the age of the Rigveda falls between 2000 B.C. to 2500 B.C.

From the Iranian sources available evidence seems to be stronger in favour of Persian influence upon India and modifying control over the northern part of the country. Throughout ancient history Persia was the more aggressive power of the two, yet it is uncertain how far the sphere of Iranian power and authority in India may have extended prior to the time of the Achaemenid Empire. The sphere of Persian activity does not appear to have extended to the limit of the Indus. There are different lines of evidence testifying to the inclusion of the Trans-Indus Provinces into the Persian Empire and these we find in the Avesta as well as in the history of Herodotus. There is also inscriptional evidence bearing on this point. The knowledge acquired by the ancient Persians seems to have been meagre and imperfect. They knew only about a few rivers of the Punjab and remembered the sixteen regions alleged to have been created by Ahura Mazda. The fifteenth of those provinces according to Vendidad was Hafta Hindu (*Sapta Sindhavah*—seven rivers).

The region in question was more comprehensive than the modern Punjab and the land of the five rivers must have included the lands watered in the north and north-west of Hindustan by the river Indus and its affluence answering apparently, to the Vedic Vitasta (Jhelum), Oshikini (Chenab), Parushni (Ravi), Vipashah (Bias), Shatudrih (Sutlej), the latter being the easternmost stream but the geographical conception of the northern India of the Persians seems to be more comprehensive and accurate when the Sassanians were in power. This is borne out by a passage in *Yasht* which may be translated as follows :

"The long arms of Mithra seize upon those who deceive Mithra, even when in Eastern India it catches him, even when in Western India he smites him down, even when he is at the mouth of the Ranha (Nile) river and even when he is in the middle of the earth. . ."

The same statement is repeated in *Yashna* or *Yasna* regarding the power of Sraosha—the guardian genius of mankind as extending over the wide domain from India on the east to the extreme west, even when in eastern India he catches his adversary, even when in western India it smites him down. The ancient Persians knew either the Hindukush or the Himalayas, the name Ush-Hinduwas meaning, "Beyond or above India," but it may also mean the mountain from which the rivers rise.

There are some inscriptional evidences which need consideration for purposes of constructing the Persian rule in India.

The Cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I of Persia record the names of some of the provinces which were held by him. This fact has been mentioned in the following inscriptions: (a) Bahistun Rock Inscription (C. 520 to 518 B.C.), (b) the second of the two old Persian Black tablets sunk in the wall of the platform of Persipolis (C. 516-515 B.C.), and (c) the upper one of the two inscriptions chiselled round the tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustam (C. 515 B.C.). In the last two inscriptions there is a mention of Hindu, i.e., the Punjab territory as a part of the realm. Scholars are of opinion that the conquest of the Indus Valley was completed in about 518 B.C. In this connection the history of the Achaemenian Empire of Darius as described by Herodotus is also to be considered.

Herodotus, the father of history, in his monumental work, the *Historica*, gives a list of seventy Satraps established by Darius and expressly states that the Indian realm was the twentieth division. Some inferences regarding its wealth and extent may further more be gathered from the tribute which it paid into the treasury. Thus Herodotus says: "The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people we know and they pay a tribute proportionally larger than all the rest, the sum of 360 talents of gold-dust." This immense tribute is equivalent to nearly a million sterling and the levy formed about one-third of the total amount of the sum imposed upon the Asiatic provinces.

There is another passage in Herodotus which gives further proof of Persian connection and control of the valley of Indus from its upper post to the sea. Some time about 517 B.C. Darius I despatched a naval expedition under Skylax to explore the Indian basin. The squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhara country somewhere near the upper post of the river Indus, the name of the country being Kaspapyros (Kashyapapur)—the exact location of which is still a matter of controversy. The fleet succeeded in making its way to the Arabian Sea and ultimately reached Egypt two and a half years later from the time the voyage began.

The dominion of the Persian authority is, therefore, clear from the *Historica* of Herodotus and the inscriptions mentioned above.

Regarding the Indus regions towards the south we have an express statement of Darius that these were never subject to him. By the south Herodotus means the sandy western portion of Sindh and Rajputana. How far westward Persian dominion may have extended over the Punjab cannot be ascertained but it is significant that Herodotus never referred to the Gangetic valley or the famous Magadhan Kingdom. V. A. Smith says :

"Although the exact limit of Indian Satrapy under Darius cannot be determined, we know that it is distinct from Herat, Gandhara and Kandhar. The Persian dominion must, therefore, have comprised of the course of Indus of the Kalabar to the Sea including the whole of the Sindh and perhaps the considered portions of the Punjab."

In this connection we ought to refer to the evidence furnished by the Persian inscriptions as well as by Herodotus regarding the sway exercised by Darius over the people of the Indian borderland. Of the twenty-three provinces, the names of which appear in the Babistun rock referred to, as also with some slight variation on the platform of the tomb inscriptions, the three provinces, namely, Bakthri (Bulkh), Hariva (Herat) and Zaranka (Drangiana) formed part of the present Afghanistan but some are remotest from the Indian frontier. The four that were directly connected with the region of Indus itself are : (a) Gandirsi (Gandhar), the region of the Kabul valley as well as Peshawar ; (b) Tathagu (either Ghilzai territory and Ghazni or Hazara country) ; (c) Harahavati (district round Kandhar) ; (d) Maka (Makran) southern part of Baluchistan). Herodotus mentions in his list people who were subject to Darius (some of whom may be identified as having occupied districts in or near the present Afghanistan and in some cases adjoining the Indian frontier) ; thus the Sattagydi corresponds to the people of Tathagu mentioned above and Gandrio to the people of Gandhar.

An interesting piece of information has been preserved in the *Apocryphal*, the Greek version of the book of Esra, known as Iesdras, relating to the limit of the Persian Empire under Darius where a reference to India has also been found. The passage runs as follows :

"Now the King made a great feast unto all his subjects and unto all that were born in his house and unto all the princes of Media and Persia, to all the Satraps, Captains and Governors that were under him from India to Ethiopia in the hundred and twenty-seven provinces and also to the Indian Embassy from the Magadhan King."

This passage is very important as it preserves the extent of Achaemenian Empire under Darius and also to the ambassadorial appointment in those days. The reign of Xerxes which followed Darius I and which means the continuance of Persian domination of India is testified to by the presence of Indian contingents

consisting of both infantry and cavalry among the troops from the subject nations drawn upon by that monarch to augment the vast army of the Asiatics which he marshalled to invade Greece. Herodotus in the course of his description of this army of Xerxes makes the following remarks :

"The Indians clad in garments made of cotton carried bows of cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with iron, and thus the equipped Indians were marshalled under the command of Pharnasathras, the son of Atabrates."

Regarding the Indian cavalry, Herodotus says :

"They were armed with the same weapons as the infantry soldiers but they brought riding horses and chariots, the latter being drawn with horses and wild asses."

The commander of these forces was a Persian as his name suggests. We may conclude from this that the ancient domain of the Persian Empire was much the same in its extent under Xerxes in 480 B.C. as it had been in the reign of his father. It may be noted that an immense number of Indian dogs followed the army of Xerxes in his Grecian invasion according to Herodotus. After the defeat of Xerxes by the Greeks, the decadence of the Achaemenian power in the East really began. For this reason, it is easy to understand that there was no forward movement on Persia's part in India. Iranian sway in that territory endured for a century or so. Among other proofs of this close and continued connection may be mentioned the fact that Ctisias who was a resident physician in the Persian Court about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. could hardly have written *Indica* without the information regarding India from envoys and embassies sent as tribute-bearers to the Persian Emperors or from Persian officials as ambassadors visiting India on state business as well as from his intercourse with the travellers and traders of the two countries. With the same amount of certainty it may be said that the Persian supremacy in India prevailed up to 330 B.C. when Darius III, the last member of the Achaemenian dynasty was able to bring Indian troops for his final stand at Arbella to resist Alexander the Great. Thus according to Arrian, this contingent of mountainous Indians was under the command of the Satrap of Arachosia. According to the same authority, the Sakai (the Scythian army) was supplemented by more forces of elephants belonging to the Indians, who lived on this side of Indus. With the defeat of Darius III, the last vestige of Persian domination disappeared from India. With the downfall of the Achaemenid rule the trans-Indus provinces of the Persians passed into the hands of Alexander but cultural and political relations were maintained by the Indian monarchs later on as well.

We are told by Chanakya and Arrian that the Magadhan Empire maintained a department of embassy (*Rajaduta Vibhag*) and exchanged embassies between India and Persia in addition to other countries.

Such an embassy was continued up to the time of Asoka the Great, with the difference that he used this embassy as a means for the propagation of Dhamma in the distant countries like Persia. According to Nagarjuna, we find that Kanishka also maintained such relations with Persia and full-grown Buddhism met the nascent Christian and other faiths in the academies and markets of Persia and Egypt and it was under these influences that the Mahayana School of Buddhism developed. Besides embassies, Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya main-

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tained both cultural and economic relations with Persia through waterways. The most interesting embassy was arranged by Pulakesin in the 36th year of his reign (625-26 A.D.) with Khusr II, the then king of Persia. The courtesy was reciprocated by a return embassy from Persia which was received with due honour at the Indian court as is testified to by a fresco painting in cave No. 1 at Ajanta. This representation, according to a foreign authority, suggests that the Ajanta School of pictorial art drew its inspiration from Persia.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ZOROASTER

By PROF. H. C. PAUL, M.A.

SPITAMA ZARATHUSHTRA, commonly known as Zoroaster, was the first and foremost poet and philosopher of the ancient Iranians. And by the testimony of its own scriptures, the Iranian religion was with the fullest right styled the Zoroastrian. There were thinkers before him, no doubt, but he, by his excellent expositions on the conception of God and the ways of life, had become immortal for so many generations to come. His sacred book, the *Avesta*, which was counted as a revealed one, was one of the most prominent which had formulated the religious beliefs of the ancient world, by reason both of the influence which it had exerted, and of its own intrinsic character.

"It was, indeed, never propagated by missionary labours beyond the limits of Iran; we know of no people not of Persian origin who accepted voluntarily, or upon whom it was forced; but its position on the eastern border of the Semitic races allowed it to affect and modify the various religions of Semitic origin. The later Jewish faith is believed by many to exhibit evident traces of Zoroastrian doctrines, borrowed during the captivity in Babylonia; and the creeds of some Oriental Christian sects, as well as of a portion of the adherents of Islam, have derived essential features from the same source."

Of the systems of the Aryans and of the Greeks, it was found that they flourished side by side with the system of Zoroaster. And they had so many similar and contrasting ideas of the conceptions of God and their ways of life which might well be compared with the philosophy of our Prophet. The Iranians were a sub-stock of the Indo-Iranian Group coming down from the larger Indo-European Group. And we could easily, by the aid of the Vedas of the Indians, trace out with some distinctness the form of the original Aryan faith, held before the separation of the Indian and Iranian nations. It was also well-known that Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher of the sixth century B.C., after his return from Iranian lands, expounded his religious views in the same tune with those of the Zoroastrians that God was Light and His Soul was Truth,

and the way to meet Him was through the path of Truth.

Zoroaster, flourishing during the sixth or seventh century B.C., was the author of the *Gathas*, the Celestial songs, the earlier portions of the whole of the *Avesta* writings. It was he who first advocated the religion of Monotheism, and his predecessors, the Saoshyants, the 'Fire-worshippers', seemed to have worshipped a plurality of gods, whom they called Ahuras, 'the living ones'—the various powers ruling the different aspects of life and the universe, in almost the same spirit as that of the earlier thinkers of the Vedas. Spitama, not satisfied with this narrow conception of the Divine Being, declared at last that the Supreme Being was Ahura Mazda, (Mazda is compared to Vedic Medhas, meaning skilful, able to make anything) who is

"the Creator of the earthly and spiritual life, the Lord of the whole universe, in whose hands are all the creatures. He is in possession of all good things, spiritual and worldly, such as the good mind (*vohu-mano*), immortality (*amertad*), health (*haurvratad*), the best-truth (*asha-vahishta*), devotion and piety (*armaiti*) and abundance of every earthly good (*khshathra-vairyas*)."

He is not only the preserver of all good things, but the punisher of the wicked at the same time. All that is created, good or evil, fortune or misfortune, is His work, as we find again in *Yasna* :

"He who created by means of his wisdom, the good and the evil mind in thinking, words and deeds, rewards his obedient followers with prosperity. Art Thou (*Mazda*) not he, in whom the final cause of both intellects (good and evil) exists?"

Thus Ahura Mazda is the originator of both the good mind and the evil mind (*ekam mano*) which are found in every human being. And these two final causes are called Spenta-Mainyush ('beneficent spirit')

2. *Yasna*, XLVII, 1. Translated by M. Haug in his *Language, Writings and Religion of the Persia*, p. 167.

3. *Ibid*, XLVIII, 4.

1. Whitney, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, p. 291.

and *Angro-Mainyush* ('hurtful spirit') through which *Ahura-Mazda*, the Supreme Lord of the Zoroastrians, reveals the creation of the world. These two spirits are inseparable, though opposed to each other.

"The beneficent spirit appears in the blazing flame, the presence of the hurtful one is marked by the wood converted into charcoal. *Spenta-Mainyush* has created the light of day, and *Angro-Mainyush* the darkness of night; the former awakens men to their duties, the latter lulls them to sleep. Life is produced by *Spenta-Mainyush*, but extinguished by *Angro-Mainyush*, whose hands, by releasing the soul from the fetters of the body, enable her to rise into immortality and everlasting life."

This is the great philosophy of our ancient prophet—the principle of good and evil conjointly acting through one another which wrongly interpreted by some to be the two Gods ruling independently, one the *Ahura Mazda* Himself ruling over the good and the other the *Angro-Mainyush*, commonly known as *Ahriman*, ruling over the evil. Thus arose the idea of God and the Devil ruling side by side which is really a later innovation as is apparent in *Vendidad*.

These are the two spirits in every aspect of life, without them nothing can be brought forward. Thus there are two intellects (*khratu*)—the original or the spiritual intellect, *asno-khratu* or *mainyu khratu* (*mino khrd*) and the secondary intellect or the intellect heard by the ear (*gaosha-sruta khratu*), or the knowledge gathered through experience; two lives (*ahu*)—the bodily life and the mental life (*astvat* and *manahya*); and two stations—the heaven (*vahishta*—modern Persian *bahisht*) and the hell (*dushanha*—modern Persian *duzakh*). The more appropriate name for heaven is *garodemna*, 'the house of hymns,' because the angels are believed to sing hymns there eternally and which is the dwelling place of *Ahuramazda*. There are the four stages of the soul here in this life or after death, advancing towards Eternity, the Home of *Ahuramazda*, as is found in *Yasht*:

"The soul of the righteous man first advanced with a step he placed upon *humata* (good thought); the soul of the righteous man secondly advanced with a step he placed upon *hukhta* (good word); the soul of the righteous man thirdly advanced with a step he placed upon *huvarsha* (good action); the soul of the righteous man fourthly advanced with a step he placed on the eternal luminaries."

Hell is also called *druza demona*, 'the house of destruction.' Between this and heaven there is the *chinvat peretu* (*chinvad pul*), the bridge of the gatherer, the nature of which has been described in *Yasna* (XLVI 10, 11):

"Whatever man or woman, O *Ahuramazda*! performs the best actions, known to thee, for the benefit of this (earthly) life, promoting thus the truth for the angel of truth, and spreading thy rule through the good mind, as well as gratifying all

those men, who are gathered round me, to adore (the heavenly spirits): all these I will lead over the bridge of the gatherer. The sway is given into the hands of the priests and the prophets of the idols (these refer to the *devas* or the poets and *rishis* of the Vedas of the Indians), who by their (atrocious) actions, endeavour to destroy human life. Actuated by their own spirit and mind, they ought to avoid the bridge of the gatherer, to remain for ever in the dwelling place of destruction (hell)."

The *Avesta* has also dealt on resurrection. How finely it has said of after-life:

"This splendour attaches itself to the hero of the prophets and to his companions, in order to make life everlasting, undecaying, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, for ever existing, for ever vigorous, full of power (at the time) when the dead shall rise again, and imperishableness of life shall commence, making life lasting by itself (without further support). All the world will remain for eternity in a state of righteousness; the devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the righteous man in order to kill (him); and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction."

The pair of good and evil is a necessary consequence of creation. It is only the human mind that possesses the capacity to create good and evil. As long as there is creation or expression of anything to the human eye, there must be good and evil, or rather scientifically speaking, positive and negative properties side by side. We have already found what to the *rishis* of India is a source of progress to goodness is an obstruction to the progress of the Zoroastrians. It may be so. And how excellently *Khawja Kamaluddin* clears up the matter in his scientific way:

"... which of the two shall we call 'evil', when each of the pairs is a necessity in creating all that is going on in the world? Take the original pair of all, whose union creates not only a world of things, but whose comparatively recent discovery and use has contributed immensely to our happiness and comfort—nay, has galvanized the progress of our civilization, I mean electricity, the union of the positive and the negative. Which of this pair, I ask, is evil, and which is good? Antagonist and conflicting they may be to each other, in their properties; but they are complementary as well to each other, and that under 'the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing,' under whose control they all 'float' in their respective 'spheres' without hindering the movements of each other—a chemical combination that produces a result far better than cohesion, as far as our comfort is concerned. But the former takes place only in things which are contrary to each other in their properties. In short, the whole heterogeneous mass is the bed-rock of universal homogeneity, and must consequently indicate *Spenta-Mainyush*, and not *Angro-Mainyush*—the evil spirit."

And in support of it the following lines may well be quoted from the *Quran*:

4. *Ibid*, p. 165.

5. *Ibid* (*Yasht*, XIX : 89, 90), p. 217.

6. "Islam and Zoroastrianism," pp. 77-78.

7. Chap. 26, 36-40.

4. M. Haug, *Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees*, p. 204.

5. *Ibid*, *Yasht* XXII, 15, p. 221.

"Glory be to Him, who created pairs of all things—of what the earth grows, and of their kind and of what they do not know, and a sign to them is the night. We draw forth from it the day, then lo ! they are in the dark. And the Sun runs on to a term appointed for it ; that is the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing. And (as for) the Moon, we have ordained for its stage till it becomes again as an old dry palm branch. Neither is it allowable to the Sun that it should overtake the Moon, nor can the night outstrip the day, and 'float' on in a 'sphere'."

These pairs of all things—the good and the evil, the positive and the negative—are like the waves of the sea which is apparent to us through its waves ; and the moment a man reaches the ultimate, the final destiny of everything, he will realize that these contrary conceptions of the mind were the necessary consequence of the birth of a man, as is sung by Moulana Rumi in his *Masnavi* which is often called the *Quran* in the Persian language, 'Adam took a single step into the region of the enjoyment of animal spirit, his separation from the high seat of paradise became the punishment of his carnal soul.'¹⁰ We find that the angels could not be brought before the world, for they are the emblem of purity ; in the same way Satan also could not be given the vice-gerency on earth as he is the emblem of impurity : thus Adam is selected who is an admixture of good and evil. This is the theory of creation according to Muslim philosophers.

Now this universal homogeneity is the state of Ahuramazda, or that of the Supreme Lord of any religion. And the whole heterogeneous mass is composed of Spenta-Mainyush or the good spirit of any religion. For one who is proceeding towards the goal nothing will appear to him as bad, as Moulana Rumi says, "All thorns will appear beautiful like the rose, to the sight of the particular individual who is proceeding towards the universal."

*Khar jumla lut/ chun gul mi shuwad
Pish-i-jazuyi ku suyi kul mi ruwad*

Indian philosophy also declares likewise. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan says :

"Sin is the product of the shallow insight, breeding selfish egoism, that hugs its own narrowness and shrinks from all sacrifice. The Upanishads do not say that evil is illusion or that evil is permanent . . . Evil is unreal in the sense that it is bound to be transmuted into good. It is real to the extent that it requires effort to transform its nature."¹¹

In short, every religion is always of universal attitude and it is always a path to realization. The diversity in different religions, nay, the diversity of views that is found even in the same religion, is owing to the different tendencies of human mind. These

differences of mind can never be avoided as long as one has not reached perfection. So every one is to proceed on his own way of thought and religion under whose fold he is living.

While describing of the philosophy of Zoroaster D. J. Irani says :

"It teaches us that life is a divine spirit eternal, and that this world itself is an earnest of the kingdom of Heaven. The aim and end of this life is to make the world happy, make others happy and thereby be happy ourselves and prepare the way for Eternal Bliss in the Abode of Songs. It is to reach the state of perfection ourselves and help the world in its progress towards perfection and thus secure our salvation."¹²

And to reach that goal there is only one path which an Avestan passage declares as *Aevo pathao yo Ashahe*,—there is only one path and that is the path of Truth. Man must purify his essence and become God-like on this path of Truth (*Asha*) through assimilating the other divine attributes of God Almighty, such as the good mind (*vohu-mano*), devotion and piety (*armaiti*), selfless use of earthly good (*khshathra*) and sound health and delight in Beauty (*haumratad* and *amercetad*).

Both the Achaemenian, ruling before the fourth and third century B.C., and the Sassanian kings, ruling from the downfall of the Seleucides, the descendants of Alexander the Great, to the advent of Islam, of ancient Iran, were staunch supporters of the rules of law and philosophy of Zoroaster in their ways of life and they were fervent followers of the religion of that ancient Seer. Below I quote from a Pahlavi fragment known as the Aogemadaecha of the *Avesta*, which religion for its beautiful thoughts and superior ideals of life will stand always in the same footing with all other religions of the world.

"O Spitama Zoroaster ! I created the stars, the moon and the sun, the radiant fire of all life on earth ; but better and greater than all I created man and gave him the gift and the word of truth and righteousness. But men wanting in reason adhere to that evil guide, passion, and think not of the ultimate end . . . On the sea of desire they are tossed about by evil passion. And clothing themselves with spite they are in constant strife for vanishing things . . . Silver and gold, wealth and possessions and (even) the valiant strong man will turn into dust ; but what will not mingle with the dust are the acts of truth and righteousness of a man. May righteousness and goodness prevail, may the good prevail over the evil. Let us all seize upon and transmit all good thoughts, all good words and all good deeds that are done here or to be done hereafter ; and let us all be within the fold of the righteous."¹³

12. *Poets of the Pahlavi Regime*, p. 23.

13. Or Middle Persian, the language of the Sassanian kings.

14. Quoted from D. J. Irani's *Poets of the Pahlavi Regime*, pp. 47-49.

10. *Masnavi*, Vol. II, first poem.

11. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 242.

"THE AMERICAN DILEMMA"

By M. SREERANGARAJAN, M.A.

The American Dilemma is the title of a famous work on Negroes by the reputed international social economist, Gunnar Myrdal. In that work the author most admirably portrays the dilemma with which the American Whites have been faced for several decades past—either to remove all social, economic and political disabilities imposed on large sections of its own people, particularly the Negroes or to give up their professions of being the most democratic nation in the world. This awkward dilemma has been staring them in their face since the days of the Civil War. But no earnest effort was made by the Federal Government of the U.S.A. either to boldly face it or to resolve it until the appointment by President Truman, in 1946, of a Committee on Civil Rights whose report is now available.

An event of far-reaching importance in international relationship that resulted from World War II is the appearance of U. S. A. as the richest and strongest country in the world. The U. S. A. has been known all over the world as the country which gave us the famous slogan—"Government of the people by the people and for the people," and as a country where political freedom and individual liberty exists to the greatest extent. With the prestige of material strength added, since the last war, to the great moral prestige that she has been enjoying already, all democratic-minded peoples of the world naturally, and increasingly, look up to that country as a paragon of democracy for leadership of the world. That the United States of America is one of the countries where the largest measure of political democracy exists is undeniable. Yet one cannot ignore the glaring injustice, political, social and economic, done to large sections of its own people, particularly the Negroes and the (Red) Indians. All outward expressions of inter-racial hatred that were kept down on account of national exigencies during the war have now reappeared with redoubled vigour. The notorious Klu Klux Klan has staged a reappearance and become active in stirring up hatred against different groups, as of old, on the basis of race and religion. The sordid tale of inhuman atrocities that have been committed on Negroes and Red Indians by the Whites and of the innumerable discriminations and disabilities suffered by them is a long one and it is not intended to recapitulate that unpleasant tale here. It is only intended, through a review of the Report of the Committee on Civil Rights, referred to above, to show that American democracy is not all that it professes to be, and that there are very serious limitations to its scope. It is, in other words, intended to refer

though only by implication to some of the serious shortcomings of the American democracy, both as a system of government and as a pattern of society, and the remedies that are proposed by that Committee to rectify those shortcomings.

The Committee on Civil Rights which was appointed by President Truman because "freedom from fear and the democratic institutions which sustain it, are again under attack," was asked

"to enquire into and determine whether and in what respect, current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State and local governments, may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people," and to "make recommendations with respect to the adoption or establishment, by legislation or otherwise, of more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of civil rights of the people of the United States."

The Report deals with the serious violations of civil rights of minority groups and remedies therefor, with particular reference to the position of Negroes.

Part I of the Report deals with the "historic civil rights goal of the American people." The Committee stresses four basic rights that form the essence of American democracy: (i) the right to safety and security of the person; (ii) the right to citizenship and its privileges, irrespective of race, creed and colour; (iii) the right to freedom of conscience and expression; and (iv) the right to equality of opportunities in every sphere. The Report confesses that in considering the existence of these rights, the Committee "learnt much that has shocked us and much that has made us feel ashamed."

Part II of the Report attempts to determine "in what ways our present record fall short of the goal." It considers that

"The record is neither as black as our detractors paint it, nor as white as people of good-will would like it to be."

The Report notes the tokens of progress made in regard to the extension of civil rights to groups which had been denied these rights, particularly the Negroes, and states that

"The greatest hope of the future is the increasing awareness of more and more Americans of the gulf between our civil rights principles and our practices."

The Report then goes on to deal with individual violations of civil rights. Dealing with that most inhuman practice—lynching, the Report points out that it "remains one of the most serious threats to civil rights," since no year in the last six decades has

been free from it. It is stated that during the period 1882 to 1945 while six New England States have had no lynchings, each of the eight southern States have had over 300 and each of seven more southern States from 100 to 300 lynchings. The Report deplores the connivance and often the complicity, of some State and local officials in this barbarous practice and several other forms of official laxity or misconduct, as a serious reflection on American justice. The Report also severely condemns the discriminatory practices and limitations of rights and other social evils which are rooted in segregation.

"Segregation has become the corner-stone of the elaborate structure of discrimination against some American citizens. Theoretically, this system duplicates educational, recreational and other public services, according facilities to the different races which are *separate but equal*. In the Committee's opinion, this is one of the outstanding myths of American history; for, it is almost always true that while indeed *separate* these facilities are *far from equal*. . . . No argument or rationalisation can alter this basic fact: a law which forbids a group of American citizens to associate with other citizens in the ordinary course of daily living, creates inequality by imposing a caste status on the minority group."

The Report emphasises, throughout, the imperative necessity of allowing full individual liberty and giving a fair treatment to all groups, particularly racial and religious minorities, and points out that justice is indivisible as between different groups of the same people.

Part III of the Report details the steps to be taken by government in the discharge of its responsibility for the enforcement of civil rights. The Report asserts that

"The national government of the United States of America must take the lead in safeguarding the civil rights to all Americans."

It considers the undertaking by the Federal Government of a positive programme of action in this regard, as an urgent necessity. Hitherto, the chief sanction which was used to secure the enforcement of federal civil rights laws has been the criminal one; but because experience has proved that this is not adequate, the Report urges that resort should be had, in addition, to a wide variety of other sanctions, including civil remedies, administrative orders, the withholding of grants-in-aid and the principle of disclosure. The Report also emphasises the need for education as well as legislation in an effort to reach the goal of American democracy.

Part IV which is perhaps the most important portion of the Report contains the recommendations of the Committee in regard to the further steps to be taken to reach the goal of the American democracy as enunciated in Part I of the Report. The Report urges that there must be a sustained drive ahead for the extension of all civil rights to all groups of the people—and that, for three strong reasons:

"*Morally*, the United States can no longer countenance these burdens on its conscience, these inroads on its moral fibre; *economically*, the United States can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national competence and *internationally*, the United States is not so strong; the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."

Briefly, the following are the recommendations of the Committee:

I. To strengthen the right to safety and security of the person, the Committee recommends: (i) the enactment of new legislation or the amendment of existing legislation for the correction of certain technical irregularities in law; (ii) the amendment of existing laws for enhancement of penalties from 1000 dollars fine and one year imprisonment to 5,000 dollars fine and 10 years prison treatment; (iii) the enactment of new legislation specifically directed against police brutality and related crimes; (iv) the enactment of an anti-lynching Act; (v) the enactment of a new criminal statute against involuntary servitude; (vi) the formulation of procedures and policies against the abridgement of the liberty of any person or groups of people because of race or ancestry, in regard to wartime evacuation and detention of certain groups of people; (vii) the enactment of legislation for the protection of claims of evacuees for specified property and business losses resulting from wartime evacuation.

II. To strengthen the right to citizenship and its privileges, the Committee recommends: (i) action by States or the Congress to end poll taxes as a voting pre-requisite; (ii) the enactment of legislation protecting the rights of qualified persons to participate in federal primaries and elections against interference by public officials and private persons; (iii) the enactment of legislation protecting the right to qualify for, or participate in, Federal or State primaries or elections against discriminatory action by State officials based on race or colour; (iv) the enactment of legislation establishing local self-government for the district of Columbia, and extension of suffrage in presidential elections and representation in the Congress; (v) the according of suffrage by the State of New Mexico and Arizona to their Indian citizens; (vi) the modification of federal naturalisation laws to permit the granting of citizenship without regard to the race, colour or national origin of the applicant; (vii) the repealing by the States of laws discriminating against aliens who are ineligible for citizenship because of race, colour or national origin; (viii) the enactment of legislation according citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa; (ix) the enactment of legislation and formulation of administrative measures to end immediately all discrimination and segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin in the organisation and activities of all branches of the Armed services; (x) the enactment of legislation providing against discrimination of any kind against any member of the Armed Forces by any public authority or places of public accommodation, recreation, transportation or other service or business.

III. To strengthen the right to freedom of conscience and expression, the Committee recommends: (i) the enactment of legislation by Congress and State Legislatures requiring all groups

which attempt to influence public opinion to disclose the relevant facts about themselves, through systematic registration procedures; (ii) the taking of necessary action to clarify the loyalty obligations of federal employees, and establishing procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may be scrupulously maintained.

IV. To strengthen the right to equality of opportunity, the Committee recommends: *in general*, the elimination from American life of segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin and the conditioning by the Congress of all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose, on the absence of discrimination and segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin; the enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment based on race, colour, creed or national origin, and the issue, by the President, of a mandate against discrimination in Government employment and the creation of adequate machinery to enforce this mandate; regarding *education*: the enactment and enforcement of fair educational practice laws in public and private educational institutions, prohibiting discrimination in the admission and treatment of students based on race, colour, creed or national origin; regarding *housing*: the enactment by the States of laws against restrictive covenants and renewed court attack, with intervention by the Department of Justice, upon restrictive covenants; regarding *health services*: the enactment by the States of fair health practice status forbidding discrimination and segregation based on race, creed, colour or national origin in the operation of public and private health facilities; regarding *public services*: the enactment of laws against discrimination and segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin in public services, both in the national government and the States; the establishment of a unit in the federal bureau of the budget to review the execution of all government programmes and the expenditure of all government funds for compliance with this policy of non-discrimination; the enactment of a law prohibiting discrimination or segregation based on race, colour or national origin in inter-State transportation and all the facilities thereof to apply against public officers and employees of private transportation companies; the enactment by the States of laws guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation for persons of all races, colours, creeds and national origins.

V. To rally the American people to the support of a continuous programme to strengthen civil rights, the Committee recommends: a long term campaign of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another.

VI. Finally, in regard to the additional machinery needed for the protection of civil rights, the Committee recommends: (i) the reorganisation of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice to provide for the establishment of

regional offices, an increase in the appropriation and staff to enable it to engage in more extensive research and to act more effectively to prevent civil rights violations, an increase in investigative action in the absence of complaints, and its elevation to the status of a full Division in the Department of Justice; (ii) the establishment, within the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of a special unit of investigators trained in civil rights work; (iii) the establishment by the State governments of law enforcement agencies comparable to the federal civil rights section; (iv) the establishment of a permanent commission on civil rights in the executive office of the President and the simultaneous creation of a joint standing committee on civil rights in the Congress; (v) the establishment by the States of permanent commissions on civil rights to parallel the work of the Federal Commission at the State level; (vi) the increased professionalisation of State and local police forces.

These far-reaching recommendations of the Committee clearly emphasise the enormity of the injustices, political, social and economic, suffered by a large group of racial and religious minorities in America. Whether necessary legislative and administrative action will be taken to implement all, or at least some of the important recommendations of the Committee for removing these injustices is more than one can say. Already President Truman has, in proposing anti-lynching and anti-segregation legislation to the Congress, evoked much opposition and criticism even from the members of his own party coming from the Southern States. Much as democratic-minded people in America as well as outside hope to see the "American Dilemma" resolved by the extension of civil rights to all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed, religion or national origin, it appears as though, with the present state of public opinion in the U. S. A., it is still too premature to hope for a complete change of heart on the part of those who have been opposing such a reform for several decades past.

The Report of the Committee on Civil Rights in America should be of more than passing interest to us in this country owing to the suzerainty of similar injustices by Harijans and such other backward communities. Though the sub-committee on fundamental rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly has already made similar recommendations against the injustices suffered by certain communities on the basis of caste or community, it may be necessary, sooner or later, to appoint a special committee to investigate the specific discriminations and disabilities suffered by all groups of backward peoples, and to make suitable recommendations for remedy thereof.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE CONSTITUTION OF FREE INDIA: *Mrityunjay Banerjee M.A. (Econ.). Published by Das Gupta & Co., 54-3 College Street, Calcutta, Pp. 196. Price Rs. 6 only.*

The writer, at present in the Bengal Junior Civil Service, has started the book with the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, 1946. He has traced its various fortunes its sabotage by the British Government's declaration of December 6, 1946, and the adoption by the British Government of the device of June 3, 1947 by which India was divided. Then he gives a succinct account of Constituent Assemblies that had framed the constitutions of the United States of America, of the French Republic, of the Weimar Republic for Germany, of Canada and Australia. His omission of the Soviet Union's constitutional frame-up leaves a significant gap in the consideration of this problem. And even his summary of constitution-making in the countries he has touched upon is scrappy. For instance, he has referred to the Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union adopted in 1777 by representatives of 13 "colonies." On the Atlantic sea-shore which have developed into the United States of America today, and of their unsatisfactory sequel—"disorder, discontent and widespread grievances"—without explaining what these were and how Philadelphia Convention held 10 years later was affected by these. This particular Convention has been called by the author "the matter of Constituent Assemblies for framing Federal constitutions", and a more intimate description of its proceedings would have enabled us to understand the difficulties through which all Federations have to work through.

Mr. Banerjee has published reports submitted by various committees for consideration of the final shape of Free India's constitution. All these are in the melting pot; even the "Objectives" Resolution accepted on January 21, 1947, is going to be changed; the word "Republic" found therein has been suggested to be replaced by the word "State"—a very significant change, indeed! In this view of the matter, the book under review has been a little too previous.

Chapter XI of the book dealing with Indian States gives a good summary of the evolution of a Trading Company into the "Paramount Power" over Rajput, Mughal potentates.

The last Chapter XII deals with Political Parties in Anglo-Saxon countries, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Soviet Union, and in India as these are said to be "the back-bone of a democratic government." This description needs a more detailed elaboration than the author has been able to do. From the nature of the case as the Constitution of Free India has yet to be, the book supplies a bird's eye-view. This is its value. Its price is too high.

THE MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: (1939-47). By Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Lecturer of the

Calcutta University. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Pages 574. Price Rs. 15 only.

As "a source book of Indian Constitutional history", this volume is more ambitious. But it has been reduced to a mere skeleton of resolutions and statements of policy by the absence of a back-ground history of the many developments that hastened the removal of "British control" from our country. The general readers will, therefore, find in it less interest than if there had been a record of India's struggle for freedom. The book is made up of Congress statements, of Muslim League statements, of those made on behalf of the British Government. Dr. Banerjee appears to have depended for his collection on summaries in the Press—a source that has deprived the book of all life. Even in printing these summaries, he has not cared to give reports of the many debates that took place in the British Parliament during the period. We have seen more detailed reports in Indian publications—(The *Indian Annual Register* is one of these). These debates would have enabled the readers to understand the British game that, since 1939, started to fight rear-guard actions against Indian Nationalism. These reports would have enhanced the "enduring value" of the book.

Perhaps, an attempt will be made in the next volume to remove this defect. Such collections have value for the Indian students of affairs who will find in these materials that will enable them to intelligently follow the proceedings of the Indian Constituent Assembly trying to hammer out a satisfying constitution for their country.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

FOR SEEKERS OF GOD: By Swami Shivananda. *Advaita Ashrama, 4 Wellington Lane, Calcutta (13). Pp. 170. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Here we have the English rendering of some of the dialogues that Swami Shivananda, the head of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, had at different times with his disciples and enquirers who came to him for guidance in their spiritual endeavour.

In the present atmosphere of the world when human carnage is going on at intervals almost everywhere in the globe, when individuals seem to suspect each other as a possible enemy and nations and countries look angrily at each other, such talks will fall flat on many ears. But an equal number, we hope, will feel that they contain truths which may be clouded for the time being but do not die. And when the present temper of humanity has subsided, their light will shine the brighter. We are inclined to agree with this latter view and recommend the book as a help to spiritual aspirants.

Perhaps there is a touch of idolatry in these deliberations which may not suit all tastes. But idolatry itself is a difficult and ill-defined conception in the unfolding of the meshes of which we dare not enter.

The human element, however, that is present throughout the conversations, makes the book excellent reading.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

GAZING ON THE BELOVED: By Gertrude Murray. Hind Kitabs, Bombay. With a Foreword by Mr. Harindra Nath Chattopadhyay. Price Rs. 2.

This collection of poems shows that the wielder of the forceful and effective pen in *Verdict on Beverley Nichols*, is also capable of a tender pathos and a touching sentimentality of a delicate and sensitive nature. Miss Murray has true lyrical qualities in her. Some of the poems, specially those addressed to 'Kurion' embody moods beautifully, with fitness of language and verse, and a deep sense of pathos. The poems are highly enjoyable.

POEMS OF INDIA: By A. C. C. Harvey. New India Publications, Lahore.

This is a collection of poems inspired by Indian themes and scenes. Here and there one comes across vignettes from nature drawn with a high degree of sensitivity and fine poetic balance. The poems are marked with the evidences of a frank and open mind, a poetic temper, and a poetic response to the phenomena around. The Grand Trunk Road has a majesty of its own.

SUNU. KUMAR BOSE

EGO, HUNGER AND AGGRESSION: By F. S. Perls, M.D. Capt. S. A. M. C. George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London. Price 12s. 6d. n.t.

The book is an attempt at "a revision of Freud's theory and method." The author has criticized the theory of the development of the libido and also the conception of Ego and its functions as propounded by Freud and other psychoanalysts. In doing so however he has gone beyond his depths in many places and has often indulged in fanciful statements. For example, nothing could be more absurd than the author's statement that the psychoanalysts consider the Ego as a substance. If the libido has to develop from anal, oral and other stages to the final genital stage, then no one, according to the author, should have any interest in eating and defecation after the genital stage has been reached. It is not possible to discuss this problem in details here but it will be enough to mention that Freud himself has dealt with the problem exhaustively in different papers and has shown that in its process of development the libido never abandons any one of the stages it has passed through as completely unnecessary. The author is a supporter of the Gestalt school and claims that the use of "holism" (field conception) and Semantics (the meaning of meaning) can successfully replace the Freudian theory. He discards the free association method of the Psychoanalytical school and suggests some oral exercises. He has stressed upon the different stages of food intake as "suckling", "biting" and "chewing". According to him, proper working out of these stages in ingestion of food is the panacea of all mental disorders. The author, therefore, prescribes certain exercises to be punctiliously followed by the patient while eating any thing. In other words, correct eating as prescribed by the author will cure patients suffering from mental troubles and he claims to have achieved satisfactory results by treating patients according to this new method. The significance of oral libido has been strongly advocated by Melanie Klein but the author does not follow Klein's line of thought. The importance of eating exercises or rather dental exercises has been over-stressed in the book. Psychology thus tends to be once more identified with Physiology.

The merit of the book lies in the fact that it attempts to approach mental disorder from a new angle. Physical approach to mental facts is not new but he has indicated a special physical way of treating mental diseases. A systematic effort has been made to cure particular mental symptoms by special body-concentration exercises. While the exercises prescribed are interesting enough they can have, we feel, little influence on the techniques of psychoanalysis and far less on a revision of Freud's theory and method.

S. C. MITRA

T. C. SINHA

THE INDIAN CHILD IN HOME AND SCHOOL: By R. R. Kumria, M.A., F.E.S. Imiti Markaz, Lahore. 1946. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 3-8 or 5 s.

Unlike many treatises on education full of pedagogical discussions and display of intellectual gymnastics in the arena of child psychology the present volume deals with the child and its growth from the point of view of a teacher and a guardian in a refreshing and attractive manner.

The author rightly believes that democratic nationalism should be India's goal of social, political and economic organisation. And he has offered suggestions based on his experience and intensive thinking as to how this spirit may be inculcated in the children of India through educational training in the Home and School. It is a pity that most parents do not take nor are they even conscious of the responsibility of bringing up children in the proper method. But it is this younger generation that is the hope and prop of future India. It is time therefore that due emphasis should be put on the education of children and that Home and School should co-operate in the joint business in man-making.

We welcome Mr. Kumria's book and recommend it to the careful study of educated parents who are interested in their own children and future India as they will be much benefited to learn therefrom the art and science of rearing up children in a proper way.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

HAND-BOOK OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY: By Siva Prasad Mookherjee, M.A., Asutosh College, Calcutta. Pages 307. Price Rs. 6-8.

Commercial geography is gaining popularity with our students at the university. Majority of books on the subject are written by non-Indian authors who naturally write from their points of view and as such these books ill suit Indian requirements. Prof. Mookherjee's book is specially meant for our under-graduate students, who will find the various topics discussed in the book not only well arranged but presented in an interesting manner. After the partition of the country into two independent dominions, study of Economic Geography has attained special importance because of new trade barriers and re-shuffling of trade with foreign countries. In many matters each dominion shall have to begin afresh and such attempts would mean in some cases a real set-back to our economic prosperity. The book, although meant for students, will give even a layman a general idea about the subject. At the end of each chapter questions from the Calcutta and other universities have been given which the students will find useful.

As our university is going to introduce Bengali as the medium of education almost immediately for all examinations, the author will do well to bring a volume in his own mother-tongue, which will do not only better service to students but to his countrymen in general. The book contains valuable tables, illustrations and maps very useful to readers.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY. (Vol. VI, Grammar, Prosody and Lexicography): By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya (special Editor, the Adyar Library). The Adyar Library. Price Rs. 25.

The present volume contains detailed descriptions of a little over one thousand manuscripts of Sanskrit works mainly pertaining to different systems of Sanskrit grammar (Paninian as well as non-Paninian). There are also a number of works on the grammar of Prakrit and what is more interesting a few on the grammar of the Telugu language. In all we have here about 750 manuscripts on grammar while there are about 250 manuscripts on Prosody and Lexicography taken together. Besides referring to the contents and special features of the manuscripts as well as the works, and the time and history of the authors the descriptions occasionally mention if a particular work has been printed or any other manuscript has been described elsewhere. But unfortunately the information on the last two points is not given systematically or in a complete form. It is noticed the descriptions have been prepared in a rather mechanical and stereotyped way; well-known and published works have been treated in the same manner as little-known ones, quotation of extracts from the beginning and end of a manuscript forming a common feature of the descriptions irrespective of the nature of the work. The introduction by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja gives a general survey of grammatical literature in Sanskrit without drawing any special attention to what is more essential in a work of this type, e.g., the unique or important items of the volume under review and the special features thereof. The volume bears testimony to the diligence and care of the learned compiler, the beautiful get-up and the nice printing as is usual with the publications of the Library reflects credit on the authorities of the Institution and we hope the future volumes in the series will be free from the few defects pointed out above and thus turn out to be all the more attractive and useful.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BAIJAYANTI: By Nisikanta, Asrama Library, Pondicherry.

The author has won a distinctive place among the powerful modern Bengali poets. The poems under review are marked by rich patriotic fervour, deep spiritual glow, and an easy command of the poetic diction.

SILPA, SAMSKRTI O SAMAJ (Art, Culture and Society), Part I: By Binay Ghosh. Agrani Book Club, 7B, Jugipara Bye Lane, Calcutta.

Dialectics, Analysis of Art, Truth and Realism, Poetry, The Evolution of Poetry, The Novel, The Historical Development of the Novel, Modern Soviet Literature, Science, Man and Society, The Form of the Cultural Crisis, The Middle Class and the Society, Our Duty,—these are the dozen essays contained in the book. The essays convince wide study, analytical intellect and neat exposition.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

KRIPA-KIRAN: By "Raihan." Vora and Company, Publishers Ltd., Bombay, 2. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.

Here is a garland of one hundred and eight songs in praise of the glamour, glory and grace of Sri Krishna. The author is a well-known Muslim devotee (her identity is transparent behind her pen-name), whose music has moved and melted many a heart in and around Sevagram and Bombay. She has sung of Love—at once human and divine—in almost its entire gamut. The

ecstasy and inspiration of her song are so evident that one cannot but call it *Kripa-Kiran*, the grace (and gift) of God. As such, her Krishna is the attraction and object of adoration of all and she herself, an ambassador of amity everywhere.

KAVI 'PRASAD', 'ANSU' TATHA ANYA KRITIYAN: By Prof. Vinayamohan Sharma. Radhabai Pandit, Shivaji Prakashan Mandir, Lucknow. Pp. 147. Price Rs. 2.

The author is a well-known Hindi scholar, writer and critic. His present work is an essay, at once analytical and appreciative in the poetry of the leading modern Hindi poet, Prasad (the poet's pen-name). He first assesses the poet's place, ideologically as well as expressionally in the history and hierarchy of Hindi poetry; then, evaluates the beauty of his works like *Prem-pathik*, *Kanun-kusum*, *Jharna* and others together with a full-length appreciation of his *Ansu*. The book will stimulate both the college student and the general reader of Hindi literature. And that is a great achievement, indeed.

G. M.

GUJARATI

DILLI DIARI (Delhi Diary): By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March, 1948. Price Rs. 3.

It is a mournful pleasure to have to introduce the publication of these prayer speeches of Mahatma Gandhi from 10-9-47 to 3-1-48. According to many students of Gandhi literature, these speeches present a most lovable, compact and beneficial portion of his writings. They are practically his last will and testament to the nation. They serve as a beacon-light from Delhi, sparkling with spiritual illumination over a benighted country, and pointing with unerring force the path which India must take if she is to fulfill her destiny. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's foreword has rightly declared his full confidence in the utility of the publication—"These pages are likely to contribute to the re-establishment of that peace and concord for which he worked and died." Never was such a contribution more needed than now.

The printing, as usual of the Navajivan Press, is good and the volume handy. The price is comparatively cheap for 468 pages.

It has a brief index at the end, and the table of contents, chronologically arranged, had been suitably worded to help the readers.

There is no reason why the *Delhi Diary* should not be profitably used as a text-book.

P. R. SEN

RUBAIYAT ANE BIJAN KAVYO: By Har Govind Premshankar Kavi. Published by Nathalal Dave, Bhavnagar. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 116. Price Rs. 3.

Thanks to Fitzgerald's translation into English the Rubaiyat (Quatrains) of Umar Khayyam have acquired a world-wide reputation, though in Iran itself he has not acquired that fame which Firdausi, Hafiz, Sa'adi or Rumi have acquired. There is not a single cultured language of the world in which a translation of these Quatrains is not found. Even the Japanese have it. Mr. Har Govind has been able to preserve in Gujarati the spirit of Fitzgerald's notable verses. Mr. Umashankar Joshi's introduction betrays as usual a deep study of the subject, and points out the different attempts made heretofore to publish the translations of other writers. Fitzgerald's text is given for purposes of comparison. The work is an admirable effort made in the direction of making the Iranian poet's work widely known amongst Gujarati readers.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Problems of Independent India

Science and Culture observes :

Attainment of Independence on the part of a great country like India after long years of colonial rule has to be followed by revolutionary changes in outlook towards the totality of country's problems inclusive of political, economic, social and religious ones. Unless the ideas are sound, and followed by prompt action, even such a great event as Independence may be followed by a period sterile in achievement, and sowing more seeds of trouble for the future.

It is our impression that though the present government is composed largely, though unfortunately not wholly, of persons who have earned undying fame as fighters for the cause of freedom, and have shown great initiative of action in certain directions, there are other equally important subjects which have escaped their vigilance and penetration. One of the most urgent set of problems to which they have so far paid only scanty attention is the *Reform of Administrative Machinery*. They have inherited the present machinery from the British who developed it out of their ideas of Imperialism, guided by the central thought that India was to remain for ever a part of the British colonial empire. Whatever may have been the merits of the 'steel-frame' from the British point of view, our leaders who are now in saddle, were outspoken before they took office, in their criticism that the system was not suited to the needs of a free and independent country, which would want to undo the legacy of poverty and unusually low standard of living by rapid industrialization, rapid improvements in agriculture, communication and defence. But so far no effective steps have been taken, either to reorient the existing civil service personnel to the changing needs of the country, or to lay the foundation of a new civil service suited to the needs of an independent country nor to do away with the irksome procedures causing extreme delay in taking decisions. To use a metaphor we have repealed the coachman by the motor driver, but the horse has not been replaced by the motor engine.

Let us see what are the defects of the present system of administrative machinery and how a better system, suited to present-day needs can be evolved.

The spearhead of the present system of administration is the "Indian Civil Service" which is followed by such specialized services as provincial civil services, audit and account service, engineering, police, railway, etc. The Indian Civil Service has now been replaced by a general 'Administrative Service'. Most of the entrants to these services, except with provincial ones, are recruited on the basis of all-India competitions, from amongst the university graduates of India, and are assigned to specialized posts or to general administrative posts.

It is a continuation of the same old system of recruitment of the civil service, and their absorption in the duties of the State. No arrangement has yet been made to broaden the basis of recruitment to suit the new needs of the State,

or to train up the recruits to specialized jobs, instead of allowing them to become jacks-of-all-trades.

This would have been quite right in the nineteenth century, when the peacetime activities of the State were confined only to law, order and raising of taxes and the emphasis which was laid on classical education as the most qualifying achievement on the part of the competing student had probably some justification.

With the growth of industrialism, the activities of the Government have grown to be enormously more complex.

Probably public health was the first item to be added to the cares of the State, in addition to the classical items of law and order, and at different times, public education, factory labour, transport and communication services, agriculture, fuel and power, control of internal and external trade, housing, social insurance and organization of research for industrial, agricultural and defence purposes have been added to the cares of the State.

Though each of these subjects in a democratic society has been under a popular minister, or of officers enjoying the confidence of the head of the State, the proper care of each subject requires a body of public servants whose education and training should be vastly different and varied from what was necessary for the police State of the nineteenth century.

How have these needs been met in other countries? Even in England where the civil servant, after recruitment by means of competitive examination is assigned to specialized jobs, and is not as a rule allowed to be jack-of-all-trades as in this country, he has not been found to be coming up to the changing needs of the State. To quote Sir M. Sadler:

"Administrative officials seem weak in the field of imaginative and creative suggestion—in the points which characterise original minds. If you read an official file, you will find as a rule that the experienced official is better at telling a subordinate what *not* to do than at interesting him in ways of doing better what is already passably well done, or in encouraging him to conceive bold innovations in existing methods of administration."

Nor is Sir Michael Sadler alone in the severe view he has taken of the civil servants.

The overdevotion of civil servants to precedent, lack of initiative and imagination, procrastination, and unwillingness to take responsibility, or to give decisions have been enumerated as lately as in 1944 in the report of the U. K. Committee on Training of Civil Servants.

The Rowland Committee (Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45), remarking on the habit of government organizations to be resistant to evolutionary changes, and to lag behind progress in political ideas and advances in administrative techniques, offers the following comment.

"The main reason, perhaps, is that bureaucracies are free from the compulsion under which business organizations labour of keeping up with competitors and they do not have a profit and loss account at the end of each year to indicate whether or not their methods and their adminis-

tration require amendment or improvement. The spirit of adventure and enterprise is lacking, partly because, at any rate in a Democracy, all the actions of Government servants are liable to criticism by the Legislature. They, therefore, tend to play for safety, to go slow and to rely on precedent, and to seek in the past rules for guidance and action even when the situation facing them is in essence different from the circumstances of the past to which they appeal."

Though it is the minister who is responsible for enunciating the policy of the organization under his charge, it is the traditional duty of the civil servants while decisions are being formulated to make available to the minister all information and references from facts demanding all the wisdom and all the detachment he can command. But has this job been satisfactorily discharged by the civil servant? The impression is that the civil servant "plays for safety", says Herman Finer:

"We are beginning to see, in fact, that it is difficult for any one but an expert fairly and effectively to criticize an expert."

Though it has been admitted that guidance from experts, be he a scientist, engineer, medical man, educationist, industrial manager, or financier—are needed now for every matter of governmental policy and administration, it has not been found easy to secure this guidance. For in every country, the administrative civil service has up till now occupied all positions of vantage, and administrative authority. He usually resents it as an encroachment on his privilege, that any distinguished man from outside, should be called to such posts.

H. G. Wells with a great amount of justification characterised the I.C.S. as constituting a new Brahmin caste.

When expert advice is needed, the usual method is to appoint Committees of specialists whose decisions and deliberations are conveyed to the minister by the civil servant in charge of the subject, who is generally without any expert knowledge of the subject. The expert, even when a full time servant, is kept in an outer ring, to whom full knowledge of policy making does not reach. One such expert on public health Sir Arthur Newsholme complained before the Tomlin Commission:

"I had no real difficulty in consulting the secretary (a civil servant), and the president (a minister) when I desired that: *the difficulty was to know beforehand when in urgent public health matters sometimes they arose out of my own minutes—were under discussion between the president and the secretary, and thus to secure a voice in the discussion before decision.*

In the United Kingdom, it was the contention of the specialists that their advice had too often to be presented through administrators and is distorted in the process. As a matter of fact, the Institution of Professional Civil Servants (those not belonging to administrative services) represented to the Tomlin Commission that no decision involving technical questions should be taken unless the specialist concerned had the opportunity of presenting his advice directly to the official, or the minister taking the decision.

Though this was agreed to by the Commission the demand that the heads of technical divisions should be given equality of status with the administrative head of the department was not agreed to in 1936. Customs die hard.

In the meantime, the World War II came and revealed, as no amount of argument could have done, the folly of keeping the professional man in the outhouse, like the poor relations of a rich man.

Large numbers of scientists, technicians and other professional men had to be pressed hurriedly into government service, and they had to be given rank and status in the administration which encroached mercilessly on the 'preserves' of the administrative civil servant. Some of the scientific men were taken as ministers others were given secretarial ranks. The absorption of scientists into the government were found so profitable that the Government of U. K. appointed a Committee under Sir Alan Barlow of the Treasury, which emphasized the need of a scientific civil service in the following words (1945):

"The Government has decided that the scientific civil service is to be reorganized. They are deeply conscious of the contribution made by science towards the winning of the war, a contribution which may have altered the whole course of the war and has certainly shortened its duration. They are equally conscious of the contribution which science can make during peace to the efficiency of production, to higher standards of living, to improved health, and to the means of defence. They are resolved that the conditions of service for scientists working for the government shall be such as to attract into the civil service scientifically qualified men and women of high calibre and to enable them after entry to make the best use of their abilities, in order that scientists in the government service may play their full part in the development of the nation's resources and the promotion of the nation's well-being."

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Israel

The New Review observes:

Israel was born not of democracy but of racialism. Lord Balfour's promise of a National Home did not imply a Jewish State covering the whole Palestine, not even a Jewish State. But Zionism, being a racial movement, roused the deepest emotions, obscured the judgment of its adherents, and ran into political extremes. It was well on its course in the twenties when the achievements of Jewish initiative and tenacity began to rouse the jealousies and fears of the Arab population. Constant immigration fed the number of Zionist settlers, and from being one in ten at the time of the Balfour declaration, they became one in three of the Palestinian population. Jewish and Arab racialism fought for supremacy with increasing bitterness, and when Britain announced her intention of renouncing her Mandate, the situation grew from bad to worse.

The U.N.O. proposed a partition into independent states: the Jewish State would have 5,000 sq. miles with 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs; the Arab State 4,500 sq. miles with 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. A Jerusalem enclave of 289 sq. miles with 105,000 Arabs and 100,000 Jews and a mixed administration would complete the distribution of land, men and powers.

The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. support the partition, Britain remained neutral and India wisely suggested a Federation with autonomous districts.

The partition plan failed to rally Arabs and Jews. The United Nations whiled the time away in cumbrous discussions. Britain began withdrawing along the Haifa pipe-line, and on May 15 Israel was born whilst the Arab Confederates rushed in to smother it in its cradle.

The Governments who voted for partition are expected to recognize the new Israel state; Britain who favoured Jewish settlements but paid subsidies to Transjordan and supplied arms to Egypt and Iraq is likely to remain neutral; her direct interest is in withdrawing her 100,000 troops from a bad spot.

The first moves of the belligerents were expected. The Jews tightened their hold on the harbours of the Mediterranean coast, and secured their sea-contacts with outside supply-lines; they are inferior in numbers but they have many tried non-commissioned officers, their settlements are compact, and they can put up a prolonged fight which may discourage the invaders. The Arab states have numbers on their side but they are liable to rivalries; their initial plan seems to be the occupation of the Arab majority districts. It is not unlikely that the appeal of the U.N.O. for a truce will be heeded. Then will be the time for India to press her solution which appears the most equitable.

The Bear and the Eagle

The same Review observes:

Since the Big Two are growing more and more unfriendly, a historical retrospect may be welcome as a background to their relations. When in 1933 President Roosevelt recognised the Soviet Government, he said: 'In a general way Russia and America are separated by ideologies and joined by national interests'. The saying had as much or as little significance as the dithyrambs we heard during Chiang Kai Shek's visit to India about the two-or-three-or-five thousand years friendship between India and China. Down to recent times there was never any lasting tension or conflict between Russia and America for elementary reasons. Russia was at ease in her snow-bound empire and had her main door on the west. America was growing in isolation satisfied with her internal resources and markets and limiting her diplomatic views to the old Europe. The two countries had few trade relations, and their diplomatic contacts were fostered only by their common opposition to England or later to Germany. What is rather striking is that on the few occasions they had direct contacts, their rivalries were keen, and their ideologies were amply watered down by national interests.

In 1776 Catherine refused Georges III any help against the rebellious Americans and established the Neutral League; she was only too happy to see the young republic fighting British sea-supremacy. At the same time she sent back the American envoy and returned Washington's portrait, saying: 'This man is unknown to her Majesty'. Under Czar Alexander I, policies became clearer; both countries were at one against the extension of the sea-blocus. Diplomatic relations were established (it had taken thirty-three years after the American revolution, as it was to take sixteen years after the Russian revolution of 1917); things went so smoothly that Alexander and Jefferson developed a pen-friendship.

In 1812 Napoleon's attack on Russia forced the Czar on England's side just after America had declared war on England; tension grew at first, then vanished away.

Less than ten years later Jefferson was thundering against the Holy Alliance and the wicked kings who had signed it. What had happened? Napoleon was gone, the blocus abandoned and the two countries had come into conflict over Alaska and South-America. Captain Bering discovered Alaska in 1741; from 1790 till 1819 the 'American Russia' developed quietly and Alexander could in 1821 proclaim that the Pacific Ocean was a Russian sea. On the other hand, the Holy Alliance was planning a military expedition to reconquer and return to Spain her American colonies. America was alarmed at these European intrusions. In two months the Monroe Doctrine was

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put into shape and proclaimed as a dogma of American democracy. It was a direct challenge to the Alliance and her moving spirit, Russia. Though a Russo-American Treaty was signed in 1824, the challenge to Russian expansion remained unaltered.

During the remainder of the XXth century the two countries had few contacts, and their different ideologies did not mar their friendship. Britain and France tried to enlist Russia's help on behalf of the Secessionists but the autocratic Czar refused to help the partisans of slavery; on the other hand when he reduced the Polish insurgents by revolting massacres, Britain and France protested but democratic America kept silent. Their common opposition to Britain's sea-supremacy kept them united; national interests dictated a common policy in spite of divergent mentalities. For most of the time, the danger was greater for Russia, though during the War of Secession the Russian navy was of some help to Lincoln and the North.

When the Crimean war had proved that Russia could not defend her American possessions against the British navy, Russia ceded Alaska to the U.S.A. for a paltry sum.

So singular a friendship came to an end in the Far East. America had grown into a big power and her victory over Spain advanced her interests and commitments beyond her frontiers. She came to the Far East by way of the Philippines. It was round 1900. By that time Russia had also reached the Far East through Manchuria and Korea. Both countries met at a time the Chinese Empire was breaking up. Russia was making a bid for Chinese spoils; America wanted China to live on, she took her stand for Chinese integrity and the open-door policy. Tension developed. America turned for support to her old rival, England, and consequently to Japan. The 'Moscovite Peril' was detected and denounced; the former 'Russian liberalisin' was 'unbearable tyranny' and Nicholas 'a horrid little creature'. Japan was acclaimed for challenging Russia. But Japan's swift victory woke up America to the 'Yellow Peril'. President Roosevelt offered his gracious mediation but the 'traditional friendship' with Czarism was never resumed. In 1911 Taft denounced the trade-treaty, and within the week following the fall of the Czar-regime, Wilson had recognised the Provisional Government; subsequently, however, the Bolshevik defection turned American sympathy into wrath and fear.

During 1918-19, Wilson followed the tortuous policy of the Allies to continue the Red flood but called off the blockade in 1920.

America cleared Siberia of Japanese troops, she sent food and other supplies during the famine (1921-22); she also willingly lent her engineers for reconstruction work, and Col. H. L. Cooper built the famous Dnieper Dam which became the pride of the Soviet. Differences in ideologies did not mar the even tenor of peace, a peace of aloofness. Diplomatic relations were re-established in 1933, for the sake of common interests: Japan was strongly entrenched in Manchuria, Hitler had come to power, and Mussolini had grown truculent. Friendship was resumed, as of old; friendship against a third party.

It vanished away with the third party in 1945. Hardly had the hostilities terminated that the differences between those that had become the Big Two multiplied. Stalin mercilessly exploited all the advantages he had wrought out of Roosevelt at Teheran against Churchill's opposition and soon imposed his will on the countries bordering Russia. America temporised in the vain hope that Russia would one day relent and compromise. Matters came to a head in London when the breakdown of the Conference

dissipated the Teheran delusions. America plumped for the get-tough policy, and an all-out struggle.

The Bear and the Eagle face one another across the North Pole, and in their eyes there is distrust, fear and wrath.

The Milk Problem of Bombay

It is surprising to find that the milk problem of Bombay has not attracted the attention of the public. Principal T. A. Kulkarni writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

The population of Bombay is about three million souls. The recent additions of refugees from Sind has slightly increased it. The *per capita* consumption of milk is about three ounces and a half. This means that we want 6,00,000 pounds of milk per day. The minimum number of animals which supplies this quantity is about 50,000 buffaloes. The cow is not found a suitable animal by our milkman. Still we have in the city about 5,000 cows roaming about in different places. Most of these cows are living in the city limits without a license from the Corporation. Out of 50,000 buffaloes, which supply our milk, nearly 20,000 are located in stables in different wards of the city proper. The number supplied to me by the Milk Commissioner's office puts down the figure at 19 to 20 thousand whereas the Bombay Corporation officially puts it down at about 15,000. The suburban area has about 30,000 buffaloes more. In addition to this supply, the two Railway lines of B.B.C.I. and G.I.P. supply about 1,00,000 pounds of milk. The price of milk is about annas eight per pound. The quality of milk is a question over which no one should quarrel. It is a white liquid with varying degrees of density and fat content. The Bombay Corporation has an arrangement for testing milk and many cases of adulteration are detected. The price of milk in Bombay is more than twice the price of milk in the large cities of Europe.

Most of the buffaloes in the city and suburbs are tied down for 24 hours of the day and night in insanitary surroundings.

The animals gather fat and become useless for procreation or milk production in about eight months' time when they become dry. There is hardly any customer for such animals except the manufacturer of fat. The animal which is originally purchased for 700 or 800 rupees is often sold for a trifle and the milkman has to cover all

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his expenses of rent, municipal license, feeding of the animal, servants' charges, his profits and the whole price of the buffalo from the milk that he is able to get from the animal in eight months. This is necessarily a bad bargain and so long as these conditions continue, the quality of milk and the price will not change, but things will grow worse. The animals are now being removed to the suburbs which at present seem to have a sufficient grazing area, but as the city grows, the land in that area also will become scarce and conditions will not very much improve. Every month 5,000 buffaloes become dry and are sent out either to Baroda State, or Gujrat Districts or to Jamner in Khandesh District. After a few months when they calve they are brought back to Bombay. Every month 5,000 buffaloes are required to replace those that become dry. The Punjab, Gujrat and Kathiawar are three sources from which new animals are brought.

Out of the total of 6,00,000 lbs. of milk which the city requires for its daily consumption, about $\frac{1}{4}$ comes from distant places like Anand. The remaining supply comes from the city proper and the suburbs. This supply cannot be kept up unless the requisite number of animals is available. Bombay has a very unenviable reputation of slaughtering buffaloes in the provinces that sell them. Even today in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Government and the Corporation, thirty to forty animals are slaughtered every day. The calves are generally neglected and they die and the milk dealer does not think it necessary to keep them alive to keep up the supply of milk. There are hardly 5,000 calves in the city and suburbs. It is difficult to maintain the supply according to the needs of the population and hence it is a necessary consequence that in the near future there will be a milk famine in the city.

To deal satisfactorily with the unsatisfactory milk condition of the city, the Government of Bombay has issued the Milk Plan whose object is to deal with the problem in its four aspects:—(1) Removal of cattle stables from the city and Bombay Suburban District to suitable sites, (2) bringing in of long distance milk in processed condition, (3) organised distribution of raw and processed milk in Bombay and (4) statutory control on production, distribution and prices.

There are nearly 1,100 stables spread over in the city and suburbs, housing about, 55,000 animals.

Most of these stables cannot satisfy conditions of producing milk even under ordinary standards of sanitation. The aim, therefore, in the first instance, is to remove 25,000 buffaloes located in the city to suitable sites on the B.B.C.I. and G.I.P. railway lines where new accommodation will be found for them in structures typically sanitary. There will be dairy farms working under proper supervision. The village of Are and Wagle Estate near Thana comprising an area of 1,422 acres have been already acquired by the Government. More areas are proposed to be secured and then the idea is to spend about 465 lakhs of rupees for land, roads, and cost of salvage for dry animals. The estimate includes the cost of a model dairy farm which the Government proposes to maintain with 500 animals in it. This scheme also has provision for the salvage of dry animals. It is proposed to contribute 5 lakhs of rupees to the Anand Scheme. The expenditure will be spread over a period of 5 years. The stables will be let out to private owners at reasonable rent and it is considered that the rent will not be excessive. A beginning has been already made and tenders have been invited for the construction of 5 stables worth about Rs. 35 lakhs. My fear is that the rising costs of material and labour will make the estimate of double the intended cost of 465 lakhs when it is actually worked

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out. If Government is thinking of spending so much money on the scheme, instead of having the stables near Thana, which is so near Bombay, let them construct the whole scheme a few miles beyond. Let the place lie at least 40 miles from Bombay so that there will be no difficulties of grazing, salvaging of dry animals and rearing of calves. We welcome this scheme provided the area selected is at least forty miles from Bombay.

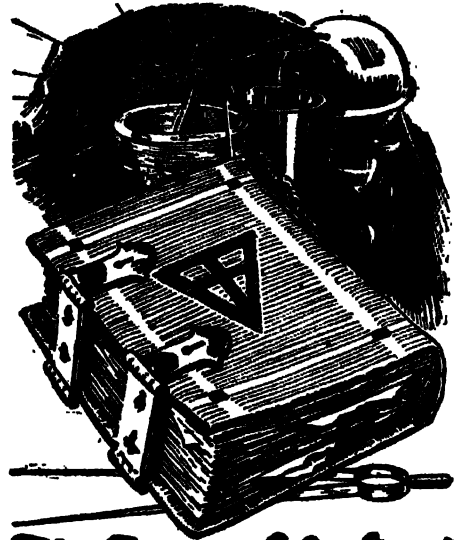
In the milk plan of the Government, there is a Short-Term Anand Scheme and a Long-Range Anand Scheme. To bring milk from Anand which is a distance of 266 miles is considered a satisfactory proposal by the Government.

Ultimately Government has come to the decision that if they succeed in removing about 25,000 animals from the city and locate them near Thana, they will be able to solve the milk problem of Bombay. They expect that it will take them about ten years to remove the stables from the city and when that is done, I am afraid, they will realise that the prices of milk will not go down. There is hardly anything in the Scheme which gives the hope of the reduction of prices. The gowli who is now carrying on his trade in the city will be removed to the suburbs, but his greed will increase, because he does something new. Why do we want the stables in the suburbs? Why can we not think of removing them from there to the adjoining districts of Kolaba and Thana which are prepared to solve all our problems? Let the Government scheme be taken to a long distance in the districts of Kolaba or Thana. In addition to the Government scheme we should invite the Rural Development Boards of Thana and Kolaba to help us in the production of milk. They can supply us with cheap milk, because they have three railway routes in their area; stations on the lines Virar to Balsad, Kalyan to Kasara and Kalyan to Karjat can have any number of buffalo stables built on sanitary principles. All the dry buffaloes can be salvaged to places a few miles from the railway stations where plenty of grazing areas are available. One more advantage which these areas have is that if they get plenty of cowdung manure, they will produce more rice in the area which is already cultivated. They do not burn cowdung but use it as manure in fields.

The Dhangars in these areas, who are good milk-producers, never purchase anything from the bazar for their animals. We should welcome more schemes for the production of milk. Thereby we shall help to cheaper milk.

Under the above circumstances, I wish that Government should hasten with their scheme. I wish they start a model dairy near Thana. A conference of all those who are interested in this problem should be called and the Rural Boards of Thana and Kolaba Districts should be invited to give their schemes of production of milk. It is no use herding all our cattle in the suburbs, because, once they are put there, they will not go from there if at a future date, on account of the expansion of the city, we require that area for human habitation.

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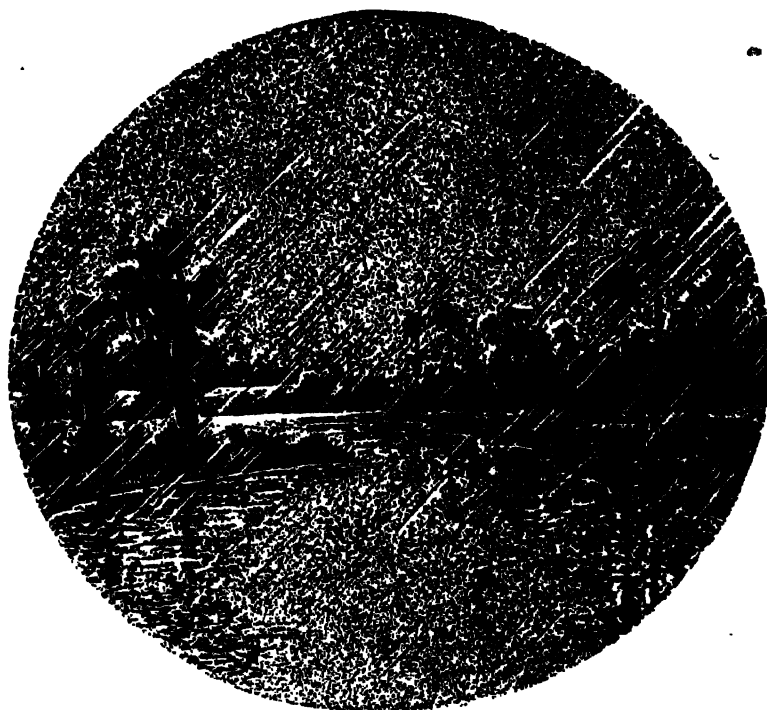
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and Pakistan

Excerpts from some of the speeches delivered at the Tenth Anniversary Meeting of the India League of America held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, N.Y., on January 6th 1948:

Dr. Henry F. Grady, United States Ambassador to India: "As I am Ambassador to the Dominion of India I shall direct my remarks to that country. It has everything necessary for greatness—talented leadership in government, industry and business, and a national culture deep-rooted and rich. It is the quality of culture that is the measure of the quality of a people. Its workers have natural manual facility and can be trained effectively and rapidly as industrial development gains momentum. It has rich mineral resources and hydro-electric and irrigation potential of extraordinary degree. This potential is the basis for very great increase in agricultural and industrial development—the foundation for a truly modern state.

"The financial structure of the Dominion of India is sound. The Federal Reserve System is well-managed and its policies enlightened and well-directed. There has been a three-fold increase in the currency since 1939 but assuming normal production there is no danger of serious inflation. But here as in so many countries, increased production—both agricultural and industrial—is the key to the solution of India's main economic problems. The public debt is not large for a country of three hundred million people—between six and seven billion dollars. Taxation particularly on individual income can be increased as national production expands. Future budgets will be balanced unless over a period of time there are extraordinary governmental expenditures. India not only has the possibility of great production increase, it has a great home market furnished for goods of all kinds. Moreover there are great potential export markets in the countries in South-East Asia.

"The railroad system before the war was very good but now badly needs re-habilitation. This is basic to economic recovery. Highways can and will be built up. Intercoastal and off-shore shipping will be developed. These problems are a challenge to the government and people of India, but that they will meet this challenge I am confident.

"The government though new and somewhat inexperienced is forward-looking and competent. Parliament is conducted with great decorum and dispatches its business very effectively. As in industry so in government there are men of unusual talent. Nehru is one of the world's statesmen. He has rare qualities of heart and mind and has instilled into his government alertness and energy. When the history of India is written, he will rank as a great statesman and the architect of his country's fortunes.

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President, India League of America: "There are rumblings of war in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan. True friends and well-wishers of India and Pakistan hope and pray that such

a catastrophe will not overtake these two newly born independent states.

"The Government of India has done well in making an urgent and timely request of the Security Council of the United Nations for intervention in the fighting now going on in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This shows they have nothing to hide. They are willing to lay their case before the forum of world opinion.

"The Security Council must act with haste. It must immediately issue a 'stop fire' order. If the actual warfare which has been going on in Kashmir since the end of October, 1947, is stopped, there is every chance that the present trouble will be localized and will not spread. The Security Council, besides issuing the 'stop fire' order, must immediately send a Fact Finding Commission to India. Such forthright, quick and effective steps by the Security Council may avert the impending clash between the armed forces of India and Pakistan.

"An open warfare between these two Dominions will spell disaster for both. It will retard for years the much needed economic and industrial plans of both countries.

"An open warfare between India and Pakistan will not solve the Hindu-Moslem problem—just as the creation of Pakistan has not solved the Hindu-Moslem problem. Let us suppose that India's armed forces inflict a defeat upon Pakistan. Then what? Can any one in his or her senses believe that the defeat of the State of Pakistan will also mean the end of the Nation of Pakistan? Most certainly not. Forceful annihilation of the State of Pakistan would further solidify the Nation of Pakistan. Not only that, but then surely the forty million Moslems living in India would become active fifth columnists. There would be sabotage, strife, arson, and guerrilla warfare practically in every part of India. Almost all the resources of India would have to be directed to putting down such sporadic rebellions. There would be no funds or manpower, or organizational machinery to tend the sick, the poor and the starving. There would not be enough money left, after the huge and constant war expenditures, to develop industries, hydro-electric projects, roads or agricultural reforms. There would not be sufficient funds for educating the masses or for providing better standards of living for them.

"The progress of India and Pakistan would be retarded twenty years, if not more, India and Pakistan will have missed the opportunity of giving a friendly lead to the other Asiatic countries. All the peoples of Asia are likely to suffer from such a set-back.

"In the recent past, after the creation of the two independent Dominions on August 15, 1947, the spokesmen for the India League of America have expressed the hope that India will become one again. I wish to re-iterate that hope on this Tenth Anniversary of the League. But, I must add, that we want this unity only if it can be established on trust, faith and friendship between India and Pakistan.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

nets and strongly guarded, yet in 1942 several Japanese submarines managed to penetrate the inner roads. The shore is covered with gardens and lined with splendid mansions, each having its own jetty for mooring yachts and motor boats, and miniature swimming pools. Only in a few places can one gain access to the shore within the city. The gardens of the rich mansions are fenced off right down to the water, and everywhere strangers are warned off by notices: "Private property. Trespassers will be prosecuted."

Part of the shore is occupied by a large Botanical Garden and a Zoo. The city spreads on both sides of the bay and then for many kilometres along the Pacific coast. It is belted on both sides with sand beaches. In the eastern part of Sydney and in its northern environs the sand beach stretches uninterruptedly for fifty miles. Hundreds of thousands of people visit the beach on Sundays and holidays, brought there by motorbus, street-car or local passenger boat. Members of the Life Saving Society patrol the beach and often drag careless bathers out of the water. The parades organized by this society are important events. They are described in the newspapers, shown in the cinema and are witnessed by thousands of spectators. The carefree life on the beach is not infrequently interrupted by the cry of "Sharks!" upon which all the bathers make for the shore as fast as they can.

Sydney is the largest port in Australia. It handles millions of tons of cargo annually, and is counted as one of the biggest ports in the British Empire. Merchant vessels of ten thousand tons, cutters, torpedo boats and corvettes are built in its shipyards. Its docks are capable of repairing any ship of no matter what size. In its environs are scattered munition, automobile and machine-tool plants, metal works, textile mills, large cold storage plants and numerous workshop and warehouses.

The influence of England is felt less in Sydney; if anything, American customs predominate, peculiarly adapted to Australian conditions. Fashions in clothes, hairdressing, dances and songs are American. This undoubtedly is due to the influence of Hollywood,—which sends numerous films here. We saw how the hearts of the youth of Sydney were captivated by the latest American dance, the jitterbug. Special evenings were arranged for this dance, and competitions and exhibition dances by the best performers were held. The dance is a peculiar mixture of acrobatics, *risque* stunts, Negro jigs and the waltz. No music is needed for it. A drum, to beat time, is sufficient.

Sydney has the reputation in Australia of being extremely progressive. Indeed, the trade union movement is more highly developed here than in the other towns of Australia, and a certain "spirit of protest" against conservatism and a readiness to accept "new ideas" is observed. Here more newspapers are published than in other cities. There are eight radio stations, and several theatres. In proof of Sydney's progressive spirit the inhabitants point to the fact that Murdoch, the Australian newspaper king, who owns half a dozen reactionary newspapers in other states, has not been able to establish himself in Sydney in spite of all his efforts.

FARMS AND FACTORIES

Tens of millions of sheep graze in the pastures of Australia. These pastures are "over-populated" and this is causing the sheep-breeders considerable anxiety. Parliament and the press are discussing the problem of sheep-breeding as well as the problem of securing future markets for Australian wool. The entire clip has been sold to England for the duration of the war, but the Australians are alarmed by post-war prospects. Thanks

to large English meat contracts, considerable numbers of cattle are being slaughtered and this is relieving somewhat the congestion on the pastures. But the shortage of transport facilities, cold storage and of labour at the abattoirs is upsetting export plans. Owing to the drought and the dearth of fodder, large numbers of sheep are perishing.

Slates' sheep farm, which we visited, has 20,000 acres, on which 10,000 sheep graze. The conditions of soil and climate here require two acres per sheep. The entire farm is surrounded with a wire fence and subdivided into sections of 3,000 to 5,000 acres each. The sections are separated from each other by wire fences to prevent the sheep of different ages and breeds from mixing. The sheep live on the section they are born in to the end of their days. It is the function of the sheep minders to repair the fences, keep the canals clear, exterminate rabbits and perform a host of minor jobs. The farmer visits his flocks about twice a month, and his main concern is that no epidemics should break out among them. The busy season in sheep-breeding—the shearing—comes at the beginning of the winter. Groups of migratory shearers, travelling from North to South, go to Slates and complete the shearing in ten days. The average clip ranges from nine to twelve pounds per sheep.

Cattle also graze in large pastures, and also with scarcely any guard. Before the cattle are slaughtered they are taken in special trains of two-storey cattle trucks to be fattened in the rich pastures of the forest regions and from there are taken to the abattoirs. Most of the latter are situated near the seaports, where there are vast cold storage and packing plants. From here the carcasses or canned meat are shipped to other countries, mainly to England and to the Pacific war zone.

The world war of 1914-1918 stimulated the development of industry in Australia. Now, too, industry is experiencing a big boom. For three years, up to 1943, the usual supply of manufactured goods from England was interrupted. Australia was obliged to look to the United States, from where war equipment, machine tools and machinery for war plants were obtained under the Lend-Lease Law, and also to her own industry for her requirements. The old plants were switched over to war production, the government assigned large credits for the erection of new plants, and a number of state factories were erected. The state now owns several aircraft factories, shipyards and repair docks, ordnance works, and shell, chemical and clothing factories.

In Australia there are now being produced several types of aircraft and tanks, various types of armaments, tens of thousands of landing barges, several thousand

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machine tools per annum and railway rolling stock (Australia built locomotives and cars ordered by the Allies for shipping goods to the U.S.S.R. via Persia). She is producing annually 2,000,000 tons of pig iron in her six furnaces, increasing the mining and smelting of many kinds of nonferrous metals, changing from importer to exporter of copper, and beginning to supply the Allies with large quantities of zinc, tin and lead.

During the war, and last year in particular, attempts to check the industrial development of the country were observed. These attempts were made by certain quarters in countries which encounter Australian competition in the world market and wish to keep her in the position of a colony supplying the metropolis with cheap raw materials. It is common knowledge that Australia still imports from England cloth made from Australian wool.



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Australia has to meet with exceptionally severe competition in the aircraft and automobile branches.

The outlook for the future is causing anxiety both to the government and the masses of the working people. The most common topic of conversation is the prospect of obtaining work after the war. People recall the crisis of 1929-1933, when more than half the workers of Australia were unemployed. In her quest for foreign markets Australia is turning her gaze to the Pacific countries, and particularly to China, which, as many believe, will become industrialized after the war. Australia intends to enter the struggle for the Chinese market.

CANBERRA—THE CAPITAL OF AUSTRALIA

Canberra is situated on the slopes of the low Australian Alps. After long disputes between the states as to which of them should have the honour of being the seat of the capital, it was decided to build it in "neutral" territory and a site of several thousand acres in New South Wales was allocated for it. Here, by 1927, the city of Canberra was built, which now has a population of about 8,000.

Canberra is more like a large park than a city. It consists of several settlements separated from each other by avenues and gardens. It is a difficult job to make one's way from the Houses of Parliament to any of the settlements. Several motorbuses run at interval of 20 to 30 minutes and describe big curves as they follow the circles into which the capital is divided. There are no straight lines in Canberra; there are only rings of roads contiguous to each other. To pass from one house to another situated three or four blocks away, one must go round in a curve, past six or seven blocks.

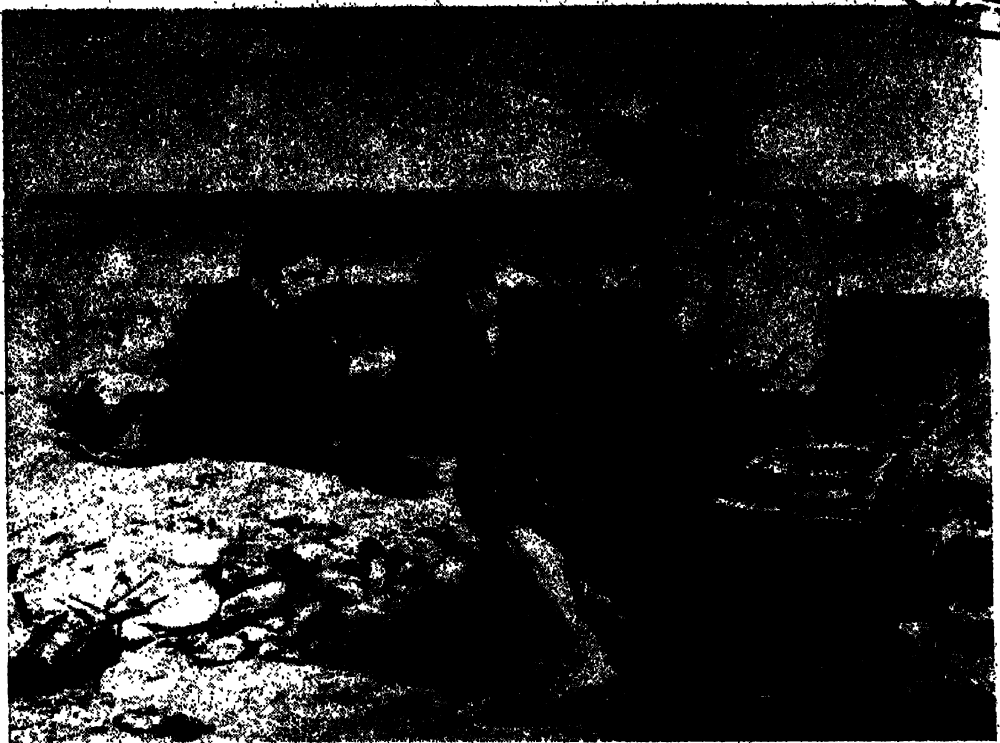
As many as 4,000,000 trees, mostly imported from other countries, have been planted in the city. Canadian pines and palm trees intermingle with Japanese cherry trees, which since the war broke out have been renamed "Chinese cherry trees." In the spring the city looks like a flourishing orchard and the fruit trees in blossom obscure the roofs of the houses. There are a few two-storeyed houses in the city—the Houses of Parliament, the hotel and several shops. The rest of the city consists of one-storey houses with large gardens.

Parliament assembles in Canberra every three months. It then becomes crowded and animated. At all other times its quietness "stuns" the visitor. The streets are deserted, sheep graze in the parks near the Houses of Parliament, and sometimes a rabbit darts across the street. The city is not yet completed. Much of it still exists only in blueprint. The visitor is conducted over the hills and told:

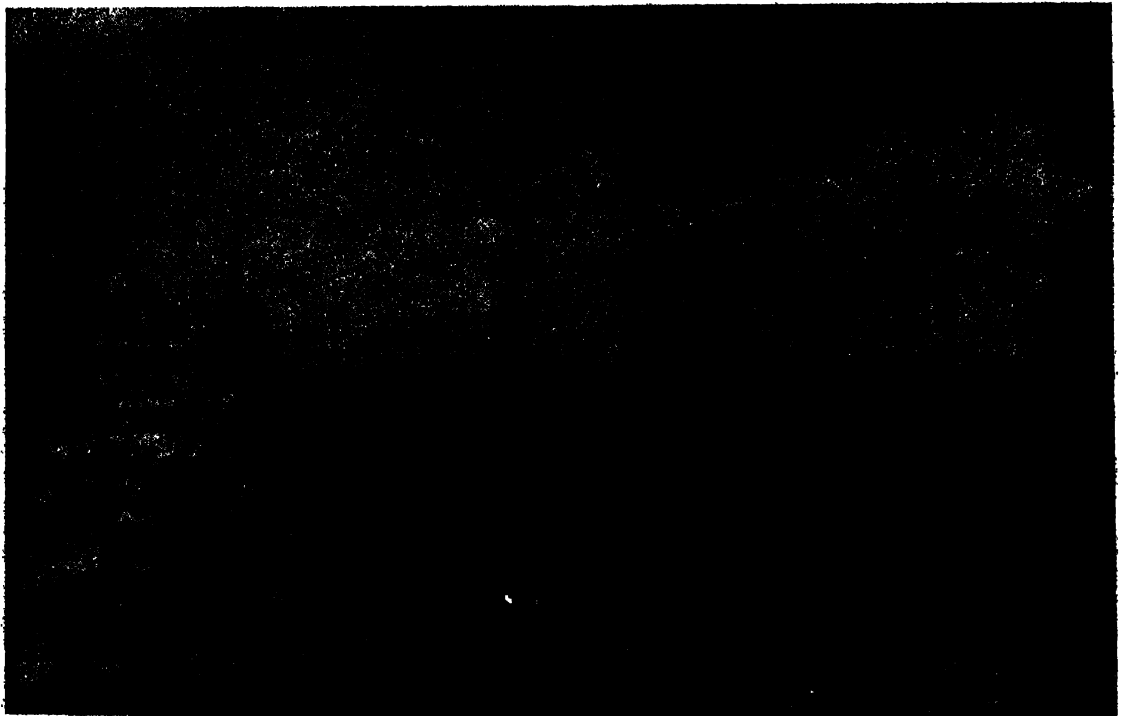
"Here there will be a new Parliament and there a large lake, and then Canberra will be like Geneva. Over there, to the left of the Houses of Parliament, the foreign embassies will be built. Do you see that tall hill? That's where the Soviet embassy will be."

2,000-Year-Old University

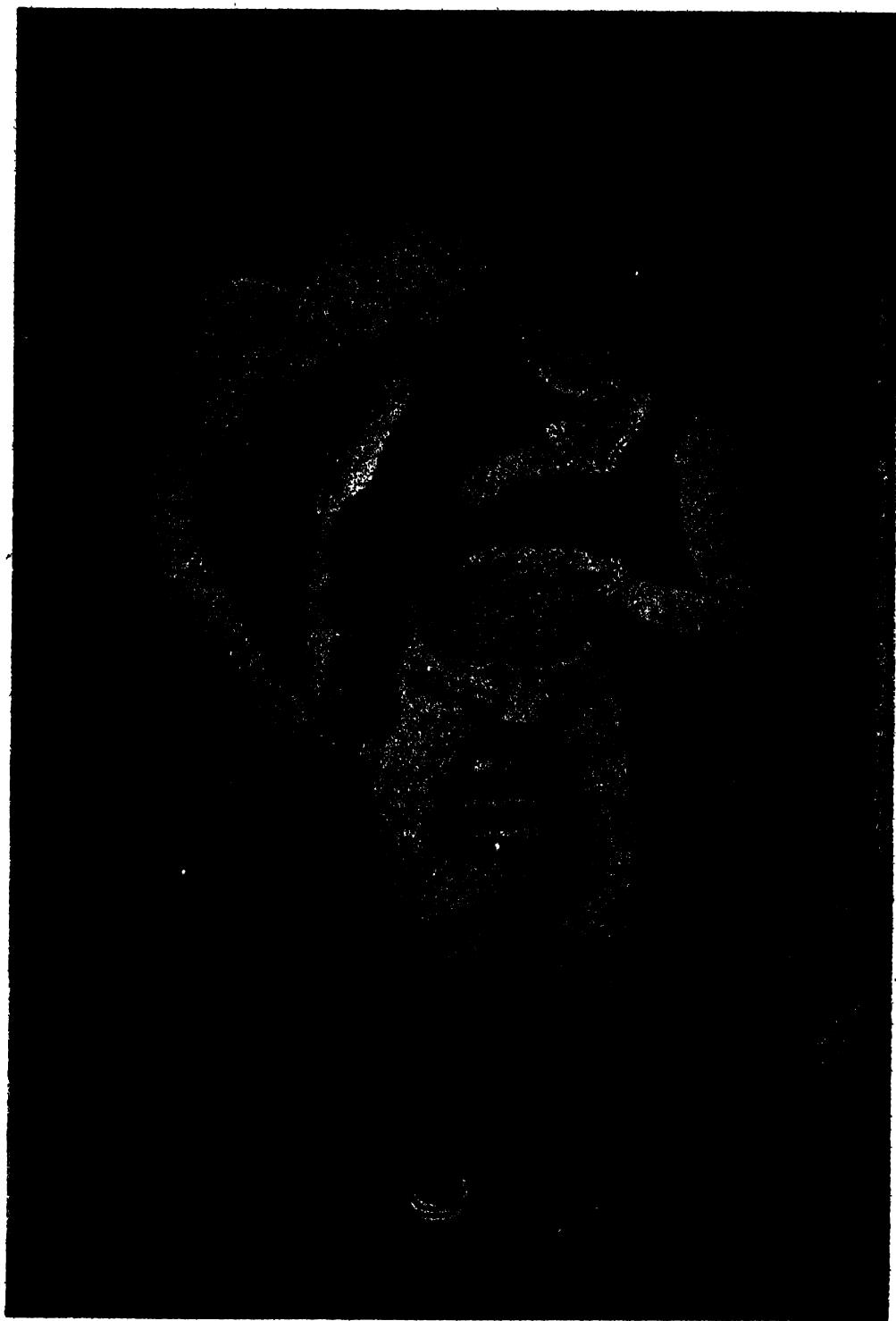
A 2,000-year-old university, believed to have flourished in Bhagalpur district, is to be excavated. The ancient Bikramshila University which is stated to have existed more than 2,000 years ago and is presumed to be older than the Nalanda and the Taxila universities, is lying buried in Bikramshila in the district of Bhagalpur, Bihar.—*Passive Resister*, Johannesburg.



In this well-known picture painted by Sir John Millais in 1870, the young Walter Raleigh and a friend are listening enthralled to the tales of sea adventures told them by the picturesque mariner



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ANANDA AND THE UNTOUCHABLE WOMAN

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Santosh Sen Gupta

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1948



VOL. LXXXIV, No. 2

WHOLE No. 500

NOTES

Action at Last ?

Pandit Nehru has to be congratulated on his fighting speeches in Madras. The reaction to these speeches have not been long in coming. Loud and prolonged howls of protest are coming from all the enemies of India, not the least remarkable being that from the Arch-enemy of all Asiatics, Mr. Winston Churchill. In the debate on Hyderabad in the House of Commons, this senile antidiluvian, who handed Burma on a plate to the Japanese through his rebuff to the Burmese Nationalists in the U Saw Mission—thereby causing death and suffering to hundreds of thousands—was quite justifiably rebuked by Mr. Attlee for “selecting his facts from only one side.” Mr. Attlee was absolutely correct when he emphatically stated that “Mr. Churchill generally starts with the pre-conceived opinion that everything Hindus do is wrong,” and further he was quite right in stating that “it is the view generally accepted in India” about Mr. Winston Churchill.

We hope Pandit Nehru's speeches indicate the awakening of the Dreamer to realities. It is late in the day, and the complications are myriad due to the policy of *laissez faire* adopted so far. The country is wide awake to the difficulties of the situation and the Government may be sure about the full weight of the people's sanction being thrown in its favour, if once action replaces hesitation and stern measures replace flowery speeches and abstract platitudes. The Nation's economic life has been jeopardised by the treacherous activities of some despicable gangs of Big Business, who have been brazenly looting the people behind the shield of ministerial amity and executive complicity, both at the Centre and in the provinces.

Labour has been led into intransigence through the nefarious activities of the Communist Party of India and their stooges of the A.I.T.U.C. It is now apparent to all that the sole object of these fifth columnists of Foreign Powers was to sabotage the effort for the Industrialisation of India, so that the Indian Union remain for ever at the mercy of those Western States whose economy is far more advanced along those lines. The Government must be alert

about the activities of all these disruptive elements and we think a stringent enquiry is called for, regarding the actions and speeches of certain A.I.T.U.C. leaders, who are willing tools at the hands of their communist masters. There have been howls about civil liberties from these people, who have had no compunction whatsoever in causing endless suffering to hundreds of millions in order that a few hundred thousand of their dupes might get advantages over the vast majority of the nationals of this country. It is about time the people were told that an unscrupulous “labour-leader” was as much a source of danger to the country as an unscrupulous capitalist, and much more so when he was acting as an agent of a hidden foreign enemy.

Hyderabad and Kashmir are major indicators of the trends of foreign diplomacy regarding the Indian Union. Mr. Attlee has done well by his country by clarifying the stand of his government *vis-a-vis* the Indian Union's policy. But it is no use hiding the fact that there is a growing sense of resentment in this country regarding the anti-Indian activities of a large number of British nationals whose sole aim seems to be to embarrass and injure the Indian Union. These blind fools seem to have forgotten the lessons of the last decade and a half, after the rise of Hitler. Malice is the ruling passion in their life, together with the hope of illicit gain. They are the avowed enemies of all Hindus because it was the Hindu who fought them and their predecessors with all the resources of mind and might. Sydney Cotton is not an isolated figure, nor is he the most important of his kind.

We dealt with the beginnings of Hyderabad in these columns last month. In this issue we append at the end of editorial columns the presentation of historical evidence by Sir Jadunath Sircar, the *doyen* of Indian historians, regarding the same. But evidence or no evidence the fact remains that eighty-five per cent of the people of Hyderabad are inalienable, by all tenets of race, caste or creed, from their neighbours and relatives in the surrounding areas, and as such their destiny must march with that of the nationals of the Indian Union.

Pandit Nehru's Address to Workers

Addressing a mass rally of workers at the Corporation Stadium of Madras on the 26th of July, Pandit Nehru said that a country's well-being depended upon its production and its productive capacity from the land and from industry. "If we have to remove the poverty of India, if we have to increase the standards and well-being of our people, we must produce more and then, secondly, we must see that what our workers produce is properly distributed and that it does not stick in a few pockets.

"These two things have to be borne in mind, and the first of this is production. Now there has been a good deal of stress laid on production, and rightly so, and unfortunately there have been trouble and strikes and lock-outs and the like which have come in the way of production. I am not going into these questions now except to tell you that any Government, any national Government, that we may have in the Province or in the Centre cannot subsist unless it has the largest amount of popular approval."

Referring to Communist activities, Pandit Nehru said: "I find today people talking in terms of Socialism and more especially of Communism. Excellent gospels. So far as I am concerned, I accept their fundamental principles, but I do not and will not accept the manner and methods of those who call themselves Communists, because I find that, in the name of economic doctrine, they are at the present moment trying both to coerce and sometimes commit all manner of atrocities in the provinces.

"They want us, in the name of civil liberty, to allow them to carry on these atrocities. No country is worth the name which can put up with this. No Government can put up with this. If any group or people want to declare war against the State, then the State is at war with them.

"I want to make this perfectly clear to the workers of this country and all those who want not only to better their (workers') lot but to change the social structure of society. The only way for them is to proceed peacefully and co-operatively by influencing the Government or by changing the Government and putting in their own Government.

"But, if they go about in this new State of ours, this free India of ours—before it is fully stabilized, before it has completely adjusted itself after these very terrible changes that we have faced as a result of partition and other consequences that followed—trying to upset its structure, then they are no friends of freedom and no friends of India, no friends of the working class. They are only friends of chaos and anarchy out of which they hope to get something to their advantage."

Declaring that no Government could tolerate the misuse of civil liberties, Pandit Nehru said: "You know that I have stood for civil liberties. I have stood for the freedom of the individual and the group, and nothing else has pained me so much as that conditions should arise in this country when perforce civil liberties should be limited in the case of a number of individuals. It really pains me so much that

the very thing I have condemned in the past should to some extent be indulged in by our Governments whether at the Centre or in the Provinces.

"I want to tell those Governments—my Government in the Centre and those in the provinces—that, if the state of affairs and if the compulsion of events sometimes induce them and compel them to take action, they must take action, because we cannot endanger the security of the State. We cannot leave large numbers of people unprotected against this kind of attack.

"At the same time, each Government—Provincial or Central—must think hard and deep whenever there is the slightest inroad on civil liberty, whenever any single individual's right is to be taken away. It is dangerous to fall into a complacent mood, giving large powers to the executive or to the police, large powers to everybody to exercise authority as he will.

"I see these dangerous things at work in India, and I dislike them thoroughly, but one has to balance between the two. One cannot allow the State to be in danger. When there is a danger to the State, normal standards do not apply. Then the first primary duty of any Government worth its name is to protect the community at large, and the people at large, even though that protection means certain limitations of liberty for some groups or individuals."

Proceeding, the Prime Minister said: "We are facing a situation, political, economic, external and internal, which creates more or less the same dangers, taking as a whole, as a war situation creates. Therefore, our duty should be to meet this situation with a war outlook, to see that we win through and overcome all these dangers.

"You know, the Congress has always been committed not only to people's *raj*, but essentially to workers' and peasants' dominance in that *raj* because workers and peasants are predominant in this country, and obviously any truly democratic Government must reflect their will. It may take time to establish it fully, but even so it will take less time if we do not reduce this country to chaos and anarchy by trying to get something done sooner than later."

Expressing surprise at the attitude of certain Communists who went to people like the feudal authorities of Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said: "This is an extraordinary thing for you to consider. What is there in common between the Communists and the Razakar leaders in Hyderabad? There is nothing in common, except one thing—that is the desire in the present context to create trouble and chaos. There is nothing else in common. How are we to meet this evil except combat it?"

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru said: "Have you ever looked at the map of India? Look at it again. Look at that magnificent chain of Himalayan mountains from the north to the north-east. There is no other area in the world which has more potential power than that locked in the Himalayas. All that power has to be tapped by human resources for the public good. We want to do that. We have begun to do that.

"We have every potential resource in India. What we lack for the present is the proper co-ordination of those resources with human power on a co-operative spirit and

a spirit of discipline, so that all of us together may serve the nation and serve the people.

"If we do so together, then, very rapidly, we can build up this great nation—it is not building up of people at the top but building from the bottom upwards. We have to raise the level of the common people, and we are going to do it. But you will waste your time if, instead of setting about that work, you simply fight and struggle and quarrel amongst yourselves. We should not fritter away our time and energy in wasteful strife as some of our misguided friends are doing today.

"I, therefore, beg of you, whether you are in the field of industry or railways or elsewhere, to give thought to the present state of affairs in India.

"The first thing before us is to get this country going, to get it properly stabilized and to increase its production, with one aim in view—that is, raising the standards of the mass of the common people and making them freer and better by putting an end to poverty and unemployment.

"We have, therefore, to combat these anti-social forces that are at work, and I call upon you, comrades, to fight these forces.

"I hope you will realize that the primary need of the day is to work for peace and order in this country and then for a strong and peaceful trade union movement which better your lot and fights for you when your rights are challenged and which protects you when you are in any way victimized and which, at the same time, thinks always of the nation first and the individual and group interests afterwards."

Hyderabad Pot Boiling Over

The manner of Sydney Cotton's direct flight from Karachi to Hyderabad exposes the ugly hand of Pakistan and its supporters amongst British imperialist interests represented by Mr. Winston Churchill and his followers in British politics. It reveals what has long been suspected that a class of international adventurers have become busy fishing in the troubled waters of Indo-Pakistani relations. Sydney Cotton is an Australian adventurer; the 'Lancaster' in which he flew to Hyderabad bore the mark of Canada, and was flown over by British pilots. The Government of the Indian Union have, therefore, registered protests with the Governments of Australia, Canada and Britain for Sydney Cotton's escapade; with the Government of Pakistan for their air-port officials giving a clearance certificate to him and adequate petrol supply for his machine, thus helping to break the Chicago Convention on air transit from one country to another. We are watching with a certain amount of cynical interest how these Governments try to get out of the trouble into which they have been let by Sydney Cotton.

It has been known for sometime that the Nizam of Hyderabad, said to be the richest individual in the world, has been able to buy support from those elements in the world's power-politics which have been unhappy with the emergence of India as a free State, free of "British control." Sydney Cotton is an instru-

ment in the hands of these people, and the ruling authorities of the Indian Union cannot but take note of their activities and take steps to halt these.

For sometime past public opinion in our State has been hardening against the apparent supineness of their rulers in treating with Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan. The Socialist Party headed by Shri Jai Prakash Narain have been vehement in their criticism on this matter; the Communist Party, now under a ban, have in their own peculiar ways been trying to disrupt from within the Nizam's administration. The Mountbatten regime that ended on June 21st last made many attempts to "appease" the ruling junta of Hyderabad. The Rajagopalachari regime appears to have been a little more active, imposing "economic sanctions" on the Nizam State; these can make themselves felt only after a prolonged experiment.

The Sydney Cotton episode has shown that the enemies of India are busy with measures to defeat these "sanctions." The protests of the Indian Union sent to Australia, Canada, Britain and "Pakistan" cannot be the last steps taken to beat down this conspiracy. Something more positive, more direct, will have to be done to drive sense into the minds of the Hyderabad authorities suffering from Pakistan crochets. The editor of the London weekly, *New Statesman and Nation*, Mr. Kingsley Martin, had suggested a more drastic remedy—that the Indian Union should look benevolently on the legal, the extra-legal, and the illegal activities of the enemies of the Nizam both in and outside his territories. He regarded the "Rasakars," the gangster bands organized in the name of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeem organization as a distinct menace, patterned as it is on the Muslim League example in India.

Since he wrote the "Razakars" have shown their depravity on a more extensive scale. This has been high-lighted by what Mr. J. V. Joshi, Minister for Commerce in the Hyderabad, has said in course of his letter of resignation submitted to Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad. It is reported that Mr. Joshi had made certain speeches exposing the atrocities perpetrated by the "Razakars" on the Hindus of the State; he had toured the districts of Nanded and Parbhani, and was "shocked" by what he had seen. And this pain he poured into language couched more as entreaty to the human instincts of the "Razakars" than as condemnation of their activities. A few samples of it will enable our readers to understand his mind.

"I am loyal, and loyalty demands recognising facts and remedying them before it is too late. Hindus in the State are afraid, have lost confidence, and are leaving their homes. They are sore and suspicious because of the loot, arson and murder that are occurring in the State today.

"... Rapine and rape seem to have become common.

"The term 'Rasakar' means 'servant of God' and defender of the weak and the innocent. . . .

"What I saw at Loha shocked me—the wholesale loot of the entire Hindu community, the gruesome murder of three Hindus, arson and rape. All this has become intolerable.

"I beg you to act, and act quickly. Weed out the mischievous elements and clean the Razakar organisation of this communal virus. You hold 90 per cent of the Services—Police, Military and Civil. You have a mass militant organisation of Razakars. You possess arms. The Hindus are weak and helpless. They do not possess arms. . . ."

This appeal appears to have miscarried. Mr. Joshi has been forced out of the Ministry for his outspokenness. But the exposure has done one good—it has shown the true character of the Asafia regime. It is well-known that the Hyderabad Ministry represents the 'Razakar' gangsters, and Mr. Joshi's place there has been on sufferance, so long as he tolerated the 'Razakar' regime and winked at their misdeeds. But when he dared turn round, and point the accusing finger at the seat of disease in the State, the time came for the quit order to be served on him.

The world will now watch with suspense the further evolution of this drama. The Sydney Cotton episode has shown that the Nizam is not alone, that behind him stand reactionary forces of countries far and near, drawing inspiration from Anglo-Saxon domination over world affairs. Pandit Nehru's Government by trying to maintain and follow an independent foreign policy has not recommended itself to the dominant powers tossed on waves of power-politics. The Kashmir and Hyderabad affairs have given us a warning which cannot be brushed aside by eloquent pleadings. The enemies of India appear to think that while the Kashmir Commission is in India, something spectacular should be staged which will force the pace of Indo-Hyderabad disagreement, force it into a clash of arms. Perhaps, we cannot avoid it. The latest (27th July) news tells us of the occupation of village Nanaaj on the Sholapur-Barsi road by Indian troops.

Currency Measures Against Hyderabad

The decision of the Nizam to be independent both politically and economically has forced the Government of India to take precautionary measures. The primary object of these measures is to protect the interests of India. Until a few days ago, the people of the Hyderabad State enjoyed as much freedom as any one else in India to remit funds overseas, within, of course, the exchange control regulations. But this freedom has been restricted to some extent. No bank operating in Hyderabad can now issue drafts involving foreign exchange for any person, even if he be the Nizam or his Government, without the previous permission of the Reserve Bank of India. Taking into consideration the secret arms deals initiated by that State, this restriction was invited by them. The object of the Government of India is to see that foreign exchange is not remitted from Hyderabad for purposes which are likely to strengthen the aggressive designs of the Nizam against India. This restriction alone was not sufficient to serve the purpose in view because there was nothing to prevent the agents of Hyderabad from getting funds transferred

out of India through the banks in the Indian Union or Pakistan. The promulgation of the recent Currency Ordinance, providing for the control of the transfer of certain securities "which may be detrimental to the interests of India," however, proves that the Government of India is serious about closing all leakages of foreign exchanges on Hyderabad account. In the interest of India, it is imperative that there should be stringent restrictions and check over the remittances of funds from India to all the countries, including Pakistan.

The Nizam has declared the use of Indian currency illegal within his dominions. By this measure, the Hyderabad Government had made a deliberate attempt to eliminate Indian currency from circulation and to push its own notes in circulation but retaining its power to transfer Indian securities abroad in its own interests. The Government of India has counter-acted this step by closing the currency chest of the Reserve Bank of India in Hyderabad operated through the Imperial Bank and bringing the surplus currency back to India. The Government of India is, in view of the past actions of the Nizam's Government, perfectly justified in withdrawing the currency chest from Hyderabad. Another reason for this step may be to prevent the balance of India's currency chest in that State falling into the hands of the Nizam in case hostilities break out. It is thus purely a measure of precaution and one in self-defence. If the Nizam feels embarrassed for these measures, he has only himself to thank, for they have been invited by him. The Nizam has given sufficient cause for viewing his activities in respect with the currency manipulations in his State with suspicion. He has already hoarded enormous quantities of Indian currency by selling out his investments in Government of India loans and by forcing the public of Hyderabad to convert the Indian rupee notes for Osmania Sica notes, a factor which is principally responsible for the shortage of Indian currency which is now being experienced by the public in that State.

Nehru Denounces Hyderabad's Gangsters

Addressing a mass meeting at Madras on the 25th of July, Pandit Nehru said:

"The cutting of Pakistan as it is called has created innumerable problems—political, economic, social, but most of all psychological. We cut off something from the living body of India.

"Partition came with our consent. We were consenting parties to it. We shall abide by what we have consented to. We consented because we thought that thereby we were purchasing peace and goodwill, though at a heavy price. We did not get that peace and goodwill, but got something terrible instead.

"There is no going back on the decisions made. We have accepted them and today the position is that if Pakistan wants suddenly to join India to reverse that process of history, I am quite clear in my mind that we would not accept it for the present. That would mean in the present context going back in a worse way

to those troubled conditions from which we sought to escape through partition. It would mean shouldering the tremendous burdens that Pakistan has to shoulder. Therefore, do not imagine that however much I may regret the partition of India, I work for undoing it. I say this because of the fantastic allegations made by the leaders of Pakistan at Lake Success and elsewhere.

"It is a fantastic allegation that we are trying, or intriguing, to put an end to Pakistan. It is fantastic because that will be doing injury to ourselves. If Pakistan economically or otherwise collapses, that will bring all kinds of injurious consequences. If Pakistan collapses, the danger to India would be great. Therefore, from no point of view would we wish for the collapse, economic or otherwise, of Pakistan.

"We want in our interest that Pakistan should continue economically and politically sound. We do not want Pakistan to continue as a progressively hostile country to India, because Pakistan and India, as they are situated, cannot remain for long just indifferent to each other. We have either to co-operate in a friendly manner or we have to be hostile and inimical to each other. There is no middle course ultimately. For the present, however, the middle course may be followed and it will continue for some years.

"Unfortunately during the past few months on the whole we have drifted apart. You see evidence of this, in the main, in Kashmir and Hyderabad, even though it is behind the veil.

"I am sorry to make these serious charges against not only a neighbouring country but against the people who, after all, whatever the political division may be, are Indians and will continue to be Indians even though they may call themselves something else."

Dealing with the Kashmir question, Pandit Nehru said: "At present there is a U. N. Commission in India considering the Kashmir matter. At the Security Council we said that Pakistan was aiding and abetting the raiders who had come across Pakistan territory to destroy the valley of Kashmir. We requested the Council to call upon Pakistan not to do so. It was a simple fact stated and a simple request made.

"Now the Security Council sat for six or seven months and discussed it and ultimately appointed this commission. Oddly enough, during these six or seven months of hard work and discussions, they never considered that simple fact that we placed before them. Because they did not do so, they were continually proceeding on a weak and uncertain foundation and on wrong premises.

"There is no reason why they should not have found out the truth. They did not choose to inquire into our complaints but they went away at a tangent and considered other matters. What is the position now? Everybody knows that it is not merely a question of Pakistan aiding and abetting some tribesmen but Pakistan sending their regular armies into Kashmir—that is Indian Union territory—and fighting our troops there. The whole of the Pakistan case before the Security

Council was based on the fact that they were not aiding and abetting in any way and there was no complicity on their part in what was happening in Kashmir. Now it is established, as I do claim it is established, to the knowledge of every person who inquires into it, that Pakistan is practically fighting and has full complicity in the Kashmir affair. The whole case of Pakistan was built on falsehood and deceit. I shall not say more about Kashmir."

Pandit Nehru again referred to the partition of India and deplored the tendency among some Hindu communalists who were thinking in terms of a Hindu *rashtra*. "Attempts to do that will bring conflict and ruin to the nation. Those attempts will be resisted to the end."

SECULAR INDIA

"We stand for a united India, for a secular India and for an India in which every citizen would have his religion, equal rights and opportunities and obligations as any other."

He deplored the tendency among some of the Hindu communalists who were trying to oppose the Muslim communalists and were thinking in terms of a Hindu *rashtra*.

He added: "Attempts to do that will bring conflict and ruin to the nation. Those attempts will be fully resisted to the end. Either they will be defeated or the nation will suffer tremendously. In the modern world of today communal States cannot exist except in a terribly backward condition."

Pandit Nehru asked whether they wanted India to become a great, modern, progressive and strong nation and play a great part in the councils of the world or degenerate.

"Now", he said, "Pakistan clearly proclaims and puts forward a completely different ideal. It talks about an Islamic State. A theocratic State and communal State. It is not for me to advise Pakistan. They can go their way and they have gone their way.

"But I am interested, as I told you, in Pakistan, because to my mind however much it may cut itself away, it still remains part of India. It surprises me how rapidly Pakistan is going downhill in mind and body alike. Today to talk in terms of a nation in theocratic and religious terms, is to talk in a language used to be spoken a few hundred years ago. If Pakistan goes back and accepts that, it will not ultimately succeed and in doing so it will come to grief. But because Pakistan talks in a language of a few hundred years ago we are not going to be foolish enough to talk in the same language."

Pandit Nehru continued today there were more Muslims in India than in any other country in the world except Pakistan. "What about these Muslims in India?" he asked. "Sometimes people talk of demanding from them a certain loyalty. Well, of course, people who live in India and are citizens of India are expected to be loyal to India. If they are not then they isolate themselves and they no longer have any place in India. Nevertheless it is rather silly for any one to go on

publicly demanding loyalty from them. I am not demanding anyone's loyalty but I do wish to make this clear that I can understand very well the crisis in the mind and spirit which the Muslims in India have had to face during the past year. It has been a difficult year for them and those who were completely loyal to India, even they had to face this crisis quite naturally.

"I sympathise with them and like to help to resolve that crisis. I stand for the development of a composite culture in India which will no doubt be predominantly influenced by the predominant elements in the country. But nevertheless it will be open to all. Having said that I wish to say again that India is facing and will continue to face various crises and our countrymen who are Muslims in India have to understand quite clearly how they fit in this composite picture."

Pandit Nehru said that during his brief stay in Madras he was surprised to read certain journals that were issued on behalf of Muslims. "I find in these journals a trace of arrogant communalism that has brought so much injury to India. Now I want to be frank with you. The Muslim League in the past followed a policy, a poisonous policy, which has done harm to India and which has brought about partition. The Muslim League and all those who think in the tradition of the Muslim League have no place in India today. That Muslim League has been wound up, I believe, by its own erstwhile votaries in most places in India.

"I was surprised to find some people taking exception to the *Jana Gana Mana* and the crest of the State. I say that it is a challenge and an insult. If any Mussalman here wish to carry on those old traditions, I would suggest to them in all friendliness to depart for Pakistan. Because otherwise it will not be happy for them and happy for us. Otherwise tension will continue and in the composite and secular State we will have elements that will not fit in.

"Because, you see the whole conception behind Pakistan was not a national conception. It was a religious extra-territorial communal consideration. That, of course, in the modern age, is rather a fantastic notion.

"Now Pakistan has come into existence. If the old Muslim League idea was at all right, then it means there can be no Hindu who can be a citizen of Pakistan or a non-Muslim, Christian or Sikh there because Pakistan is an Islamic, theocratic State claiming the allegiance of Muslims there. I know for a fact that large numbers of Muslims in India accept the secular conception of India and have absolutely no desire to line up with Pakistan in any way.

"Therefore, I am content with this problem. There are some no doubt, who find it difficult to get out of the wrong habit they got in the past. Maybe they will get out of it. There are some who are deliberately, apparently, carrying on with that thought. That was the idea that struck me when my attention was drawn to certain journals issued by some organisations or individuals here in Madras. Now, when I talk of a secular State, what does it mean? Are we going to shake off

our cultural institutions because somebody who is of the Muslim League in Madras does not approve? Let him get away from here and the sooner he does the better for the country."

He pointed out that India had fundamental culture and it was rather absurd for them to talk and think of challenging the symbols of that culture. It had nothing to do with religion except it was a cultural symbol.

Pandit Nehru appealed to the majority community to be tolerant towards the minorities. "We should not exercise our dominant position in a wrong way to create suspicions or fear in the minds of any minority in the country. The responsibility always is of the dominant and majority party and therefore we should be careful."

HYDERABAD

Referring to Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said: "I want to say a few words about Hyderabad because it must interest you and it is near to your province and it affects you. You will remember that in November last, we came to a Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad State. There were many things in it. Among other things the three subjects namely, Defence, Communications and External Affairs were supervised and controlled by the Central Government at Delhi. There were other matters I need not go into.

"We entered into that Standstill Agreement because, we did not want to push the Hyderabad Government to compel it to accede to us. We were of the opinion and we are of the opinion that there is no other way open to the Hyderabad State except full accession to India. But we were in no hurry and we had laid down a general principle that where there was a doubt, where there was a dispute in regard to a State's accession, it will lie with the people of the State to decide.

"We applied that elsewhere. We do not want to force a decision on Hyderabad. We thought this matter can be settled with goodwill and peacefully a little later. So we entered into this Standstill Agreement for a year. In fact, if properly understood and if properly worked that Standstill Agreement meant 80 per cent of accession because three important subjects were under the Government of India.

"We agreed, if you like as a price of this understanding, to withdraw our troops that we stationed in the Cantonment there in Secunderabad. We withdrew them soon after and carried out that very important part of the bargain. It was a very important part, because with our troops staying in Secunderabad, we dominated Hyderabad in a military way. It would have been difficult, exceedingly difficult, for the Ruler of Hyderabad or anyone to play much mischief with our troops there. Yet in order to see the way, we entered into that Standstill Agreement and we withdrew our troops from Secunderabad. That is a major thing. There are many matters in which we complained breach of the Standstill Agreement on their part and they complained of breaches on our part. They are minor things. Their complaint was that we did not supply them with arms.

"Well, in the context of things, you can yourself

judge, the real thing is that we who were in a dominant military position in Hyderabad withdrew our army. Can you find a bigger gesture on our part to show that we wanted a peaceful and co-operative solution of the Hyderabad problem", asked Pandit Nehru.

"After that, it is a long story of repeated journeys of Prime Minister and other Ministers and Advisers of the Hyderabad Government to Delhi and back. Repeatedly, they came to us and more than once we agreed and they agreed and they went back with provisional agreement. That was not accepted. On the last occasion, again what appeared to us an agreement which we have arrived at with the representatives of the Hyderabad Government—the draft of which appeared in the Press—when they went back again, fell through.

"Now I am exceedingly sorry, if again I have to use a strong language because strong language does not normally help. I cannot help expressing that the Hyderabad Government have behaved in the last few months in a manner which would not do credit to any gangsters or thieves or deceitful persons.

"They have come to us again and again speaking all the time that they have gone on intriguing in a hundred ways against us. All the while they have said one thing and done something else. These gun-running expeditions from Karachi to Hyderabad and how certain foreigners have been helping Hyderabad Government in this way, you have read in the Press.

"Now those of you who are students of history will remember the past history of Hyderabad in the last 150 years. It is not a history creditable to any State. It grew not out of love, courage or victory in arms but by deceit. In the present instance it has completely lived up to this past history. It has become impossible for us to deal with persons who behave in this deceitful way, whose words mean nothing, but who have built up in their State this organisation of the Razakars which is purely an organisation of gangsters and the like. Can you deal with a Government which is practically run by these gangster elements?

"People talk about our having war with Hyderabad. What do they mean exactly? It is a completely wrong notion. We propose to have no war with Hyderabad. There is no question of any war with Indian States. If there are wars they are with free countries. If and when we consider it necessary, we shall have military operations against the Hyderabad State.

"But you must remember that no Government should rush into these ventures involving military operations easily, because they involve suffering. We are not irresponsible people like the rulers of Hyderabad. Many people talk casually, but no responsible Government can behave in that manner. At the same time, no responsible Government can put up with the things that have been happening and are still happening in Hyderabad.

"I cannot tell you what steps we shall take and when we shall take them, because it is not a matter to be discussed in public meetings. But I can tell you this. We are thoroughly alive to the Hyderabad situation. I

can also tell you that the draft agreement that we had proposed some time back, so far as we are concerned, we have done with it.

"I can tell you one thing, that we are not going to deal with the persons who represent the present Government of Hyderabad, because, in dealing with them often enough, we have invariably been deceived by them. In no circumstances whatever is the independence of Hyderabad going to be accepted.

"I have no doubt in my mind that Hyderabad must, and will become a full member of the Indian Union as an acceding State. If it does not accede, it may cease to be a State or a corporate entity. That I may tell you and I want to be perfectly frank with you. There are some people here even in Government service who sympathise with the Hyderabad Government at the present movement. If there are any in Government here, the sooner they quit the better. It is not going to be tolerated in service or outside it if he is a friend of the present Hyderabad Government. I say that we are not going to war with Hyderabad. We do not give that big designation to any State but so far the Hyderabad Government has behaved in a hostile and inimical manner to us and if any person here, private individual or State servant, in spite of this, sympathises with and helps Hyderabad, it will be a bad day for him. If he does so, we shall come down with all our strength upon him. Therefore, let people choose before it may be too late to do so."

Patel's Warning to Nizam

"When I spoke at Junagadh, I said openly that if Hyderabad did not behave properly, it would have to go the way that Junagadh did. These words still stand and I stand by those words," declared Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, inaugurating the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union on July 15.

Sardar Patel added : "The late Governor-General thought that he would be able to secure a peaceful settlement. I let him do so. He tried his best. The Nizam used to pride himself in being styled 'His Majesty's Faithful Ally.' Britishers feel that this gives them some right to approach the Nizam and do sincere efforts to win him round to the path of sanity and peace.

"It was in this spirit that Lord Mountbatten assisted by Sir Walter Monekton hoped to be able to secure by negotiations what, they felt, Hyderabad must offer to India and India must offer to Hyderabad."

Continuing Sardar Patel said : "Although I was doubtful whether the efforts could succeed, I let them try. We also wanted that if things could be settled peacefully, so much the better. But although up to the last Lord Mountbatten was hopeful of settlement, that hope never materialised owing to the intransigence of the Nizam and the fanaticism of the forces at his back. But I should like to make one thing clear that the terms and the talks which the late Governor-General had, have gone with him.

"Now the settlement with the Nizam will have to be on the lines of other settlements with the States. No help from outside on which he seems to rest his pathetic hopes, would avail him. I grant, there had been delay in settling this question, but to those who are restless, I should like to say, 'You must trust us. The pangs which you feel for Hyderabad, are shared by me no less. But when we have to perform an operation, we have to see that as little of the limb, involved, is cut off, as possible, and that the operation is performed only when the time is ripe.' We shall take action actuated by this motive and this alone. We will not allow any other extraneous consideration to influence us, for that way alone lies the interest of the country."

"Today," Sardar Patel proceeded, "We have assembled on a historic occasion. A new chapter in the history of India is opening up before us. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that we are all participating in such an auspicious event. We have also occasion to be proud of it. But along with this pride and this celebration, let us not be unmindful of our duties and obligations. We must cleanse our hearts and purify our minds and resolve to do pure deeds by ourselves, by the new Union and by our country. We should harbour no evil, we should reflect who we are, what we have inherited and what we have achieved. If you look at the history of India, you will find that for centuries India was steeped in slavery. What struggles, what sacrifices, what bitter news and what sorrow we all had to face to rid India of that centuries-old malady that had eaten into the very vitals of its nationhood !

"A great change has come about. Indeed a great revolution has been brought into being. The greater the change, the more comprehensive the revolution, the more are the travails through which the country has to pass. We have already had more than our due share of troubles and turmoils. We are lucky to have survived so many of them. But many are still to be overcome. If we falter and fail, we shall consign ourselves to eternal shame and disgrace."

Appealing to the audience to realise the full gravity of the situation and to consider the position in the light of the legacy which they have inherited, Sardar Patel asked, "Did any one dream a year or two ago that one-third of India would be integrated in this fashion ? But we must all resolve that whatever mistakes we might commit, we should do nothing which would be calculated to send India back into the slavery of the past. It is, therefore, the duty of India's valiant sons to see that the clocks of progress are not put back, but advance forward. We must also realise that if we have to take our due place in the comity of nations, it will not come to us for asking, but we shall have to strain every nerve for it."

Recalling his visit to Amritsar and Patiala in September and October last year Sardar Patel told his audience that what he had said at those places

still deserved to be carefully considered. He had told them then that it was not necessary for them to struggle for power from the Princes. He had said, "If we approach them in the right fashion, they themselves would be willing to surrender it." Those words had come true today. In the achievements which were shown to the credit of the States Ministry, the Princes had their due share.

Similarly, he had asked the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Punjab States to come to the rescue of the unfortunate and stranded refugees by giving an undisturbed passage to the Muslim refugees going to Pakistan. The Sikhs who had already extended their love and consideration to him, listened to the appeal which he and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala made on that occasion and agreed to give that passage. They were then united.

But now he saw proofs of disunity in their ranks. If they feel that the danger is passed and they could indulge in the pastime of dissensions, they are grievously mistaken. Punjab's or for that matter India's troubles were not over ; they were still to face scores of them during the troublous times ahead.

He added, "Just as you agreed to make way for Muslims in compliance with my appeal, you have to make a similar way for free India to forge its course ahead. You have to give a helping hand in the same way as you did them. If I have come today, it is not only to fulfil the promise which I made to my friend and brother, the Maharaja of Patiala, but also to tell you what our duty is in the circumstances in which the country is situated today.

"You have not succeeded in forming a Ministry. I am neither sorry nor disturbed over it. Those who have never undertaken that task of administration before, are naturally reluctant, afraid or hesitant ; but what is, therefore, necessary is to have a stout heart and a fearless mind. If you read the history of democratic countries, you will find that where there is stability, the task of administration goes on steadily ; but where a country is foundationally unsteady, it becomes a prey to all sorts of influences, feelings, sentiments and ideals.

"Our primary aim should, therefore, be to achieve that stability which is the surest foundation of progress, that stability which can come only when there is unity in our ranks.

"It is true that for the foundation of a democratic Government we must have a Government and an Opposition. But today while we have yet to stand on our legs, we have got to strengthen ourselves and that strength cannot come by dissensions in our ranks but by unity of purpose and unity of aims and unity of endeavour."

Continuing Sardar Patel pointed out that it was almost a year since the country attained freedom. No country had suffered so much within the first year of its birth as India had. Eastern Punjab States and Patiala occupied a strategic position in the new

circumstances of the country. The responsibility of the Rulers and the people of this area was greater than that of any other part of the Union. That responsibility was increased manifold, if they considered that they had a neighbour with whom their relations were not friendliness, trust and confidence. In these circumstances, the responsibility of the border people was greater and therefore, their duty of unity was heavier.

Sardar Patel then said, "I harbour no ill-will nor do I wish to hurt anyone. My only desire is that India should be well-protected and that it should be for every Indian to see that there are no loop-holes or weak links in the whole system of security, both external and internal. In my efforts to achieve this, the Rulers have helped me a lot. It is now for the people to extend their helping hand to me. Time is of the essence. We have to move quickly and unless we do so, we have a big stake to lose."

Turning to the charge that is sometimes hurled against the States Ministry that it has moved too quickly, Sardar Patel drew the attention of the audience to the fact that the world today was different from the world of yesterday. Things could move slowly and steadily in the old world, where there was more leisure and less speed.

He observed, "Today one day is equal to a century, see how overnight States have fallen and empires have disappeared, who can say then that time does not fly and that we can afford to wait. In integration and democratisation, therefore, there must be quick progress if the country is to avoid disasters and threats to its existence and unity."

In this connection he warned certain Princes who were still thinking of disturbing the security and integrity of the State. Some of them pay heed to an astrologer that in August the Ministry would break and Government would fall, thereby giving him a chance to stage a march to Delhi. Some others were listening to a so-called *Sadhu* who was predicting all sorts of things.

Genocide

Pakistan's charge-sheet against the Indian Union before the United Nations Organisation has made this word familiar to us. The irresponsibility of the charge has never been demonstrated more thoroughly than what happened in West Punjab where the Police, the Magistracy were found co-operating with frenzied followers of the Muslim League in looting and murdering Hindus and Sikhs, in indulging in arson and rape, thus clearing West Punjab of the "Kafir." Chapter I of K. L. Gauba's book—*Inside Pakistan*—throws light on these abominations, producing its reaction in East Punjab and the States in it:

It is these developments in the latter that form part of the Pakistani charge-sheet. It would be necessary, therefore, to understand what this Genocide is, and how it came within the purview of the U.N.O.

An article in the *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi, written by Shri D. J. Singh, enables us to present to our readers the problem as has been evolved under U.N.O. auspices. We are told that the resolution of the U.N.O. General Assembly is "a pioneer effort." The draft convention in this matter had been prepared by the U.N.O. Secretariat on 'counsel' of three internationally famous experts on legal affairs—Prof. Lemkin, Dommidieu de Vabres and Prof. Pella. After a deal of controversy and differences of opinion between the experts, Genocide came to be defined as "the deliberate destruction of a human group."

It is classified into three categories—physical genocide, destruction of individuals; biological genocide, prevention of births; and cultural genocide, brutal destruction of the characteristics of a group. This definition has rationalized for us a development that we saw enacted here in Calcutta on August 16, 1946 when the Muslim League had staged its "Direct Action." In Noakhali-Tipperah, in Bihar; in West Punjab the same mentality erupted into view. Without knowing anything about 'genocide', the Muslim League had pioneered an experiment that has uprooted millions from their ancestral homes, accompanied by deliberate murder, arson and rape. All the characteristic abominations classified by the experts were perpetrated in India long before the U.N.O. Secretariat had turned their attention to the matter. The following will give us an idea of how the experts came to their conclusions in the matter.

Physical genocide is defined as mass massacre and group murder by individual executions, subjection to condition of life, want of proper housing, clothes, food, absence of medical and sanitary facilities, lethal doses of excessive overwork and physical labour which could lead to debilitation, deaths, or both, of the individuals, mutilations and biological experiments imposed not for curative but experimental and harmful effects, confiscation of property and the consequent deprivation of the means of livelihood; looting and arson, restriction on and stoppage of work, denial of housing and essential commodities and supplies otherwise available to the inhabitants of the territory in question.

Biological genocide covers those attempts and measures designed at the total execution of a group of human beings by a coldly-calculated and systematic restriction of birth, sterilization, compulsory and forced abortions, total and effective segregations of the sexes, and restrictions that make marriage impracticable and impossible. These are some of the methods of biological genocide that merit punishment.

Cultural genocide occasioned the draft convention much trouble and caused considerable controversy. It was argued by Professor Pella and Professor Dommidieu de Vabres that cultural genocide was an unnecessary extension of the term. Professor Lemkin argued that a racial, national or religious group was unable to exist except by preservation and integration of its spiritual, moral and aesthetic unity. The right to existence of a cultural group was justified from both the moral point of view and the essential-worth point of view based on the groups' contribution to civilisation. In such cases cultural genocide was more reprehensible than

a policy of forced assimilation or coercion and conversion. This involved besides other measures, prohibition of the opening of schools for the teaching of the characteristic language of the group, of the publication of newspapers printed in the groups' language, the use of that language in official documents, in courts, business, etc. It aims by desperate and ruthless methods at the rapid and total disappearance of the cultural, moral and religious life of a group of human beings.

The Muslim League "jehadis" had taken us through all the experiences described above, and for many a day it will be found difficult to eliminate the poison injected into our body-politic by the leadership of this organisation.

It also appears that the experts tried to define the "groups" that deserved protection under the convention laid down by them. Professional groups were held to be beyond its jurisdiction; only "racial, national, linguistic, religious and political groups" deserved protection; there appears to have been differences of opinion with regard to the last category, as "political groups were not inherently possessed of the permanency and specific characteristics of other groups;" general opinion, however, appeared to hold that this "exclusion" may be interpreted as condoning genocide in certain cases. There appears to be an exception, however; protection does not cover "the activities by groups with Fascist or Totalitarian tendencies."

This description of "genocide," however, does not tell us anything new. Human history is littered with examples where "groups" had been done to death simply because they differed from the dominant classes amongst their neighbours. The case of Catholics in Elizabeth's Britain, of the Red Indians in the Americas, of the Maoris and aborigines in Australasia, of Jews in Europe, comes to the mind.

"Undeclared War"

Since August 15, 1947, British public men and publicists have never left us in any doubt about where their sympathies and co-operation lay. The Kashmir and Hyderabad complications have brought these out into the open. The Labour Government of Britain have been trying to maintain a "correct" attitude. But even this they were found throwing over-board when India's reference to the U.N.O. against Pakistan for overt and covert participation in the attack on Kashmir was being discussed. They helped to raise irrelevant issues taking up about 5 months when men and women and children were being maimed and killed, their houses burnt and their properties looted, women's honour was made a play-thing by the agents and dupes of Pakistan. And on these very-often false issues, they have manoeuvred to send a U.N.O. Commission to get India and Pakistan "reconciled," forgetting the fact that if the latter had been honestly neutral, there was no sense for Britain to bring her into the dispute.

But the British Press, headed by the London

Times which has been always a mouth-piece of the British Government, irrespective of their party affiliation,—Tory, Liberal or Labour—has at last come to declare "almost categorically" that a "state of undeclared war between India and Pakistan exists," to quote from a despatch dated July 19 last sent by the United Press of India News Agency. The *Times'* correspondent is reported to have sent word that "it is noteworthy that in recent weeks Pakistan authorities have not attempted to refute statements by the Indian Prime Minister and others about Pakistan's direct complicity in the Kashmir struggle." And the U.N.O. Commission is represented as facing a more serious task than it was originally envisaged, "namely, finding a solution which will prevent the conflict from spreading beyond the borders of Kashmir and entering the plains of the Punjab." And, this newspaperman is disappointed that there is no desire on the part of India for a compromise, "to seek a realistic solution of the dispute"; he is piqued that India appears to "prefer to continue this internecine strife for months and possibly years to come."

The *News Chronicle*, a Liberal daily of London, opines that

"The Kashmir fighting has developed into a localised Commonwealth internal war. What is even more serious is that the Commanders-in-Chief on either sides are Generals on active service list of the British Army, and R.A.F. Mechanics are supervising, servicing and repairing the Pakistan Air Force Planes."

Truth will out. But whether the U.N.O. is capable of facing the truth and following its dictates is more than we can say at present.

Cloth Muddle in India

It is difficult to remove the impression from the public mind that the Government of the Indian Union are engaged in playing a shadow boxing bout with the cloth mill owners and the cloth dealers—the distributors and traders. The consumer is being forced to play the part of a dummy. And we have very often felt that it would be preserving the dignity of the Government if their spokesmen could resist the temptation of issuing assurances to the users of cloth and threats to the profiteers. Others have been feeling the same. A writer in a Madras weekly—*Business Week*—pokes fun at the Government in the following words:

A list of the threats they have administered since controls were lifted by them I give below—a truly revealing list. First, they said they would confiscate the difference between the old (controlled) price and the new prices established in the free market. Next, they said that they would take over the textile mills under their control just as the American Government did when the workers threatened to strike. Their third threat was that they would commandeer 25 per cent of the output for distribution through co-operative societies. Their latest threat is that they would impose controls once again and teach a lesson to the industry.

This is a record of which any Government should have been ashamed. But our Government suffers from no such feeling. On 21-23rd July last they staged a conference of Central Government Ministers, Provincial Government Ministers and States' Ministers. Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Central Government Minister of Industry, presided over the function, and the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a speech in opening this Conference in course of which he revealed that the cloth mill owners and the traders on cloth have in about four or five months deliberately swindled out the consumers of Rs. 75 crores in inflated prices, and the Government of Rs. 25 crores in the shape of taxes. But out of this lamentation has not come any remedy; the pick-pockets and the tax-dodgers are none the worse for the condemnation implied in Pandit Nehru's words.

On the other hand, their representatives go about flaunting their ill-gotten wealth and their innocence in the matter. To take an example. The President of the Bengal Textile Mills Association, Shri Suresh Chandra Roy, has lately come out with a statement that the fleecing of the public of Bengal is none of their doing. This statement is a sin against truth. It has been reported to us that one of his member-mills within ten miles of Calcutta used to sell a pair of cloth at Rs. 5-13-6; on and from the 9th of May, 1948 when the practice of stamping prices by mills was ordered to be discontinued, the cloth of the same quality is being sold at Rs. 10-7-6. Can he deny this statement? The Civil Supplies Minister of Bengal makes a parade of the fact that they have no law which enables them to get hold of the profiteer; the Premier appears to be cynical in his loud asseverations; the cleverness of the fictitious importer from mills and of the as clever fictitious receiver appears to incite his admiration. Verily, verily, the black-marketeer and the profiteer appear to be more powerful than the State in free India!

Partial Control on Textiles

The Government of India's cloth decontrol policy has failed "miserably" and now the choice lies between full and partial control.

The Prime Ministers and other representatives of provinces and of States at their conference in New Delhi expressed the opinion that they should reverse their policy and impose partial control on textiles as soon as possible. Orissa, the worst sufferer from high prices, was the only dissentient. It justifiably pleaded for full control.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in his opening address, spoke strongly of "monsters" who had created the cloth famine and flourished on it at the cost of the consumer. It was moderately estimated that since the withdrawal of control in January 21 manufacturers and the trade had made an enormous profit of over Rs. 300 crores. They had not only exploited the consumers but had dodged the income-tax authorities.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Minister for Industries and Supplies, who presided, reviewed in detail the cloth position since the date of decontrol and measures taken by the Centre to minimize the consumer's hardships. Mills and the trade, he said, had been given nearly six months' time to correct themselves. Several warnings had failed to improve matters.

Representatives of provinces and States narrated scarcity conditions in their respective areas, quoting the prevailing exorbitant prices. They wanted immediate partial control.

It was suggested that 30 to 40 per cent of the production of mills should be requisitioned for distribution on a rationed basis, 20 to 25 per cent should be sold through fair price shops organized by manufacturers and the balance should be released for consumption through normal trade channels.

Development Projects in India

We have been feeling for some time that the grandiose projects for developing the natural resources of our country with a view to enable us to build a fuller material life for our people are being hustled without considering the difficulties in the way. A recent number of the *Central Board of Irrigation Journal* drew attention to these created by supply and transport. In an article entitled "Priorities and Administration," the writer dealt with these two "bottle-necks" that hold up all progress, and in support of his argument quoted from the presidential address of Shri N. K. Mitter delivered on the occasion of the 28th annual session of the Institution of Engineers (India). Every engineer has to waste a lot of time "chasing several Government offices for some permit, license or priority." And,

One work remains at a stand-still for want of cement, . . . another for supply of steel and a third for transport of essential materials available in plenty but which cannot be moved. But few people realize that the effect of such intermittent stoppages of work is that the entire construction organisation is upset involving not only idle machineries but also enormous waste of available man-power of all ranks . . . from the engineer to the daily labourer. And this at a time when there is acute shortage in the country of workers of every grade and of materials of every description.

Therefore, did the speaker suggest that "priorities be fixed and classified for every approved scheme at the highest level both in the Union as well as in the Provincial Government and only those works are allowed to be actually taken in hand which have a reasonable chance of getting all materials and facilities." The point of this warning is appreciated by us who have two giant projects—the Damodar Valley irrigation and dam and the Hirakund dam—rearing up their heads in their neighbouring areas. Hopes are being created of unending prosperity flowing through Bihar, Bengal and Orissa from these irrigation and hydro-electric schemes. The present lack of co-ordination between various departments of our life, between project and fulfilment, has created a situation that may postpone these hopes.

Foreign Experts and Consultants

Connected with these projects is the question of foreign experts and consultants called into counsel by our Governments. Speaking at the quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers Conference on July last, Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore and a great engineer, made a point on the importation of foreign experts; he said that in this model State of India they have been able to build up multi-purpose projects with the help of Indian engineers and Indian skill. The fashion that was introduced by British policy still prevails, and the Indian grievance in this matter has been long-standing; expression to it continues to find outlet in the writings of Indian experts. The *Central Board of Irrigation Journal* quoted in its last April issue the opinion of Prof. A. V. Nath that deserves to be brought before the public, and we make room for it below:

It has not been adequately realized that on the eve of political independence the departing Imperial Interests under the cloak of technical advice for post-war developments have securely installed government organizations for reckless disbanding and annihilation of the enormous manufacturing capacity, capital plant and technical man-power that were developed in winning the war . . . A big hue and cry is raised at the highest level that lack of technical man-power and capital plant is preventing all development schemes while simultaneously all Governmental agencies are vigorously working :

- (1) to dismantle and annihilate all war-developed potential under the name of disposal of War Surplus,
- (2) to disband and scatter beyond recovery the large technical man-power trained during the war under the name of Demobilization,
- (3) to rush Governments into heavy long-term commitments pledging Indian revenues for the next 15 to 25 years to foreign purchases of plants, equipment and services,
- (4) proclaiming through newspaper advertisements that enormous manufacturing capacity and plant is lying surplus in the Ordnance Factories apparently unable to devise measures to utilize them for post-war development schemes or to manufacture directly needed plant.

Certain of the charges made above proved to be true; serviceable air-craft were condemned as useless by British "experts" when these were necessary for the Kashmir campaign; the deception was found out, but nobody knows the extent of the mischief already done. So, in the matter of development projects, Prof. Nath suggested that "all foreign technical consultation and advice should be canalized through Indian engineering talent." The makers of our plans should hearken to the warning implied in these words.

West Bengal-Bihar Dispute

The Government of India has intervened in the West Bengal-Bihar dispute over the construction of a dam and a reservoir in Santal Parganas district (Bihar) by the West Bengal Government under its Mor project scheme.

The Bihar Government has objected to the scheme on the ground that the building of the dam and reservoir will displace about 20,000 people. It demands provision for resettlement of these people before work is started on the project.

To straighten the differences, the Centre called a conference of representatives of the two Governments in New Delhi, when Dr. Roy, the West Bengal Premier, gave an assurance about the settlement of the displaced population in his province. He submitted a scheme prepared by his Government.

Bihar's representative said he would place before the Bihar Cabinet the West Bengal scheme and then inform the Indian Government of its views.

Mr. Gadgil, India's Minister for Works, Mines and Power, who presided, urged expediting of the work on the Mor project. He asked the Bihar Government to examine West Bengal's proposal and, if it was not satisfactory from its point of view, suggest modification or prepare a new scheme.

Mr. Bhupati Majumdar, Irrigation Minister, was also present on behalf of West Bengal. Bihar was represented by the Secretary of the Irrigation and Public Works Ministry.

In addition to a dam and a reservoir, the Mor multi-purpose project envisages the construction of canals and a barrage in West Bengal. The total cost is estimated at Rs. 7 crores.

It will bring under cultivation nearly 600,000 acres of land with an annual yield of 6m maunds of paddy. The hydro-electric power generated will amount to 4,000 kwts.

As a result of the erection of the reservoir an area of 24,000 acres will be submerged, displacing 20,000 people.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Apologia

The Congress President has at long last broken his silence with regard to the claim of West Bengal to have transferred certain Bengali-speaking areas that were included in Bihar when it was constituted into a separate Province in 1912. The daily press of Calcutta published on July 21 last extracts from certain letters of his written to Shri Kumud-Bandhu Bagchi, advocate, Calcutta High Court. We are told that these extracts formed part of "a series of letters" exchanged between the two. We would have liked to have the whole of this series published to understand how the mind of the Congress President has been moving since this question of re-union of Bengali-speaking areas to Bengal was raised. As it is, we must be thankful for even this small mercy. From the context of the letter we are led to the impression that Shri Kumud Bandhu Bagchi is an old friend of Babu Rajendra Prasad reminiscent of the latter's connection with the Calcutta High Court, and on the strength of this old friendship he felt drawn to make an attempt for the rehabilitation of the Congress President's character who was being depicted in "the anti-Congress Press" as a "provincial patriot and partisan, incapable of holding the scales even in the

matter of applying the Congress principle of linguistic Provinces as between Bihar and West Bengal."

We who have called into question Babu Rajendra Prasad's silence in the matter have never cared to impute motives to him. We are content to go by facts, facts which Babu Rajendra Prasad knows of the history of this controversy as it has developed between Bihar and Bengal since his Province was born. We charge him with failure to act up to the logic of these facts which make inevitable the transfer of certain of the eastern areas of Bihar to Bengal. We will try to recall to his memory the most important of these. The first is the resolution of the Congress passed at its annual session of December, 1911 moved by Dr. Tej Bahadur Saprú and seconded by Babu Parmeswar Lal, a Bihar leader of those days. The resolution thanked the Government for "the creation of a separate Province of Bihar and Orissa", and prayed that

"In readjusting the Provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

The purpose of this prayer could not have been misunderstood. It was rightly appreciated by the then leaders of Bihar who in course of a statement published in January, 1912, indicated with clarity how it could be implemented. We make no apology in reproducing the relevant portion of this statement.

"In accordance with the resolution of the last Congress, the sound principle would be that enunciated therein, that the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal, and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purneah and Maldah to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

This was an honest recognition on the part of some creators of modern Bihar of the logic of linguistic Provinces so far as it related to their own Province and Bengal. Their successors in the leadership of Bihar have been found unworthy of this heritage of theirs, and we do not know how they have been watching from on high this back-sliding of their descendants. Babu Rajendra Prasad is the most prominent of them, and today he ghosts over the fact that at a certain meeting of the Manbhum District Congress Committee a resolution in favour of amalgamation of Manbhum with Bengal was "defeated"! But did he always think like this? One of

his old colleagues in the leadership of the Congress in Bihar has related a story that discredits his present attitude. Shri Jyotish Chandra Sarkar, sometime President of the Palamau District Congress Committee, a member of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, a member of the All-India Congress Committee a few years back, wrote a letter dated June 14, 1948 to the columns of the *Ananda Basar Patrika* describing what Babu Rajendra Prasad's attitude had been as late as 1931. We translate it below:

"In 1931 a Conference under the auspices of the Manbhum District Congress Committee was held with Babu Rajendra Prasad in the chair. The following resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously in the open session: "Whereas 89 per cent of the people of Manbhum speak the Bengali language, be it resolved that when the country will be free and Provinces will be re-grouped on the basis of language, the district of Manbhum will be re-united with Bengal."

There was an episode that should be described in this connection. When the resolution was being discussed in the Subjects Committee of the Conference, it was opposed by the late Nibaran Chandra Das-Gupta of Purulia. The reason for this opposition was explained thus by him. When the country becomes free, the district will be re-united with Bengal true to Congress ideals; hence the resolution was redundant. How does Babu Rajendra Prasad respect this faith in the Congress ideal of a colleague who is no more with us to re-assert his faith? Since then there have come momentous changes in Babu Rajendra Prasad's life, and these must have caused changes in the spirit of the thrice President of the Congress, and the chosen Chairman of the Indian Constituent Assembly charged with the duty and responsibility of framing a constitution for India that would satisfy the sentiments and aspirations of the people. This flux of fortune may justify Babu Rajendra Prasad's change in attitude.

But what we cannot appreciate is the way in which he has met the request of an old friend of his (Shri Kumud-Bandhu Bagehi) that he should as Congress President "direct the Governments of Bihar and West Bengal to come to an immediate amicable settlement as to the areas that should linguistically and culturally form part of West Bengal, failing which the Government of India to take appropriate measures." With regard to the first part of the request, Babu Rajendra Prasad appears to have been silent; as to the second part he bluntly told his friend that he has had "no desire to influence it (Government of India) in any way in this connection." This is a pose of non-interference that daily wears thin.

But we have the strongest objection to the way in which he is juggling with his function as the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. He has appointed a Commission "to find out the feasibility and other matters connected with the creation of certain new

provinces in the south" in response to a request made by the Drafting Committee. We are of opinion that Babu Rajendra Prasad could not have written so if he had at hand the recommendation of the Drafting Committee in this behalf. We find at page 159 of the *Draft Constitution of India*, First Schedule, Part I, the following foot-note that shows that Babu Rajendra Prasad's interpretation of the Draft Committee's recommendation is unsustainable. There is no mention in it of limiting the Commission's enquiries to South India alone.

" the Draft Committee, therefore, recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new State whose formation it may recommend to be created under Sec. 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the constitution is finally adopted."

In this recommendation there occur the words "any new State" which may be deliberately misconstrued for the exclusion of existing provinces. But that would be denying the spirit and hugging to the bosom the husk of legality. Babu Rajendra Prasad is welcome to his juggling with Truth. We prefer to go by the former, and will continue to press the case of West Bengal as we have been doing battle for other "linguistic regions." We are sorry that Bengalis should have been forced into this agitational role when all their energies would have been allowed to be concentrated on constructive nationalism. Babu Rajendra Prasad has borne eloquent testimony to the worth of the Bengali Congress workers of Manbhum. Has it ever struck him to enquire why these people should have resigned in a body from their official positions in the Congress, local and provincial? There is an example which others can follow to demonstrate their feelings against the Congress President's tactics. What say the members of the Constituent Assembly returned from West Bengal? Their sitting on the fence while the name of the Congress is being soiled by its President has become a scandal.

Sterling Negotiations

The protracted sterling balance negotiations have come to an end for the present with a three-year agreement with the British Government. Shri Shanmukham Chetty, India's Finance Minister, at a press conference in New Delhi, gave details of the negotiations and stated that the British Government had agreed to make a fresh release of £80 million (Rs. 107 crores) for the next three years ending on June 30, 1951. It was made clear that this release was in addition to the unspent balance of £80 million from the previous releases which had now been carried forward. Thus the London Agreement would place at our disposal resources amounting to £160 million (Rs. 215 crores) over and above what may be our export earnings during the three years for which the agreement has been signed.

The exceptionally strong financial position of India was indicated when the Finance Minister said that India's current annual gains from export and other sources were of the value of Rs. 500 crores. Thus, even on present computations, India would have a buying capacity of Rs. 1700 crores during the next three years.

The total remaining sterling balances after the various adjustments are carried out, are estimated at £800 million. An interest of .78 per cent will accrue on the blocked balances. The London Agreement has limited the free convertibility of the sterling released to £15 million (Rs. 20 crores) during the first year. The non-utilisation of the total amount of the last release has marred our case for demanding a larger amount for free convertibility. The question of the amount of sterling to be made available for free convertibility during the remaining period of the agreement was to be determined later. The present release, however, will enable India to meet her dollar requirements adequately during the next 12 months.

Sjt. Chetty has emphatically said that there was no question of scaling down India's Sterling Balances and no such suggestion had been made by the British Chancellor of Exchequer. But considering the fact that there has been for long a persistent demand for a scaling down of the balances in the British press and the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to Mr. Churchill's demand for a repudiation of this debt, to the effect that in spite of the agreement the entire question can be re-opened at any subsequent time, the uneasiness in India about this scaling down business will not be over. The manner in which a very large amount—Rs. 197 crores—has been deducted from the Balances by compelling India to purchase a tapering annuity has not eased the feelings of the Indian public.

The military installations and stores left here by Britain have been acquired at a value of £100 million (Rs. 133 crores) in full and final settlement. The Finance Minister has tried to prove that this deal has been a great bargain by saying that the book value of these installation and stores was £375 million (Rs. 500 crores) and that they have been acquired at a bargain price of practically a quarter of their book value. Comparing it to the eagerness of the British Government to knock out as much as possible, indicated in the pension deal, the average Indian will be inclined to be a little conservative as regards the bargain claimed by our Finance Minister. Book value and actual value in respect of military installations and stores may not merely fluctuate as one to four; it may range upto even one to ten. The visible installations do not inspire much confidence about their actual value.

A third factor, in this connection should also be taken note of. The Finance Minister was asked whether it was true that prices of capital goods were higher in Britain than in dollar countries. It was

alleged that British manufacturers of capital goods were charging higher prices from India than from other countries. The Finance Minister denied the allegations but said that if it could be shown that such things were taking place, he would take up the matter with the British Board of Trade.

There is no doubt that the sterling balance negotiations have been more to the advantage of Britain than of India. The agreement insures Britain against heavier withdrawals while it does not ensure the supply of capital goods even to the extent of the meagre amount provided. The British manufacturers may seize this opportunity to evade supply of capital goods and to restrict their trade to consumer goods. Simultaneously with this Financial Agreement, a Trade Agreement should also have been concluded. Our Ministries of Commerce and Industries have found themselves unable to utilise the sterling releases in 1947, and thus they must bear a heavy responsibility for the small amount released under the new agreement. Their failure proves that the released Sterling cannot be utilised through the help of private capitalist enterprise. The principal lapse of the Ministries of Commerce and Industries lies in the fact that they were not conscious about this failure of private enterprise in using up the money. It was their duty to watch over the transactions, get monthly returns, and divert the balances to national enterprises like expansion and improvement of communications and irrigation works. The sterling wealth has been earned by the people of India through intense suffering throughout the war years. The masses, who had to part with their produce for Government purchase at control rates and buy their requirements at four to ten times the control prices, must have a first charge on this accumulated wealth. The Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industries seem to have considered the war-profiteers as the owners of the Sterling balances, but even in that case it has been proved that the profiteers are either unable to utilise the balances for industrial expansion or unwilling to do so for fear of an increase in the production of consumer goods with a consequent fall in prices. The extra reliance placed by our Ministries on the capitalists and war-profiteers for the utilisation of the balances has really strengthened the corner-bases and have further increased the suffering of the common man. It is, therefore, imperative that the present policy of utilisation of sterling releases be reversed. The Government should take upon themselves the task of importing goods necessary for the introduction of new communication, irrigation and housing schemes. Instead of the Government going in themselves for the establishment of industries, they should concentrate their energies in completing development projects which should create conditions for an expansion of agriculture and small and medium industries, thus providing employment for the masses and as far as possible at or near their hearths and homes.

Agrarian Reforms

The Members of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, presided over by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, are now on a tour to ascertain the opinions of officials and non-officials interested in land reform. The questionnaire issued by the Committee indicates that its final judgment on the existing systems of land tenure, methods of farming and allied problems, is likely to be based upon a wide representation of informed public opinion. Many of the questions are far-reaching in scope and character and they deal with important economic aspects of agricultural regeneration and development. The first section of the questionnaire deals almost exclusively with the subject of land tenure and the problems resulting from the intended abolition of the *semindari* system. In this connection, it is significant to note that Dr. Kumarappa declared the other day at Nagpur, that the recommendations of his committee would be implemented in the provinces only after the abolition of the *zemindari* system, to which the Congress Governments had committed themselves and in respect of which some provinces had, in fact, already undertaken legislation.

The discovery of a uniform land system for the whole of the country which should guarantee a permanent right in the soil for the cultivators but at the same time prevent fragmentation and sub-division of the land and growth of any non-cultivating tenure-holding class, is the greatest problem that faces the Kumarappa Committee. It has been brought to their notice that the Reports of agricultural experts like Sir Daniel Hall and Sir William Jenkins may be misleading. Agricultural policy in India has, during past years, not proceeded along right channels and being dictated by foreign experts, with very little knowledge about local conditions and Indian traditions, more problems have been created than solved. Time has come for putting an end to expert advice detached from Indian context.

The land system and her agricultural life are inseparably connected with the culture and civilisation of India. Elaborate details of their working may be found in the *Manusamhita*, *Parasara Samhita* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. In later times, Akbar grasped the importance of the land system in Indian life and devoted a great part of his energy to the overhauling of the system which had been rudely disturbed during the preceding seven centuries of continuous conflict. *Ain-i-Akhbari* also gives us a good deal of materials necessary for the reconstruction of Indian agriculture and land system.

Indian civilisation has succeeded in maintaining its integrated individuality longer than any civilisation on earth mainly because she had succeeded in evolving a scientific and stable system of agriculture and land tenure. The permanent settlement has struck at the root of our own tried and tested system and has brought about ruin in the life and conditions of the Indian cultivator. The problems before the Kumarappa Committee are stupendous but not insurmountable.

India and World Rice Shortage

According to the Government of India officials, India's overall food position was believed to be better and we were told that "vigilance" still continued to be the keynote of the Government's food policy. Recent official talks on food have, however, been on the side of pessimism and rationing in de-rationed provinces is being seriously considered. But the special rice bulletin issued a few days back by the Food and Agricultural Organisation reminds us, rather unpalatably, that the world situation in regard to rice supplies will continue to remain without any appreciable change during the next few years. This means that the food economic of India, as that of other rice-importing countries, will continue to be seriously affected.

Rice is the staple food of the people of the South and East Asia who form more than one half of the world's population. Before the second world war this area normally grew some 81 million tons and consumed about 80 million tons. But the war brought with it a sharp decline in production. Internecine warfare, political instability and consequent devastation greatly hampered and disorganised agricultural production.

Although world rice production in 1947-48 was as much as it was in the pre-war days and has thus been an improvement over the previous years, it still fell short of the 1934-38 average of 100,500,000 tons. Similarly, though the quantity declared available for export by surplus countries has proved to be higher than was expected some time ago, it is still less than two-thirds of former exports. Production plans for the next three years envisage an extension of the rice areas in South-East Asia by 2½ million hectares over the pre-war acreage under rice but even in that case there will be a deficit of about 14 million metric tons in each of the next two years and about 13 million tons in 1950.

The overall picture of rice production in the near future is therefore not quite encouraging. India cannot expect to receive supplies freely from the surplus rice-growing areas of Asia until after 1950 at any rate. The estimated acreage under rice in India for 1946-47—latest figures available—is 81·8 million as compared with 80·7 million (actual) acres in 1945-46. The yield is estimated at 28·14 million tons in comparison with 26·67 million tons in the previous year. Thus an increase has been effected both in regard to the area and also of production. The pre-war production of rice in India was about 28 million tons, whereas consumption amounted to 30·5 million tons. This deficit position makes the country continually dependent on foreign imports which are a serious source of drain on our foreign exchange resources. There is still a great possibility of increasing our food production by increasing the yield through the application of manures, expansion of irrigation schemes and introduction of better methods of tillage. It is regrettable that the enormous potentialities for expanding our food resources have not yet been energetically tapped. No further time should be lost to do so.

Indo-Japanese Trade

The editor of the *Indian Exporter* is to be congratulated on the informing monograph that he has brought out entitled "Indo-Japanese Trade from 1929 to 1948." Within the short compass of 54 pages has been compressed everything that the traders require to be known about this trade between two countries, and the student of economics will find in a handy form information about life and work in Japan struggling to re-create decent conditions out of her war-shattered economy. In this behalf the article of Shri G. B. Kotak whose firm has had trade relations with Japan will be found of use. The reports of the Indian Trade Mission sponsored by the Government of India and that by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, give a bird's-eye view of the possibilities of trade and commerce between the two countries. Imports from Japan in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 22·19 crores while exports from India amounted to Rs. 18·13 crores; raw cotton accounted for Rs. 14·79 of the latter while about one-fourth of the former, about Rs. 6·76 crores, was accounted for by cotton manufactures.

At present when India is determined to be less dependent on other countries for the essentials of her life, the building up of her own industries has become a necessity and a duty. And in this behalf the Indian Trade Delegation has done well in impressing on the Government of India the need of bringing "Japanese key technicians" for advising our industrialists and also of sending Indian technicians to Japan to study Japanese methods which had made Japan such a rival to Anglo-American-German industries in course of 40 years. This idea of importing Japanese skill appears to have had a strange reaction. While the Japanese Mission was at New Delhi and the subject was broached, the information was elicited that "Australia was putting obstacles in the way of Japan rendering such aid to this country or anywhere else." We should like to know the inspiration of this Australian intervention, whether it was Britain or the United States, or both, that put up Australia to do this job for their own industrialists. The purpose is obvious; it is to keep India a producer of raw materials as she had been hitherto kept by British policy. We are sure that we will be able to break this ring. But the revelation makes us suspect the "one world" morality preached by Anglo-American public-men and publicists.

Dutch Imperialism and Indonesia

The latest number of the *Merdeka*, organ of the Indonesian Information Service issued from New Delhi, reports a stalemate in the negotiation between the Dutch Colonial Administration and the Indonesian Republican Government. In the Security Council Mr. Palar, representing the latter, brought to its notice examples of Dutch "economic blockade" that will have the effect of "strangling" life out of it. There has recently been a general election in Holland; the right wing parties are said to have won it, and their leaders

during election speeches are reported to have advocated renewal of "Police Action" in Indonesia, an euphemism for war just as by the use of the words "China Incident" Japan had tried to hide the extent of her depredations on the integrity and sovereignty of China. At the instance of the Good Offices Committee of U. N. O. the *Renville* agreement had been signed on the 17th January, 1948, putting a stop to the Dutch "Police Action" and Indonesia's gallant fight against it.

But the Dutch imperialists do not appear to be able to accept the responsibilities of this agreement, and they have been breaking both its spirit and requirements. Article 5 of this agreement stated :

"That as soon as practicable after the signing of the truce agreement, economic activity, trade, transportation and communications be restored through the co-operation of both parties, taking into consideration the interests of all the constituent parts of Indonesia."

The Dutch have been going against this comprehensive and specific provision of the *Renville* agreement. Mr. Palar's indictment described how the Dutch authorities by "arbitrary interpretation" have practically banned the entrance of "all kinds of machinery and equipment"—in fact the bulk of "every essential and non-essential"; they have been continuing the order, passed temporarily during their "Police Action" days, closing the north coast of Java and the greater part of the east coast of Sumatra. This technique of warfare may benefit the Dutch for a while; but ultimately it will lead to a liquidation of their empire. For the revolting spirit of Asia will not tolerate its continuance entailing dishonour and poverty on her peoples.

Disturbances in Malaya

India's present interest in this strip of land across the Bay of Bengal was created by the indentured labour from India arranged for by the British Government to work for the tin mines and rubber estates, all the property of British capitalists. The majority of these labourers came from South India, specially from Tamil Nad. In their wake came traders, and professional men—lawyers and medical men, for instance. As in other parts of the British empire, so in Malaya the labourers who slaved for the capitalist were just allowed to live. The Chinese who outnumber the Indian labourers had a better deal. But, both the Indian and the Chinese were kept at loggerheads by judicious discrimination which was another name for the "divide and rule" policy. The invasion and conquest of Malaya by Japan brought a revolutionary change amongst Indians, specially after the organisation of the Indian Independence League under the leadership of the late Rash Behari Bose; this transformation reached its fruition when Netaji came and the Azad Hind Government was formed, concretising the dreams and aspirations of millions of mute hearts and the dynamic revolutionary spirit of the chosen few. Of these Raghavan and Thivy were prominent amongst Indians in Malaya.

Since the return of the British, consequent on Japan's defeat, things in Malaya have been moving in circles that have been confusing to a degree. The small country is divided into innumerable states with Muslim puppet "Sultans," with enclaves of direct British rule round about Singapore; the British authorities have been trying to reconcile irreconcilable interests—of Sultans, of British finance-capital, of the subject peoples, native Indian and Chinese. The attempt has failed of its purpose. Hence there have been intermittent outbursts. The British authorities have detected the hand of the "Communist" in these, and capitalist interests have been demanding that these be controlled or else they stop production. The use of Gurkha soldiery for the control and suppression of these disturbances has introduced a complication. Technically the Government of the Indian Union may refer the matter to the Nepal Government with which Britain has had a special arrangement for the use of Gurkha contingents in her wars of survival and conquest. And except putting on a ban on their transit through their own territories, we do not see how the Government of the Indian Union can interfere. Any way, Malaya will cause headaches to many, Indian and non-Indian, and we must wait further developments before we can expect the Nehru Government to decide their course of action.

Tuberculosis Association of India

The report of the last annual meeting, the ninth annual meeting of the Tuberculosis Association of India, held at Government House, New Delhi, on the 20th April last, is to hand. From a perusal of it, we come to realize the magnitude of the task that the Association attempts to shoulder. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the then Director-General of Health Services with the Government of the Indian Union, in his speech as chairman of the meeting, indicated it when he said that "the minimum bed requirement for tuberculosis cases in India, taking one bed for one death, is about five lakhs as against 8,000 beds we now have." Lady Mountbatten, the then President of the Association, underlined this description of the needs of institutional treatment of this fell disease when she said that "in India about five lakhs of people died every year from tuberculosis and another 25 lakhs become active in tuberculosis cases." The Bhore Committee have stressed the need of "institutional treatment." But a permanent remedy can come only when in the words of Lady Mountbatten "the people's standard of life and power of resistance to disease" is raised; the State by its policy enables the people to raise these two pre-requisites of healthy and full life. Clinics, and sanatoria are all right in their own way. But as prevention is better than cure, the State has to inspire the people to make the requisite effort to keep healthy. For such a consummation many things will have to be done. The Tuberculosis Association of India and its affiliated institutions have been showing us the way, and they deserve well of the public. Our people, steeped in the

traditional ways of their life, find it difficult to reconcile themselves to modern methods for the control of this disease. But they are not unteachable; they show eagerness for learning the better ways of life that is pathetic. Organizations like the Tuberculosis Association of India can, under newer conditions created since August 15, 1947, organise a better campaign against all the conditions that made for lethargy, uncleanliness and disease in mind and body, and revive hopes in hearts that have been content with swimming with the tide of circumstance. This must form part of the new education that will enable us to create the New India.

The Imperial Library

There have been some stringent criticisms on the part of scholars at the proposal to shift the Imperial Library to the Belvedere in Alipore, Calcutta. Lack of tram and Bus facilities and distance from the main City are the main grounds of complaints. We ourselves cannot understand why the library cannot be shifted to the Metcalfe Hall site. Regarding the latter we give the following extract from the *National Magazine* for Feb. 1914:

"Calcutta Public Library", afterwards Imperial Library: The library was formally opened on 21st March, 1836, in the lower room of Dr. F. P. Strong's house at the Esplanade Row; from which place it was removed in the latter part of July 1841 to the College of Fort William only for three years. . . .

In 1840 the Library was allowed by the Government along with the Agricultural Society of Bengal, a piece of land, on which the Metcalfe Hall, the upper apartments of which it occupied, was built. The stipulations enjoined in the Government letter transferring the ground were that the edifice to be erected shall be ornamental and at the same time substantial, and that on failure of its maintaining its repairs, the ground shall revert to the Government or at least the building shall not be alienated to other purposes than those set forth in the correspondence. The cost of the building, which was designed by Mr. C. K. Robinson, Magistrate of Calcutta, and built by Messrs. Burn & Co., amounted to Rs. 68,000 to which the sum contributed by the Library was Rs. 16,400 nearly, the balance, being the contribution of the Agricultural Society and of other bodies who subscribed to do honour to Lord Metcalfe at the time of his departure from India, for the emancipation of the press, and for the private and public virtues. The Metcalfe Memorial Committee thought that such an edifice (Metcalfe Hall) could not be more appropriately connected with better useful public purposes than by devoting it to the use of the two most interesting and beneficial institutions on this side of India, the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India and the Calcutta Public Library.

United States Presidential Election

Next November the people of the great republic will go to the polls to choose their President, the

supreme executive of their country's administration. The campaign in this behalf has brought on to the surface many a crudity of thought and conduct, that detracts from the credit of this people as constituting the greatest democracy in the world. The treatment of Negroes is one of these. Nearly eighty years back a civil war was fought and won, one of the issues of which was the emancipation of Negroes. The fighters for the cause of human justice and decent human relations won it under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln. The slave-owning States in the "solid south" bowed to this decision in the field of battle; but they did not accept the ideal for which Lincoln had staked his life.

The victorious "North" has not been able to halt this deterioration. In the 1948 election, the dying embers of this estrangement have been revived. President Truman's "civil rights programme" has precipitated a revolt in the Democratic Party, and majority representatives of the Southern States have decided to set up rival candidates against President Truman and Senator Alben Barkley who were nominated on July 15 at the Democratic Party Convention at Philadelphia; Governor Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi have been chosen by them. The temporary chairman of their meeting, Frank Dixon, former Governor of Alabama, reflected their mind in his speech made on July 17 last: The Civil Rights programme which would include Federal anti-lynching, anti-Poll-tax was stigmatized as an unconstitutional effort "to reduce us (white people) to the status of a Mongrel, inferior race . . . to kill our hopes, our aspirations, our future and the future of our children." The programme constructed by these dissident Democrats laid down the following "principles" amongst others:

We stand for segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associates; to accept private employment without Government interference.

We oppose and condemn a Civil Rights Programme calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by Federal Law.

This fight takes the U. S. A. people to the year 1860 when Abraham Lincoln started the good fight for human justice, for the integrity of the Union.

The Republican Party have set up Governor Dewey of New York State as their Presidential candidate and Governor Warren of California as Vice-President candidate.

A third party, known as "Progressive Party," has been formed to contest the election, the majority of them breaking away from the Democratic Party under the leadership of Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the late President Franklin Roosevelt during his third term as Chief Executive of the Republic. So far as one can make out, the fact appears to be that the "Progressives" differed from the Democrats in the policy pursued by the latter under President Truman in foreign affairs, specially in reference to the Soviet Union. They are for compromise with the Bolshevik State.

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

ASAF JAH, the first Nizam i.e., Governor of Haidarabad, left a will in which he solemnly charged his descendants,—

Secondly, never to put any human being to death without a judicial trial by an authorised judge. The portion of the will giving these orders is printed below from a photograph of the original preserved in the Nizam's Government Record Office so that its authenticity cannot be questioned.

Awul an ke rais-i-Dakhin ra lazim ke ba Mar-
hatta ke zamindar-i-in mulk ast, ashti warzad.
Duyam an ke dar hadm-i-baniad-i-bani-Adam
... tamul kunad ba mujrim wajib-ul-qatl ra ba
Qazi, ke hakim-i-shara ast, tafviz numaid.

[illegible]

Here it should be noted that the founder of this dynasty, to the very end of his life, called himself only a *Rao* or chieftain, and never a *Shah* or *Sultan* (i.e. King), in spite of his having won the victory at Shakarkheda (1724), which the present Nizam has been misrepresenting as the Day of his *Independence*!

keeper, because they were merely hereditary office-bearers under him. When Mahadji Sindhia was appointed by the Emperor Shah Alam II as his *perpetual* Regent, he then Nizam sent an agent to Sindhia's camp near Delhi to secure such recognition through him. This is proved by the British Residency Records published by the Bombay Government. Such was the Nizam's legal position in 1785 sixty years after the so-called independence achieved at Shakerkhed.

In 1804 the British took over Delhi and the perpetual regency of the Padshah from Sindhia and became the master of the Nizam. In 1858 the shadow of a Delhi Padshah was abolished, and the English became *fully* sovereign over all the provinces of the Mughal Empire including Haidarabad. In 1947 the English handed over Delhi to the Indian Union, and thus the Indian Union legally stepped into the position of the *suzerain* of the governors of Haidarabad. The Nizam cannot exist politically *in vacuo*.

It is also recorded in Persian histories that when in 1739 Nadir Shah entered Delhi as conqueror, he offered to place Asaf Jah I on the throne of Delhi, as he was disgusted with the folly and vices of the Emperor Muhammad Shah,—but Asaf Jah declined this independent sovereignty and declared his satisfaction with his present position of a provincial governor. The word *Nizam* comes from the same root as *Nasim* and means a governor, or king's deputy.

But apart from legal controversies the right of a family to rule ultimately depends upon the condition in which it keeps the mass of its subjects. Can the Asaf-Jahis stand this test?

In 1776, a French nobleman, Comte de Modave visited Haidarabad, and has thus recorded what he saw there of the condition of the people:

*Les Musulmans triomphent dans cette ville
qu'ils ont batie et ou ils sont les maîtres.—[P. 336 of
the Paris MS.]*

"The Nizam's country had never been anything but a puppet State. The present Nizam was understood to be, in Malcolm's phrase, 'a *melancholy madman*.' [Thompson's *Metcalf*, p. 189, year 1810.]

"Never, to be sure, was there such a Government (as that of Haidarabad) since the world began, and what can be done to remedy its present state would baffle any politician." [Edmonstone, Secretary to Governor-General to Resident at Haidarabad, 6th May, 1812.]

"The country soon became depopulated and necessities rose to famine prices. Government ceased. There was not a shadow of law or police anywhere; bands

of armed plunderers traversed the roads and jungles." [This was in 1820. Do the reports of 1948 give any better picture of the Nizam's Government?] (Thompson, p. 191.)

On 6th November, 1847, the *Times* of London wrote on "the moral and political right of myriads [of the population] to turn to the Governor-General for succour, protection and redress. . . The Governor-General's easy task is to level those masses of misgovernment which obstruct the free circulation of prosperity and happiness throughout the peninsula (i.e., the Deccan), and to advance those improvements by which such blessings are so materially promoted. . . The Nizam is morally accountable to us." (Quoted in Lee Warner's *Dalhousie*, I, 97.)

Sir Charles Wood (President of the Board of Control) wrote to the Governor-General on 8th May, 1853, "What are you going to do with the Nizam? Everybody seems to suppose that he cannot administer his own affairs much longer." (Lee Warner, II, 131.)

On 14th May, 1852, the Resident, General Fraser wrote to the Governor-General, "I cannot hesitate to repeat the opinion that the Nizam's Government possesses but little capacity or vigour, and that if the Nizam be replaced in a position of honourable independence among the Native Princes of India, this will never be done otherwise than under temporary European management." (*Memoir*, p. 373.)

Sir Richard Temple, who was Resident in 1867, writes, "My main business was to secure the stability of His Highness's realm by decent administration. That realm had several times been brought to the brink of destruction by misgovernment. In the present temper of the Nizam, these evils might but too easily recur." (*Story of My Life*, I, 174). "The Arab soldiers had been imported to form a Pretorian Guard. But for Lord Dalhousie's interposition in 1855, they would have imprisoned the Nizam in his own apartments. . . In 1857 . . . they would have seized the sovereign power in the Deccan." (*Ibid*, 179.)

W. S. Blunt who had the greatest sympathy with the Muslims and spoke Arabic freely, wrote during his visit to Haidarabad in December, 1883: "A teacher at the Moslem School told me, the Muhammadans here were far from happy. They were isolated and without knowledge of what happened in the outer world.

"We discussed the drinking of wine which is common among the Muhammadans of Haidarabad." (*India Under Ripon*, pp. 68-69.)

1904.—"The inhabitants of Berar would have been dismayed at the prospect of reverting to Haidarabad rule." (L. Fraser's *India Under Curzon*, p. 225.)

In 1910, Mr. Casson Walker in his final report wrote, "There are not more than four or five roads in the interior of the Dominions which are passable all the year." "Owing to the lack of roads, and still more of bridges and culverts, the peasantry cannot market their spare produce in time of plenty, while when scarcity prevails the absence of transport facilities

leaves them at the mercy of the local money-lender." (*Ibid*, p. 227).

BRITISH POLICY IN HAIDARABAD

Why was such abominable misrule and people's misery allowed to continue during the century and a half when the Union Jack floated over the Residency at Haidarabad? The answer is given by three English witnesses.

Russell, Resident with the Nizam, wrote in 1819: "If we owe the foundation of our empire in this country to the weakness in which we found the Native Powers, we ought not to complain of the evils which that weakness necessarily produces. If we have reaped the benefits, we must submit to witness the inconveniences which are its inseparable attendants." (Quoted in Thompson's *Metcalf*, p. 191.)

W. S. Blunt supported this view 65 years later. He wrote from Haidarabad, "The policy [of the British] seems to be to keep the Haidarabad nobles in ignorance of modern thought, and it also looks as if the [British] Indian Government encourages the bad administration purposely." (*India Under Ripon*, p. 68.)

E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State wrote in 19: "The Nizam is, of course, enormously important to us, because he has kept the Muhammadans of India straight, and we have used him, by means of his wily old ministers and our Resident, for this purpose." Montagu's prediction has come true—"Really, this is ridiculous, and they are going to have trouble with this man [Sir Osman Ali, G.C.B.] by exalting him into a position of kingship." (*An Indian Diary*, 213, 218.)

WHERE IS THE REMEDY?

In December 1883, the Minister Laik Ali (later known as Salar Jang II) told Blunt that "he did not think that the Nizam would be fit to govern the country by himself, . . . but neither is the country fit for self-government." (*Ibid*, p. 77.)

Sixty-five years have passed since this political forecast was made, and today in 1948 another Laik Ali proclaims to the world that the people of the Haidarabad State are unfit for self-government! Will they be more fit under the present system and official gang, if we wait 65 years more, say in 2013 A.D.?

HOW THE NIZAM SPENDS THE PUBLIC MONEY

Sir Osman Ali has founded a Urdu University named after himself, among a population ninety per cent of whom cannot read or write Urdu. He spends lakhs of rupees on a translation bureau for making and printing Urdu translations of standard books in English. In a History of Europe issued by this department the sentence "Luther burnt the Papal Bull" has been rendered in Urdu as *Luther ne Papa-Rome ka byle ko jalai dia* (Luther roasted the ox of the Pope of Rome). This information was given by a Muslim Professor of Aligarh to Dr. Rajendra Prasad at New Delhi on 24th Oct, 1948. Such is the condition of education under the Nizam's Government agency!

THE EASTERN QUESTION IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B., M.B.A.S.

FROM the French Revolution and the Napoleonic age onwards, the world has been moving towards unity and interdependence and war and politics are becoming increasingly international in range and incidence. Hence the Eastern parts of Europe which had so far negligible influence on continental politics are becoming important factors in European affairs. In the interregnum that followed the break-up of the Roman empire, the Volkerwanderung of the Vikings gave a stimulus to the countries bordering on the seaboard of the Atlantic and in the result the centre of political gravity shifted to England, France, Spain, Portugal and Germany and other countries of the far West. For about a thousand years the history of Europe was mainly the history of these Atlantic countries. But in the beginning of the nineteenth century the centre of political gravity again shifted to the East and its importance grew to such an extent that the first shots of two world wars were fired there.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century the once powerful Ottoman Empire of Turkey began to totter and the Slavs, Serbs, Greeks and other races inhabiting the Balkans, which formed part of the Empire, began to raise their heads under the impact of nationalism, which the French Revolution engendered and Napoleon spread far and wide, and liberalism, which was the lodestar of British foreign policy under Earl Canning. The Serbs for the first time raised the banner of revolt against Turkey in 1804 A.D. and secured a measure of autonomy under a prince of the native Obrevonitch house in 1817 A.D. Three years later Greece followed suit and after her success the contagion spread very quickly and the whole of the Balkans flared up in a national rising.

At these developments the European powers looked from their own respective angles of vision. Russia saw in them a golden opportunity of securing "the key to her house" as Czar Alexander II described the control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Hence she espoused the cause of the rising nations of the Balkans as a protector of their racial and religious interests and launched a Pan-Slavist propaganda to strengthen her handhold on Balkan countries. Side by side she availed of every chance to coerce the Turkish Porte into giving her the privilege of the "warm-waters." In 1828 she declared war on Turkey and compelled the porte to recognize her claims in the Black Sea. Again in 1831 she helped Turkey against Mehmet Pasha and as a price of her services obtained a military protectorship over Turkey and a free passage for her warships through the Straits to the exclusion

of all other powers. Again in 1855-56 she attempted the same policy but was thwarted by the combined resistance of England and France. Foiled in her designs, she tried her luck in 1875 also but with unlucky consequences. Still she persisted in her policy unto the last.

Austria-Hungary viewed the falling fortunes of Turkey in a different light. Her empire was a patchwork of many nationalities, which could be held together only so long as they remained dormant. The southern parts of the empire were inhabited by the Slavs, who were racially and culturally related to the Russians; and the northern parts were peopled by the Czechs who were extremely Russophilic. Transylvania though diversified by Magyar and German colonists was really a Ruman country and in the Banat of Tameshvar, Croatia, Southern Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina lived more Serbs than in Serbia herself. Thus the interest of Austria consisted in keeping the Balkan states weak and small. Her policy was to maintain Turkey as a bulwark against Russia and the Slavs generally, to keep Serbia small and landlocked and to work towards Salonica by economic penetration.

The British Government had also a powerful stake in the decadent destiny of the "sickman of Europe." She wanted to keep her communications with India and the Far East secure and hence could not tolerate the paramountcy of Russia in the waters of the Mediterranean. At first her policy was to fillip up the nationalities of the Balkans, apparently under the name of liberalism, but really to throw a strong bulwark against the advance of Russia and to prop up the Ottoman empire also as a dam to stem her. But after the death of Earl Canning British foreign policy was more inclined towards Turkey than the Balkans. In 1831 she intervened together with France, to buy off Mehmet Pasha and to forestall the progress of Russia. Again in 1839 they compelled Mehmet to surrender Serbia and Arabia to Turkey. In 1855-56 the Crimean war was fought merely to give a chance to Turkey to put her house in order, which she failed to do. Again Disraeli championed the Turkish cause in spite of the fulminations of Gladstone's Midlothian speeches and the remonstrances of Bismarck. At Berlin in 1876 he thoroughly alienated Russia and Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece by upholding the cause of Turkey.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century another very important and powerful factor arose in Eastern politics which brought about a thorough revolution in the policy of Great Britain towards Turkey. It was the German policy of *Drang nach dem Osten*.

After Bismarck, Germany began to court the sympathies of the 'sickman' in order to further her imperial plans in the Middle East. With this end in view Kaiser Wilhelm II paid a visit to Turkey in 1890 and then in 1898 and Baron von der Goltz lived for some time in Turkish military circles and the result of these visits and sojourns was ostensibly demonstrated by the Turkish victory over Greece in 1898. German financiers and traders followed in the wake of the soldiers, a branch of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin was started at Constantinople, Von Sandres was appointed German ambassador to Turkey and to crown these developments Germany concluded a pact with Turkey in 1902 for the construction of a railway line up to Baghdad, which was to be extended later on to Busra and other places in the Middle East. Thus German interests in the Balkans lay from west to east whereas Russian interests lay from north to south. This led to Britain giving up her policy of favouring Turkey and adopting one of emphasis on the Balkans.

In a horizon of such complications and entanglements the twentieth century dawned and portended a terrible future. In 1908 the young Turk revolution took place. A party of youngmen trained in western ideals of war and statecraft rose under Unver Pasha and overthrew the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Taking this opportunity Bulgaria declared herself independent on 5th October, 1908 and soon Crete followed suit and demanded her incorporation with Greece. Austria also under Aehrenthal announced the annexation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This act of Austria added another 2,000,000 Serbs to the already great number of 7,000,000 who were smarting under Magyar domination. The British foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey remonstrated but Austria settled with Turkey by a payment of money and the return of the Sandjik of Novibazar to her. This exacerbated the Serbs against Austria to such an extent that war became imminent in 1909. But Germany gave a mild ultimatum to Russia, which dissuaded her from siding with the Serbs and thus the world had a narrow escape.

Meanwhile another knot was added to the tangle of the Balkans. After the young Turk Revolution every insult was heaped on Italian merchants, bankers and engineers, who formed the advance-guard of the Italian occupation and Turkish officials always and everywhere maltreated the Italian people. Thus Italy determined to wreak vengeance on Turkey. In October, 1909 Czar Nicholas of Russia had an interview with King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and assured him of Russian neutrality in the event of an Italo-Turkish war. Accordingly, in 1911 Italy declared war on Turkey by bombarding Tripoli. This difficulty of Turkey was the opportunity of the Balkan nationals who were impatient to overthrow the Turkish yoke. Hence the Albanians—the ultra-royalists—broke out in open rebellion against the young Turk regime and scored a victory at Mitrovica. In the meantime, miraculously and in complete

secrecy except in respect of Russia, M. Venizelos of Greece and M. Gnesloff of Bulgaria, along with Serbia and Montenegro, formed a league against Turkey and declared war on her. They scored victory on all sides. Turkey's main armies in Thrace were destroyed by the Bulgarians in the battles of Kirk Kiliseh and Lule Burgas; Macedonia was swept clear of the Turks; Salonika fell and leaving Adrianople to be invested, the Turkish forces fell back on the Tchataldja line for the defence of Constantinople.

The conference of the belligerents met at London, where it was decided that the victors should be allowed to retain what they obtained. The only exception was that the Serbs were forced to quit Durazzo and Alasio on the Adriatic. The net result of all this was not merely the triumph of the Balkan nationals but a victory for Russia in the Balkans and a blow to Austria-Hungary although Sir Edward Grey threw his weight on her side.

Austria-Hungary was now enmeshed. Under the impulse of the fire-eating Conrad von Hotzendorf and Count Berchford, she sharpened her teeth against Serbia. All of a sudden on 28th June, 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated by the Serbs at Sarajivo. This event raised a storm of resentment in Austria and with the consent of German officers she served a 48-hour ultimatum on Serbia on 23rd July and on the 28th actually launched the attack. On 29th Britain urged arbitration, but the die had been cast. Russia mobilized, Germany declared war against her on 1st August and against France on the 3rd. On the 11th an army was sent into Belgium and at night of the same day England and Germany were at war.

The First World War ended and in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles the pattern of future Europe was formulated. The Austrian empire was broken up and the Balkans were Balkanized in the true sense of the term. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania emerged in a totally changed form. This arbitrary arrangement was fraught with grave discontent and misunderstanding. The Hungarians were stripped of Slovakia, which was transferred to the Czechs, of Transylvania, which was conquered by the Rumanians, and Croatia, which now became part of Yugoslavia in the Serbo-Croat-Slovene kingdom. Thus some six hundred thousand men and women of Magyar race passed under alien domination. Similarly Poland received the corridor and Silesia and 230,000 German Tyrolese and 1,300,000 Yugoslavs were transferred to Italian rule. The principle of self-determination stood stultified. The net result of this treaty was the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans which was to become a very dreadful thing later on. In vain the English geographer Mackinder wrote in his book *Democratic Ideals and Realities* in 1919:

"When our statesmen are in conversation with the defeated enemy some airy cherub should whisper to them from time to time and say: 'Who rules east Europe commands the Heartland (territory from the Volga to the Yantse and from the Himalayas to the

Arctic region), who rules the Heartland commands the World Island (Europe, Asia and Africa), who rules the World Island rules the World."

His warning was not listened to at that time.

A decade later, the rise of Germany under Hitler marked the resumption of the old German policy of advance towards the East or *Drang nach dem Osten*. Hitler, following Oldenberg, remarked:

"We start anew where we terminated six centuries ago. We reverse the eternal Germanic migration to the south and to the west of Europe and look eastwards. If we speak of new soil we can but think first of Russia and her subject border states..." (*Mein Kampf* p. 742) "None of our pacifists refuses to eat the corn of the east, although the first plough was called the 'sword.'"—*Mein Kampf* p. 153-4.

Germany's policy from the outset was to consolidate the countries of the Balkans into a strong state and to militarize it as a strong base for the advance towards the East. Hence German thinkers were envisaging German control over the Balkan countries. The first step in this direction was the unification of Austria and Germany. As early as November, 1934 the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* wrote in regard to Austria:

"Austria is located in an extremely dangerous position from a military standpoint; its boundaries are defenceless to the attacks of its neighbours and it threatens partly through its own faults to become the battle-field of the next world war. The military weakness of the Austrian space is the reason for this danger, which can be averted only if a Great Power takes over the protection of this Austrian territory."

Afterwards in May 1938 in an article in the same magazine Albrecht Haushofer wrote about Czechoslovakia:

"A Czech national state within the boundaries of the Czechoslovakia of today was thinkable only at a time when the German power did not exist."

The next objective after the Balkans was Russia. But the attitude of the magazine and its editors towards her was one of friendly co-operation. They impressed upon the German government the urgent need of a strong and abiding friendship with Russia, since war between them would have the effect, as it had in the past, of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the sake of the imperialistic aims of the Western neighbouring powers. Besides this the strategic position of Russia was so invulnerable that war against her was bound to end in disaster. Hence such a great thinker and philosopher as Oswald Spengler wrote in his book *Jahres der Entscheidung* (years of decision) as follows:

"Distance is a force politically and militarily which is as yet unconquered. Napoleon himself had to learn this lesson. What advantage is it to the enemy to occupy territory no matter how immense? To make even an attempt impossible the Bolsheviks have shifted the centre of gravity of their system further to the east. All the great industrial areas which are important to power-politics have been constructed east of Moscow The entire region west of Moscow, which was once the most vital part

of the Czar's empire, forms today a fantastic glacis against Europe."

Therefore, the Russo-German pact of August 1939 was hilariously hailed by Dr. Karl Haushofer, editor of *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* as a masterpiece of German policy. He wrote in the magazine:

"It needed the worst attacks from London before the conviction of the Fuehrer of the indispensability of the British empire for the world culture and the Nordic race idea was pushed back far enough so that the inevitability of the co-operation of the Axis powers, the Russian Empire and East Asia as the saviours stood distinctly before the German soul The audacious construction of the anti-comintern pact was perhaps the borderline which such an insight (i.e., that Russia and Germany lost the war because they had fought each other) had to cross in order to teach the most vital great powers of the old world, that they should not again endanger, by ideological differences, the geopolitical foundations of their adjustable space-existence."

Furthermore, Dr. Haushofer envisaged the prospect of Germany and Russia entering into a pact with Japan. In 1940 he wrote in the magazine:

"If it were possible that the flags of the rising sun and of the hammer and sickle could destroy their mutual distrust, then they would be invincible in their domestic seas."

In this way the advance towards the East was planned as the basis of Nazi policy. Behind it was the sagacious realization of the strategic advantages that Russia possessed over Germany and other Western powers. It had influenced and fascinated some important colleagues of Hitler, notably Rudolf Hess, who was a disciple of Dr. Haushofer. Hence the German advance towards the east was devised in collaboration with Russia. After taking Austria and Czechoslovakia Germany attacked Poland from the West on 1st September, 1939 and Russia from the east. But then England and France declared war on Germany (3rd September, 1939) and she had to turn her attention towards the west also. She took Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium and Holland and advanced up to the heart of France unchecked (June, 1940) and after Dunkirk, had she straightway punched on England her success was assured since England was unprepared at that time. (See R. C. K. Ensor: *A Miniature History of the War* p. 28.). But Hitler treated the conquest of England with indifference and penetrated into France. Even after Bordeaux an immediate heavy night air campaign against England might have proved irresistible and Germany had a nice chance had she concentrated all her energies on that. But something mysterious took place and Hitler had to divert his attention to the East, especially the Balkans, and England got time to prepare herself for the defence. The reason for this sudden change in Hitler's policy is unknown. It may well be that he slighted the sea-power of England, but it passes comprehension that he could have missed so easy and decisive a prize. As a matter of fact,

something more serious and more important was taking place behind the scenes.

As Hitler was scoring resounding victories in the West and especially France, Russia was entrenching her hold on the Balkans. She had already annexed more than a half of Poland and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and had dictated his terms to Finland. Now her attention and efforts were rivetted on the Balkans which was a congenial field for her. This startled Hitler beyond measure, for the control of the Balkans would give Russia the command of the heartland of the world and consequently the power to crush the superiority of Germany in the West. Hence she contracted a treaty with Japan, who was to advance *via* Singapore, Rangoon, Ceylon and Madagascar and meet the Germans moving *via* Malta, Suez Canal and Red Sea and thus to attempt a naval blockade of the world including Russia herself. Grand Admiral Raeder was the author of this plan, which led to the giving up of the projected invasion of England (*Vide* the documents consisting of the minutes of conferences between Hitler and his naval commanders in 1942, published in *The Hindustan Times*, 10-7-47.).

In the result Germany struck against the Balkans and pushing through Rumania, Bulgaria, (Jan.-Feb. 1941) Yugoslavia (25, March, 1941) and Greece (24-30 April, 1941), attacked Crete and Malta and campaigned in North Africa. These movements irritated Russia whose interests clashed with those of Germany and the result was the fateful German invasion of Russia on 22nd June, 1941, the disastrous consequences of which had been brought home by Spengler and Haushofer.

The ultimate alienation of Russia and Germany was inevitable. No doubt Dr. Haushofer had passionately pleaded for a lasting Russo-German alliance. But two swords cannot rest in one sheath. Two equally strong and ambitious powers aiming at one common objective must fall out among themselves someday and eventuate either their mutual destruction or the survival of the fitter one. In politics, unlike in personal relations "two is company, three is none" is the very opposite of the truth.

Thus Russia and Germany went to war. In this struggle the advantages were tremendously on the side of Russia and the defeat of Germany was a foregone conclusion, which her great thinkers clearly knew. The self-same thing came to pass.

After the capitulation of Germany, Russia kept her policy of entrenching her hold on the Balkans intact. A series of coups organised by the communists resulted in the installation of puppet governments in Balkan countries, whose wires are pulled from the Kremlin. In Yugoslavia Russia has turned the racial and religious ferment to her advantage. The whole manoeuvre was so organized that in the elections to the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly in November 1946, King Peter got only 10 per cent. of the votes

as against 90 per cent. of Marshal Tito's, a Soviet-trained leader of Urban proletariat. Rumania was ridden with a pro-Soviet monarchy presided over by King Michael, whose recent abdication has left a clean field for Russia. Bulgaria underwent a coup at the hands of the communist-dominated Fatherland Front and last September she voted to establish a Republic. Hungary underwent a ravaging purge by the communists. General Dinnyes, whose party polled only 17 per cent. of the votes in the last elections has usurped the government with the help of Soviet bullets, by swashbuckling the small Holders' Party which had a majority in it. Czechoslovakia also passed under Soviet influence very recently and the suicide of Masaryk and the resignation of Benes has left Russia unrivalled there. Poland is already a Soviet-dominated country and the Eastern Zone of Germany is fast becoming a communist preserve. In Scandinavian countries also the communists are gathering head very rapidly. In Denmark an underground organisation of extreme communists is known to exist and on the Finnish side of the frontier of Norway, and Soviet-dominated Finland, large-scale excavations are being carried out and detonations of blasting are heard almost daily. Hence a few weeks ago the premiers of Sweden, Denmark and Norway met in Oslo to discuss the communist menace. In this way the 'iron curtain' is being extended west-wards very swiftly.

Here the very important question arises as to what is the future of West-European countries under these circumstances? Either they come under Soviet influence and form a big communist bloc embracing the vast regions of Eurasia and thus avert the chances of war, the Eurasian and American question having been left out for the present; or they unite in some common scheme of defence under American leadership, as their tendency is these days. In the second case the prospect of a clash between them and Russia would have to be seriously considered. In history, invasions from the east have often ravaged the West, but no invasion from the west towards the east has ever succeeded. Napoleon and Hitler both failed. Of course, the West-European countries established their colonies and empires in far-off Asia and Africa in the east but that was by naval force and its main reason was the decadence of subject peoples. But as these peoples are rising and progressing, sea-power with distant bases cannot keep them in check. Hence that era has come to a close and the question of land-fighting has arisen again. As far as war on land is concerned the hard fact remains that whereas in the event of a raid from the west Russia can leave a thousand miles and nestle in the retreats of the Urals, in the case of an invasion from the east, France and her neighbours cannot go anywhere save sinking in the depths of the Atlantic. Hence their doom is decreed.

There was, however, a chance of forestalling the westward expansion of Russia, which the Western

powers failed to avail of. It was the formation of an alliance with Germany under Nazi leadership. The strategically commanding position of Germany, her teeming population, her vast resources and her efficiency in organizing both human and non-human material mark her out for the domination and leadership of Western Europe in any war against the powers of the east. Hence the best and the only chance for England and France of lengthening the lease of their lives was to accept the leadership of Germany and thus to entrench their hold on the Balkans, which has been an effective bulwark against the east for well over a century. Hitler's prophetic vision visualized this project very clearly. As the great scholar of history and politics Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee remarked in retrospect:

"Hitler once said that, if Europe seriously wanted to be a power in the world of our time, then Europe must welcome and embrace the Fuehrer's policy; and this hard saying was surely the truth. Hitler's Europe—a Europe forcibly united by German conquest and consolidated under German domination—is the only kind of Europe that could conceivably be a match in war potential for either the Soviet Union or the United States."—A. J. Toynbee: *The International Outlook in International Affairs* Volume XXII, No. 4, October 1947. P. 471.

But instead of turning towards Germany West-European powers are now drifting under the domination of America, who has emerged vastly strengthened from the second World War. As a matter of fact, America is not directly hit or hurt by the war. On the contrary, her resources have got a tremendous fillip from it. Hence in point of richness and resourcefulness she is unrivalled today. This is why her intrusions in the Russian field in the form of interference in Greece, Turkey, Persia and the Middle East are going unchallenged. But sooner or later Russia must recoup the loss that she sustained in the war and stand foursquare against all intrusions of distant America. At that time it is very doubtful if America would be able to withstand the force of Russian might from a distance of thousands of miles. As for the ideological sympathy that Eur-America claims in the east for her, Guy Wint in his book *The British in Asia* published recently in London has written that she cannot compete with Russia in it. For four centuries Russia has nursed a messianic mission. The Bolshevik Revolution only strengthened

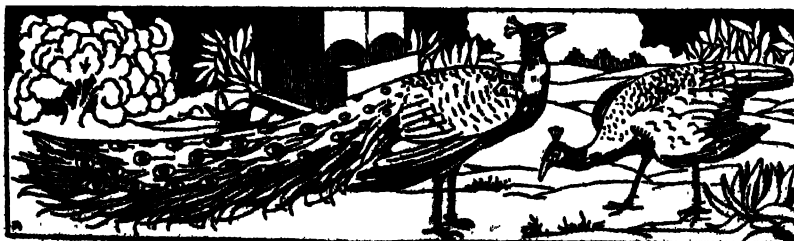
the idea and the concept of Russia as world-saviour merged with that of Russia as a patron of international communism. Behind Russian expansion today, therefore, lies an emotional or even religious force, perhaps the most fervent since the expansion of Spain in South America. Her ideology is so similar to that of Islam that her influence in the Middle-East would be unmatched. To quote Guy Wint:

"Once atheism is abandoned it would not be difficult to represent communism as Islam brought up-to-date, so strong is the equalitarian tradition in Mohammedan society. For these reasons, even the critics and enemies of Russia, sometimes feel constrained to prophesy an inevitable Russian supremacy in Asia. This might not come from the intentions of the Russian Government, but from historical necessity, for if there is disorder in Asia, Russia would find it genuinely hard to stay aloof."

Thus we notice that the days of America in Eur-Asia are numbered. The supremacy of the east under Russian auspices is assured. The powers of Western Europe are so vulnerably situated as to fall a prey to Russia one day or the other. The only hope of a powerful West-European Union is the regeneration of Germany. To quote Dr. Toynbee again:

In a European Union . . . Germany must come to the top sooner or later by one means or another, even if this United Europe were to be presented, at the start, with a Germany that was disarmed and decentralized or even divided."—Toynbee: *op cit*.

The West European powers and especially France should take this historic lesson to heart and try to build a strong Germany as speedily as possible. Side by side they should develop and inspire a messianic faith in their existence by upholding the dignity of man and espousing the cause of his freedom. For this they should renounce their outworn imperialist policy in the East: France and Holland should atone for their guilt in Viet-nam and Indonesia by giving them full freedom and England should give up her chess-tactics in Palestine, Kashmir and South Africa by helping solve their problems amicably. In this way alone they can inspire in the East a faith in their existence and thereby assume its spiritual leadership. After all, integrity is more effective than strategy, ethico-politics is more powerful than geo-politics and spiritual strength is more successful than war potential.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (LOND.)

II

A UNIQUE feature of the Draft Constitution is found in the emphasis placed on "Fundamental Rights" of citizens. An entire section, viz. Part III is devoted to the subject. Neither in the constitution of Canada nor those of Australia or South Africa do we find such an enumeration of fundamental rights. In Great Britain they are guaranteed by an independent judiciary and certain prerogative writs, such as *Habeas Corpus*, *Mandamus*, etc. In U.S.A. also the original constitution which emerged from the labours of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 did not contain any provisions regarding fundamental rights which were subsequently added by way of amendments. Here in our country the insistence on the incorporation of an elaborate system of fundamental rights is quite understandable in the context of the sad experience of the eclipse of all human rights not only in the Nazi and Fascist dominated countries, but also in the so-called democracies in the grip of war, as also of India's own sad experience under British rule. Quite a large number of the Constituent Assembly whose deliberations furnish the basis of the Draft Constitution have been the worst victims of the denial of fundamental rights of man by a foreign bureaucracy and it is only natural that when they should be entrusted with the making of a constitution of their own country they should place these rights beyond the possibility of encroachment by the Legislature and the Executive even though these are to be popular in character. Besides, there is the general consideration that if democracy is to have any success—and Indian opinion is by and large in favour of establishment of a democracy—it must guarantee to its citizens those elementary freedoms which by equalising the conditions of life for all make for the fullest development of human personality of all its citizens. Moreover, in formulating the scheme of fundamental rights they have taken care that these are not to be merely pious precepts and paper safeguards but they should be easily enforceable in courts of law in case of infringement from any quarter and every citizen should have easy access to legal remedies. The sad experience of the Weimer constitution is a pointer to the futility of incorporating a scheme of fundamental rights without provision of legal remedies. To make these rights effective it is essential that the law-making powers of the legislative bodies should be restricted in such a way as to exclude possible interference by them with these rights and further that provision should be made for judicial review of cases of infringement by the

Legislature or the Executive. Accordingly, Section (8) of the Draft Constitution provides not only that the 'State'—meaning thereby "the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India"—should be precluded from making laws taking away or abridging the rights enumerated in the Constitution and a law made in contravention of such rights should be treated as null and void, to the extent of contravention, but further that all laws made even before the commencement of the Constitution inconsistent with the preservation of the rights in question should be treated as void to the extent of the inconsistency. It seems, therefore, that all possible precaution has been taken against these rights being rendered infructuous and merely paper safeguards. While curtailing the power of the legislatures in respect of these rights a proviso has been introduced, and rightly, so that they may not be prevented from making laws "for the removal of any inequality, disparity, disadvantage or discrimination arising out of the existing law." For the removal of existing inequality or discrimination is as much desirable as the guaranteeing of fundamental rights. We quite agree with the explanation given by the authors for the insertion of this proviso:

"The proviso has been added in order to enable the State to make laws removing any existing discrimination. Such laws will necessarily be discriminatory in a sense, because they will operate only against those who hitherto enjoyed an undue advantage. It is obvious that laws of this character should not be prohibited."

The purpose of this proviso is the same as the clauses preserving fundamental rights against encroachment by legislatures.

To come now to the specific rights guaranteed. The list is a comprehensive one falling under the following heads,—(1) Rights of equality, (2) Rights relating to religion, (3) Cultural and Educational rights, (4) Right to property, (5) Right to constitutional remedies.

Rights of equality comprise prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, sex, race, etc., equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, abolition of untouchability, abolition of titles, protection of the classic 'freedoms', such as freedom of speech, movement, association, etc., protection in respect of conviction of offence, protection of life, liberty and equality before law, freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse, prohibition of traffic in

human beings and forced labour and employment of children. The principle underlying all these rights is that they are meant as much to secure equality as to remove inequality, as securing true equality presupposes removal of existing inequality. For instance, while it is provided that no citizen shall be subjected to any disability or restriction on grounds of race, religion, sex, etc., it is at the same time provided that the State shall not be prevented from making any special provisions for women or children, inasmuch as the latter are under some disadvantages. (Section 9). Similarly, while it is provided that there shall be equal opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment and that no citizen shall be ineligible for any office under the State on grounds of religion, race, sex, domicile, etc., it is at the same time provided that it will not stand in the way of the State making any provision for the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class who happen to be inadequately represented in the Services under the State (Section 10). Section (II) of the Draft Constitution provides for the abolition of untouchability and the enforcement of any disability arising out of it is made an offence under the law of the land. Untouchability is a baneful form of social inequality and all would agree in stamping it out of the body-politic. Yet we doubt in the efficacy of the legal process to achieve that end. It is a social abuse and the most effective remedy for it is to educate public opinion. Happily, public conscience has already been aroused to its baneful consequences and thanks particularly to the life-long labours of Mahatma Gandhi untouchability is fast on the decline and is expected to be a thing of the past at no distant date. It might better be included in the Section of 'Directive Principles of State Policy'.

We welcome the provision for the abolition of titles (Section 12) as a healthy measure for the abolition of an artificially created privileged class—a class which may be doped into subservience and used for its own ends by the ruling class, if unscrupulous. Section (13) provides for the preservation of the time-honoured "rights of man", such as the right of free speech and expression, the right to assemble peaceably, the right to form associations, the right to free movement, etc., while guaranteeing the liberty of the individual in these matters care has been taken against excesses on the part of individuals in their exercise amounting to license to the detriment of public interests. This is just in accord with the principles of English jurisprudence that a person is to exercise his right only up to the point where it does not interfere with a similar right of other persons nor jeopardise public interests. Corresponding to each of these rights there is a proviso setting a limit to it. For instance, the right to freedom of speech and of expression is to be subject to the right of the State to make laws relating to libel, slander, defamation, sedition or any other matter undermining the autho-

rity or foundations of the State. Similar provisos are introduced with regard to the other rights. Thus a balance is struck between individual rights so very necessary for the development of personality of the citizen and interests of the community at large. To emphasise the importance of the right to life, personal liberty, freedom from conviction, etc., these have been separately dealt with in Sections (14) and (15). A person is not to be convicted of an offence except for the violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the offence. This is a safeguard of individual liberty against the operation of *ex post facto* legislation. Further, it is provided that no person is to be punished for the same offence more than once, nor to be compelled to be a witness against himself, if accused of an offence. Protection of life and liberty as secured under the principle of Rule of Law of English jurisprudence is provided for under Section (15) which runs as follows:

"No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, nor shall any person be denied equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India."

The above two sections have been drafted on the model of the Fifth amendment of the American Constitution. The language seems to be an improvement on that used in the American Constitution. We have nothing to comment on the other rights enumerated in this Section. So far as the next category of rights, i.e., the rights relating to religion are concerned they are all conceived in the spirit of the basic fact that India is to be a secular State. Freedom of conscience, freedom to profess, practise and propagate any religion is guaranteed subject to the right of the State to make law for (a) regulating economic, financial, political or other secular activities associated with religious practice; and (b) for social welfare and reform or for throwing open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to any Class or Section of Hindus. So far as this last-mentioned matter is concerned we should prefer this to be effected by the growth of public opinion of which there is a distinct manifestation rather than by legislation. Freedom of every religious sect or denomination to establish and maintain its own institutions, to manage its affairs and to own, acquire and administer properties for religious or charitable purposes is also guaranteed as also the freedom as to attendance of religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions. In the spirit of a secular State it is provided that no religious instruction is to be provided in any educational institutions maintained out of public funds. At the same time the freedom of any community or religious denomination to provide religious instruction for pupils of its own community in an educational institution outside its working hours is prejudiced.

The next category of fundamental rights relates

to the protection of minority interests as provided by Section (23). The object of this Section is to disarm the fears and suspicions of all minorities whether religious, racial or linguistic, about the suppression of their culture and language by the majority community. The way provincialism is on the ascendant throughout India and particularly the attitude of the people of Bihar and Assam towards the Bengali-speaking minorities there point to the wisdom of these provisions. The next important right guaranteed is the right to private property. This, of course, does not rule out a socialistic economy which is envisaged in Part IV of the constitution. In the present-day world this right cannot be absolute but always subject to the paramount necessity of the State. Of course, compensation is to be paid in case of acquisition of any form of property by the State for public purposes.

The last section of the rights relates to remedies for enforcement of the rights discussed above through the Supreme Court or other Courts by directions or orders in the nature of the writs of *Habeas Corpus*, *Mandamus*, *quo warranto*, etc. As has already been stated above, mere enumeration of rights without appropriate remedies for their enforcement would reduce them to nullity. So this has been included in the list of fundamental rights with a view to making the others effective.

The powers to make laws with respect to matters under discussion which requires provision by legislation and for prescribing punishment for those acts which are declared to be offences in this context is to belong exclusively to the Federal Parliament and not to the State. This is just as it ought to be for the

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sake of uniformity of the system of fundamental rights throughout the Union.

The catalogue of rights incorporated in the Draft Constitution and discussed above is quite comprehensive and calculated to secure to the citizens a measure of individual liberty that any one can expect in the present-day world and if they are properly enforced people in many parts of the world will look upon Indians with envy. But the question is whether they will be actually translated in the everyday life of the common man. There is more often than not a gap between the law and the facts of everyday life. It all depends on the tradition of a people. In England liberty of the individual is being enjoyed longer than perhaps in any other country, but it does not rest on any written provisions of the constitution. It is embedded in the mental habits of the people. On the other hand, in spite of the elaborate constitutional guarantees about rights in the Weimar constitution the German people never tasted them in their daily life. So we should not feel unduly complacent over this catalogue of fundamental rights written into the text of the constitution, unless we are able to develop those habits of thought and traditions and that psychology which constitute the real foundation of true liberty and democracy. If, however, we succeed in realising these rights in our daily life we shall not only achieve peace and happiness at home but also make a distinct contribution to world peace; because the cause of world peace will be largely promoted by the preservation of democratic rights over such a large area and such a large section of humanity.

(To be continued)

BUILD A 'THIRD FORCE'

By J. BHAR, M.A.

*Weep not today : Why should this sadness be ?
Learn in present fears
To o'ermaster those tears
That unhindered conquer thee.*

—ROBERT BRIDGES

THE world is now being divided fast and sure into two camps. Sandwiched between two forces, Soviet power politics and the U. S. A.'s dollar imperialism, humanity is now foolishly fumbling towards a third world war. As recent events and trends in European and Asiatic politics have shown, the Big Two are fast heading for a showdown with their respective satellites siding with one or the other. For the common people all the world over this game of power politics is equally sinister and harmful, no matter which particular camp they may choose to join. The Big Power rivalry and wrangling have come to a head after what is known as the Czechoslovak 'coup'. There is now under way more feverish activity than ever for blood-making on either side. Humanity is facing a crisis,

a sort of dilemma. Have they now got no other option than cast in their lot with either America or Russia? Is the situation so hopeless that help for mankind cannot afford not to allow either one or the other to make them its partner in the coming war? Granted that war is no longer a probability, but a certainty, must we adopt an attitude of listlessness or rise triumphant over war-mongering and make a last-minute effort to avert the calamity that will plunge the world headlong into chaos, destruction and even total ruin? Is there really no choice left for us between U.S. imperialism and Soviet power politics, both of which actually seek to foist upon us the tyranny of a ruthless regime with lust for power as its essence? Only intellectual bankrupts will answer this query in

the negative. For, the light of the world has not yet gone out, and there is still enough time left for the organisation of a third force of peace and moderation. This third force alone, if properly consolidated and directed, can triumph over the forces of reaction and protect Democracy inviolate from the depredations of power politics.

INSURANCE AGAINST WAR

Organisation of the third force is the strongest insurance against another war. In between stubborn Communism and the re-born neo-fascism a third force ought to be made to emerge and take its rightful place in the comity of peace-loving nations. It must succeed, if we want to prevent war and make peace and democracy safe for ourselves and the future generation of mankind. It is for us to build it, and if we do not do it right now, we will do it never. Let us, therefore, get going in the proper direction before it is too late. Otherwise there will be war, and its evil consequences will prove the undoing of all the noble things man has done for hundreds of years. Atomic warfare after all is not a matter of joke. How could we ever forget what happened when the bomb went off in Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

Effort has already been made in Europe and America to build a third force. But it is a pity that after the Czechoslovak 'coup' this force is now disappearing leaving the field open for the war-mongers to play their own game. But it will be a sin to lose faith in humanity. It is no use questioning the efficacy of democracy, for frankly speaking it has not yet been given a trial anywhere under the sky. Out here in India there is only one man who represents the essence of democracy at least in word, if not in deed. He is no other than our beloved Nehru who advocates political as well as economic democracy. Even if the third force fails in Europe, let not Asia lose faith in it. Men like Soekarno, Ho Chi Minh, and Nehru have a great task to perform. Let them organise the third force here on the Asiatic soil, and strengthen it to such an extent that war-mongers will not dare to hook us in as their partners. The ruling powers in our neighbouring countries may refuse to co-operate with us in this effort for saving peace and democracy, for under the topsoil of so-called freedom they are entrenched fathom deep in military and economic collaboration with their previous Ruler. But if even at this stage Pandit Nehru, the torch-bearer of a lofty democratic ideal, should care to come forward and take over leadership of an Asian movement for peace, the people of all these regions will certainly respond to his call. This partnership will be no violation of the U.N. Charter, for it will be first and foremost a healthy movement for peace, the very ideal that brought the UNO into being. The Asian Conference convened last year in Delhi was quite a commendable move. It is a pity that the pledge for peace and unity among the Asian nations taken on the occasion

is nowhere near realisation even after a lapse of about two years. Let us fulfil the mission now or a good act deferred indefinitely, we shall find it too late afterwards to keep out disaster. To build a third force on Asian soil is no costly luxury. It is an imperative necessity, a matter of life and death. If we can launch the movement right away and make it a cent per cent success, the war-mongers will be bound to leave us free, knowing full well they can't have much of a dent on this part of Asia.

INDIA'S ROLE.

If India refuses to lead an Asian movement for peace, well then who will? China is by far the largest country in Asia and her children are scattered wide over the entire south-eastern part of Asia. But China is now too much in hot water, and one side of her civil war feeding fat on U. S. support is too feudal in outlook and too much of a lackey of foreign imperialism to be of any service to the cause of Asian peace. The other side represents democracy, the Chinese civil war being a straight fight between Chiang Kai-Shek's feudalism and Mao Tse Tung's "new democracy." If and when this "new democracy" emerges triumphant, China will inevitably decide and influence the fate of the whole of Asia. But till then India cannot and should not shirk her responsibility in maintaining Asian peace. Otherwise troubles will be whipped up, and the path for destruction and even subjugation to foreign influence might be opened out. Let us, therefore, do all we can to prevent a war on Asian soil, especially in countries like India, Ceylon, Burma, Malay, Indo-China and Indonesia. Let the mutual co-operation among all these countries be founded on a genuine desire for peace. The task is no doubt difficult. It is also manifold: a perfect co-ordination of its various aspects,—cultural, political and economic, and even collective defence against aggression on a regional basis—may prove too heavy a burden on us. And yet we cannot afford not to think big.

THE THIRD FORCE IN U.S.A.

The third force in America is being led by Henry Wallace. Truman's popularity is already on the decline, and some of his countrymen have begun to look askance at his heavy commitments in Asia and America. He may be knocked out altogether at the next election. The most popular figure in U.S.A. is Gen. Eisenhower, but he is not going in for presidency. Henry Wallace stands for peace and moderation. He is frankly critical about what he rightly calls Truman's policy of "unlimited aggression." Most officials in the U. S. today are in the grip of wild Russophobia: there is a red bug in every American cupboard. If Wallace is elected President, it will mean victory for the third force in the U. S. A. and in that case, Russia will get no further chance of accusing America of war-mongering. But it may be wildly fantastic to expect that things could turn up that way. And yet

one cannot escape dreaming at times, especially in the modern situation when the world is too strife-torn and the prospects for peace so dull and thin.

EUROPE'S 'MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROADERS'

What about the future of the third force in Europe? Some think that after the Czechoslovak 'coup' it must cease to exist and elements comprising the force will be polarized to the two opposites. But I refuse to agree, for a new force may emerge, if and when the older one dies. The third force is more than a political hegemony, it is an ideal, and like the human soul itself, the ideal can never die. Even if it may seem to be dead, let us revive it. The third force must live and work and succeed, if we would win peace and save democracy from ruin.

Six months ago a strong third force was operating in Europe. Since the Czechoslovak 'coup', some of its adherents have gone astray. Britain, for example, is now treading an extremist course. And so are France and the Benelux states. But the Western Union they have formed may not ripen into a power political caucus at all. It may help Russia sober down to a more realistic appreciation of the evil of war.

Today in Britain, Attlee and Company do not represent the third force any longer. It is being frankly rumoured that Don Quixote Truman has found a Sancho Panza in Ernest Bevin and both together are on their mission of emancipating the fair maiden of Democracy from the iron clutches of totalitarianism. France's Bidault has made common cause with Bevin. But Leon Blum and a whole host of British and French intellectuals are still advising cautious moderation. In Italy Giuseppe Saragat, a follower of the third force, continues to ask his countrymen to go upon the principle of compromise and moderation. With the death of Jan Masaryk Europe's most eminent torch-bearer of the tradition of democratic liberalism has passed away. Czechoslovakia is no longer what it has been so long. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway's Premier Gerhardsen and the Premiers of Sweden and Denmark represent the third force. Germany's Schumacher, a social democrat by political creed, is another well-known representative of the third force. He is equally critical about Soviet-sponsored SED, a Communist-dominated caucus of power politics and the Anglo-American occupation chiefs when they support the interests of Big Business. Europe's intellectuals and genuine democrats prefer peace and moderation to power political manoeuvring. Their argument is "Let us not be crushed between two giants, Russia and America." Here is a lesson for Asia and the rest to cash in upon. Mere wishful thinking, however, is not enough. A positive programme of action needs to be evolved and that should be done without any further delay.

SAVE PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

To sum up, mankind should build a third force of moderation and democracy everywhere in the

world. Otherwise we shall be caught in the maelstrom of ruin, when the next war comes. To frustrate that eventuality coming about at all, organise democracy for the peace offensive. That is the only solution to the present dilemma. So urgent is this work, that no country ought to offer its pre-occupation with domestic affairs as an excuse for its failure to do the needful. Should war come one of these days, it will not do to blame it on Russia and America. We who hopelessly grope in indecision are equally guilty. By keeping dumb and ridiculously passive in this hour of crisis, we are indirectly helping the war psychosis to be warmed up. Prince Hamlet's delay may be one of the component factors of another tragic war. For this dereliction of duty on our part, our posterity will not willingly exonerate us from guilt. After all it is not contemporary commentary on any leadership that stands the test of time. History will call the bluff, tear off the pleasant exterior and show up only the naked truth. Shall we not, therefore, face up to our task, so that Democracy and Peace may live and those that are making a desperate bid for world domination may be persuaded to see the light of reason and altruism as opposed to their present insensate worship of power?

For us Asians the immediate task is to stop crooning about that old 'One World' ideal. That is really too fantastic to be true. Like practical men of action let us do something about it. Let us rivet our attention first and foremost on this part of Asia and see how best we can build up a third force here. Our work for peace should now come down from the plane of idealism to that of the real. Its basis should be the union of the nations of this part of Asia into a strong bloc to safeguard their economic, political and strategic interests determined to uproot the present hysteric tendency towards war-mongering. It is also necessary that the nations participating in the Asian union should have the courage to turn down any cringing gestures of appeasement offered by either of the Big Two. The building of a regional bloc in Asia with peace as its sole mission does not mean we are going to quit the UNO, but by virtue of unity and strength that comes through unity, we certainly can expect to stop playing the second fiddle to any big power, as we did in the case of Korea. We really failed to implement our pledge of neutrality when we openly subscribed to political opportunism by siding with the Anglo-Americans in Korea's case as also over the issue of the Little Assembly. By building a third force in Asia, we stand to gain both morally and materially. Our international prestige will be enhanced that way, for as soon as the Asians hold together as a single unit, they will be able to follow a more courageous policy of independence: that is essential, if India and her neighbours sincerely desire to keep out of war or the existing rivalry among the Big Powers. And if we can't do that, we had better stop talking about peace and neutrality altogether.

REFORMED COMMUNISM : AN ANTIDOTE TO COMMUNALISM

By Prof. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

COMMUNISM is a world-force today. You may compare it to cholera and call it an epidemic disease and refuse to take it as a sign of healthy growth of society. But howsoever you may view it, it is there and is leading the world somewhere, perhaps to a crisis. It is no use, therefore, to play the ostrich with it. And personally we do not belong to that breed which sees nothing but a nightmare in it. A shield has two sides; so has communism also. We have a horror of some of its practical methods; but still we can respect its ideals.

We must first of all disabuse our mind of the idea that communism was "made in Russia." The Russian brand undoubtedly holds the field today; but communism is as old as Plato and a sort of it was taught by Christ also. As a philosophical ideal of social reconstruction and of human uplift, it is perhaps as old as human thought. We find it in an elementary form in early Christianity also. The Russian form is its latest form just as nuclear physics is the latest advance in that science.

Taking communism in general, it has certain merits as a theory which it is well to remember. None of these merits may be exclusively its own, but nevertheless it owns them.

(1) In the first place and foremost of all, it stresses human equality. This is not an exclusive discovery of communism. That all men are equal in the eye of law is an ancient doctrine. And the spiritual equality of man has been advocated by all religions. Even Hinduism, in spite of its caste system, has not overlooked it. And Jainism and Buddhism went much beyond that and preached the equality of all life—equality in spiritual value between the moth and the mammoth, between man and the date-fruit. But communism gave a new form to the question of equality. It was not enough to say that men are equal; social practice and social structure must show that they are so. Besides, in this world of mortal beings, economic equality was more important than the theory of spiritual equality. And communism raised this question of equality in the face of feudalism and Czarism, against priestly hierarchy and landed aristocracy, against unbounded wealth and in presence of abysmal poverty. This was a courageous step and an advancement of human thought.

(2) Emphasis on human happiness and an equitable distribution of the means of attaining happiness, viz., wealth, is another merit of communism. It is not happiness promised in a future life or in a world to come, but happiness here and in this life, that communism speaks of. There was a time when the poor were considered blessed, and the kingdom of heaven and the inheritance of the earth were promised to them. Communism turned down this doctrine and advised the poor to endeavour to share the wealth of the rich. It was easier for the camel to go through the eye of the needle than for a rich man to enter heaven,

said Jesus Christ. Communism brushed aside the doctrine and instead of trying to console the poor with the promise of heaven, would rather advise him to have a share of the joys of this life. In Christ's teaching also there is a condemnation of the rich; but nothing is suggested as a means to deprive the rich of their extra wealth. But communism not only condemns excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, but also thinks of ways and means by which this extra wealth may be distributed to the poor. The poor are not left only with a spiritual consolation and the promise of a better future—not here but in another world; but are also advised to try to have a share of the blessings of this life. This shifting of emphasis has both its merits and demerits. It deprives religion of the means of perpetuating poverty. But at the same time, it kindles in the heart of the poor an open hatred against the rich which makes class-war inevitable. But so far as poverty of the poor is condemned and a better social structure without poverty is envisaged, communism is entitled to our consideration.

It is not easy to find out the richest man in any society or the poorest; and in between the richest and the poorest, there is a gradualness in the distribution of wealth. So it is not always correct to speak of the rich and the poor, as if they are two distinct air-tight classes without any mixing between the two. Yet there are some in every society who are denied by circumstances even the ordinary amenities of a decent human life. It is not difficult to spot them in spite of the gradation of wealth. And the merit of communism lies in the fact that it focussed attention on them.

This concern for the so-called lower classes in society is not exclusive to the communist. All leaders of thought, founders of religion and reformers of society gave some thought to them. But to communism belongs the credit of raising to prominence the economic aspect of a lowly life.

All this is good and commendable. But communism has some fault, too, which, we hope, communists will allow us to point out.

1. Communism looks upon man as an economic being only. This prunes the human self beyond recognition. Man buys and sells no doubt but he is not a buying and selling machine, a producer and consumer of goods only; he is more; he is an animal and is capable of emotions. He eats, drinks and has other impulses of the flesh. But he is even more than an animal. He thinks, and loves and has nobler emotions. He is a spiritual being. Even if the world becomes completely communistic, some mothers will probably love their children and some women will probably remain faithful to their husband; and may even sacrifice their material comforts for husbands and children. And even in a communistic society, cripples and blind men will probably be born and

require human sympathy and succour. Even in a communistic society death and bereavement will occur; and these and similar situations will call forth the softer and nobler emotions of the human heart. If man only buys and sells, produces and consumes, and understands only physical comforts, where will be the fountain of these loftier emotions? It is a mistake for communism to suggest by words as well as by deeds that man is nothing more than a glorified animal, if not a machine only.

2. Following from the above, there is another grave error in communism. It denies—at any rate, does not emphasise—the moral values. Moral differences are perhaps permanent differences, until men become gods and nothing immoral happens in society. Even according to communism, there will perhaps be a difference between theft and gift, between adultery or fornication and marriage, between forgiveness and ferociousness, and between murder and mercy. When communism preaches the doctrine that the end justifies the means, it places these moral values at a discount.

3. Another evidence that communism depreciates morality is furnished by the fact that it speaks of rights but hardly ever of duties. Rights imply duties also. It is well to remind the poor man or the labourers of his rights in society and against other classes; but has not he any duty also? Complete moral education of the man will mean teaching him both. We shall probably be told that the upper classes in society do not do their duties. We admit it; very few men or classes perform all their duties. But the remedy for this is not to encourage in all classes a dereliction of their duty. Two wrongs do not make a right. If communism taught both rights and duties and taught them to all, it would give the world an excellent moral code.

4. The communistic doctrine of 'liquidation' of opposition is another strange defeat in it and a perilous theory. The old world thought that ideas could be combated and conquered by ideas—by teaching and preaching. So Jesus preached and Buddha taught. But some brains are impervious to new ideas. Neither Buddhism nor Christianity has been accepted by the whole world. And even now there are people who would oppose both. Preaching and teaching have failed to overcome this opposition.

Communism has invented a new technique for overcoming opposition. Ideas inhabit minds and minds inhabit bodies. If it is found that a mind inhabiting a particular body is not amenable to new ideas, can never accept them and continues to oppose them, then, instead of waiting indefinitely for the conversion of such minds, the shortest way is to liquidate such minds by dissolving the bodies which shelter them. Whatever name ordinary language may give to such a process, the magnitude of the end justifies the means.

Adverse critics have often said that Islam was

propagated by a similar method. Followers of Islam approached people with the sword in one hand and the Quran in another; those who accepted the Quran escaped the sword, those who did not were finished by the sword. There was no continuous flow of arguments and refutations, no endless verbiage. A large part of the world was Islamised within a very brief span of time, because the proselytising followed this short and easy process.

This account of the spread of Islam has been repudiated by many devout Mussalmans. Let us assume it is not true. But we find a parallel to this in the propagation of Communism. Need we point out that it is a dangerous method? The process of liquidation may be used against communism also. The immediate effect of this reciprocation in the process of liquidation will be a vast chaos out of which may emerge beatific communistic society or a Napoleon or some other kind of dictatorship. From both sides of the Atlantic already comes news of the sharpening of swords. When the process of liquidation starts both ways, may Heaven save humanity!

5. Another drawback of communism is that it is intolerant of patriotism or love of country. The only country that modern communism can think of or love is Russia, where it professes to have assumed a practical shape. Other countries must cease to excite love and must be subordinated to the love for Russia. Barring Russia communism pretends to belong to no country but to the world—to the whole of humanity. It implies a type of society which cannot be confined to any country. It must spread—must be made to spread—and engulf the whole world. And because the systematic spread of the doctrine is directed by Russia and because the model of society it desires has been or is being made in Russia, Russia is the only country, which can be loved, nay adored, as a country.

This repudiation of patriotism by communism is one of the reasons for its conflict with other modes of political thought. Patriotism has been counted as a high virtue since the days of Rome and Greece. And it will certainly take time and mean a violent uprooting of human instincts before all men can be persuaded to disown their countries and own only Russia and the world.

6. A greater and a more fundamental defect of communism lies in its intellectual make-up. It has repudiated religion but has retained a fanatically religious attitude towards the teachings of Marx. Marx is beyond criticism just as the dogmas of the church and the articles of faith are to Christian churchmen. To take one instance, Marx taught dialectical materialism and taught that as the only interpretation of history. The dialectical method was used in philosophy by Plato and perfected by Hegel. It is not a discovery of communism. And the interpretation of history also is no one's monopoly. History has been interpreted in more ways than one,

has been interpreted long before Marxism and the Marxist interpretation is only one of the many ways of its interpretation. The communists expect, however, that the Marxist interpretation must be accepted as a gospel, without demur, without criticism, without any modification or amendment and without any mental reserve. For a non-communist, it is difficult to see how it differs from religious fanaticism and how it can be reconciled to rationalism and how it can be regarded as intellectual freedom.

Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics have undergone revolutionary changes in recent time; but Marxian communism is immaculate, eternal, unchanging, sacrosanct. One must accept it in full or be liquidated. Yet we are told, communism offers the highest freedom to humanity. Communism does not see itself as others see it. It pins its faith in the eternity and sanctity of its teachings.

If it has failed up till now to achieve its avowed aim, it is because of its errors. In itself communism ought not to be as repugnant as it is to many. Is any reform in present-day communism possible? Yes, if communism will only allow it. Its greatest defect is its Moscow-mindedness. Moscow is its centre of gravity, the source of its unity and also of inspiration. But that is also the greatest difficulty in the way of its reform and improvement.

Christianity reformed itself by denying Rome and by protesting against authority, especially the authority of the Pope. Communism also may deny Moscow—may protest against all authority—even the authority of Marx and Lenin—and may, like all reform movements in the history of the world, appeal only to reason. Half the opposition to communism will melt away as soon as people feel that it is not 'made in Moscow.' Christianity could not spread if, instead of appealing to reason and to man's higher emotions, it only appeared as a Palestinian doctrine. Any theory, scientific, religious or political, misses its universal character once it is propagated only as some country's manufacture or some individual's patent. Will communism allow itself to be reconsidered and revised by thinkers of the world in a free and frank manner and re-shaped by them, just as scientific theories are done?

The objection to the Russian brand of communism is that it means domination of all countries by one and leaves no freedom to other countries to modify it in any way. The British parliamentary system of government is not bad altogether; but how would other countries feel if advocates of this system tried to force it unaltered and unamended upon them? Yet communism comes from Russia full-fledged and demands either acceptance in full or rejection on pain of 'liquidation'. Is this compatible with freedom, with freedom of thought and action?

If communism could be freed from the apron-strings of Russia, rid of its Muscovite shape and

allied to patriotism, it would appear more respectable, more acceptable, to many than now. Reformed communism as a philosophical doctrine and as an ideal of human happiness, would not only be more appealing but might be used as an excellent antidote to communalism. It could be thus employed as a powerful instrument for securing human good.

Communalism is an attitude of mind which grows generally on religious fanaticism. One of the earliest examples of community-consciousness can be found in the conflict between Christianity and Judaism. A rough picture of this has been preserved in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Even today, in Palestine, the birthplace of Christianity, we have a horrible display of communal struggle between the Arabs and the Jews. They both belong to the same Semitic race. So, the struggle here is between one religion and another. In recent months, India also has witnessed a most horrible form of religious communalism.

But communalism is not confined to religious differences only. Racial differences also may give rise to community-consciousness of the most atrocious type. In Hitler's Germany, the Jews suffered terribly because of their differences in race. Differences in colour or race are also responsible for what is happening in South Africa between the white and non-white population. Lynching, the American way of dealing with an offensive Negro, is another savage demonstration of colour communalism. The tussle between the whites and non-whites is a world phenomenon. The whites of Europe and America desire to dominate the entire human population of the world, including the Chinese and Japanese. We have examples of it in Indonesia, in South Africa, in America, and till recently, in India. The desire is not extinct even now, in spite of the doctrine of 'one world' in the air.

Whatever its form, communalism feeds on a feeling of exclusiveness and a psychology of superiority complex. Here reformed communism might render yeoman's service to humanity by pulling down the barriers that separate one race from another or one religion from another; in sum, one community from another. It could really build one world with one humanity.

We do not deny that this is one of the major aims of communism. But it is not the chief aim; and what is worse, it is subordinated to ambition for political power. We shall probably be told that without political power, this end cannot be achieved. Political power is thus a means to the end. We are prepared to concede that provided communism does not aim at world-domination and provided it allows each country to adopt a technique for the attainment of political power suited to its genius and socio-political environment, instead of each following the inevitable Moscow model. But we do not go the whole hog with communism here. The barriers of caste or community may be combated without raising an army, by the creation and mobilisation of a virile

public opinion. Ideas can be demolished by ideas, without necessarily destroying the body that carries the mind containing the ideas. -

The struggle between the non-white and white portions of humanity may eventually call for a political, and even a military decision. But this cannot be anticipated before other steps have been taken. One of the most important steps in this direction is that coloured humanity, from China to Peru, must be made to feel its unity. The best way to do it is the propagation of ideas and not immediate clash of arms.

Communism cannot hope to become universal until it disowns Russian dictation. We mean no disparagement of Russia's achievements in the field, in spite of the fact that much of what is happening in Russia is screened from the view of the rest of the world. But just as you cannot have the same climate for all countries, or equal distribution of natural wealth like oil and minerals all the world over, just as you cannot give to every country the same quantity of heat or light or coal, so, perhaps, you cannot have the same social structure for all. And just as moral values are universal for all mankind, similarly, one world and one humanity are universally acceptable ideal. Only we must feel that we are not asked to accept it at the point of the bayonet. Let communism become a world doctrine, a non-Russian doctrine and it will have immense possibilities for doing good to mankind.

In this discussion, we have not touched upon the relation between Communism and Socialism. In spite of differences, there is much common ground between the two as theories and also in the practical field. For our purpose here, however, the important differ-

ence is that Socialism owes no allegiance to Moscow and can tolerate patriotism; and thus, in our opinion, is a better political philosophy than rank communism.

There is another point to be borne in mind. We have discussed only communism as a doctrine, and not the communist party in India or elsewhere. As a party organisation, its first endeavour everywhere is to seize political power. And with that end in view, it makes alliances and enmities wherever and however they suit it. Thus in India it sometime worked with the Congress, sometime with the British, sometime as an advocate of peasant interests, sometime as an ally of the Muslim League; sometime as an enemy of government and sometime as an ally of labour and sometime as an ally of revolutionaries anywhere and sometime as an enemy of all organised authority, whether of labour or of capital. This is hardly honest and straightforward. But we shall be reminded that the end justifies the means. Nothing phenomenal can be achieved without political power. With that end in view any alliance or quarrel is justifiable. We can only say, we do not accept that proposition. And most people, especially in India, dislike communism because of its unreliable friendships and unreal and ambiguous enmities. This frequent change in its tactics and manoeuvres makes it untrustworthy; makes it difficult to believe that its avowed aims are its actual aims; makes it difficult to believe that it is not toying with a social philosophy only to seize political power. This is why we wish that communism allowed a reform in its methods, its alliances and affiliations. That might make it a sober philosophy, respectable as a doctrine and almost Platonic in character.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF FARMING The Post-Abolition Period, and Their Suitability to West Bengal

By P. N. SINGH ROY

WHILE the abolition of zamindari is the declared objective of the Congress and of Government, the country has been flooded with suggestions for various alternative methods of farming in the post-abolition period. It is instructive to analyse the basic nature of these suggested alternatives and their suitability to the existing conditions in West Bengal. Mere abolition without an alternative set-up on constructive lines would create a vacuum in the country which would be disastrous to production and stability.

STATE FARMING

Here the State is the absolute owner of land, and directly under its auspices cultivation is carried on by hired labourers under the guidance and direction of government officials, with the help of machinery owned and supplied by Government and according to

a pre-conceived national plan. The worker's freedom is totally subordinated to government decree and his interest is limited to the fixed wage. The produce belongs to the State.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP

In this case the proprietor of land is himself a peasant, the actual cultivator, who independently or with hired labourers carries on cultivation on an individualistic basis. As against permanently-settled estates as of today in the peasant proprietorship or ryotwari system the revenue is not fixed in perpetuity, but is liable to alteration at periodic intervals. Another distinguishing feature of ryotwari system consists in the fixation of revenue on individual pieces of land rather than on estates. The actual occupant at the time of the original settlement is recognised as

possessing a permanent and heritable right of occupancy with unlimited rights of transfer, but subject to the payment of revenue. The revenue payable by the cultivating ryot to the Government in a ryotwari system is neither wholly contractual nor wholly customary but depends on the value of land as determined during periodic settlements. The produce belongs to the ryot. The ryotwari systems as now prevalent in different parts of India have most often not kept their pure form intact, but have degenerated into a system where the peasant has ceased to be the proprietor.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

Co-operative farming, unlike peasant proprietorship, is an example of joint farming, and unlike collective farming, retains a strong individual element in it. Unlike corporate farming, it eschews absentee landlordism and production for profit, but concentrates on the greatest good of the member-farmers. Its distinguishing characteristics are regarded for the individual life of the members and voluntary union. The extent of co-operation may vary. Thus, land may be cultivated jointly by members on wages, the means of production being owned by the society and surplus income being distributed to individuals on the basis of wages earned. Or lands of small tenants may be pooled under the auspices of the society and leased out again in large economic blocks to members for individual cultivation, while the society directs and supplies common services. In the first case the produce is the property of the society for equitable distribution among the members; in the latter, the produce is separately the property of every individual responsible for it out of which he has of course to pay for the services rendered by the society. The State may or may not levy a land-tax either on the society or on the individual members composing it, and in the majority of instances, actually offers special facilities to such co-operative societies financially or otherwise.

COLLECTIVE FARMING

A collective farm is an association of peasant members whose rights in individual holdings or even individual rights in land are irrevocably lost to the collective. It pays wages to its members, according to the work done by each and according to the net output of the farm. The members have some freedom in the management of the farm although it is largely controlled by government agencies. Out of the produce of the collective members get their dues.

In Palestine collective farming took two forms. In the one case the collective entirely operating on borrowed capital, owned all the property in a settlement, members owning nothing privately, not even wages being received by them, though maintained by communal institutions run on the sale-proceeds of the produce which was owned collectively. In the other case, starting with collective ownership smallholder's settlement and later individual allotments

were created, certain operations like cultivation, irrigation, sale purchase storage, etc., being however done collectively.

The Russian collective is a synthesis of the above two forms inasmuch as there is joint ownership and management of all agricultural property, including live and dead stock, work is common, but there are individual houses for each family. Members are paid at a uniform rate and enjoy complete freedom in the spending of their earnings. The produce is raised with some amount of local freedom but largely according to Government plan and although it is the property of the Kolkhoz for distribution among the worker-members, there are certain statutory deductions for reserves on a priority basis.

The Russian Kolkhoz with small individual farms attached to each worker, combines features of (a) State enterprises conducted according to plan and under constant government direction; (b) co-operative enterprises which, although not enjoying self-management, unite and organize members' labour and provide income dependent on labour and on the income of the enterprise as a whole; and (c) small private homesteads working for the market and providing a considerable proportion of their owners' individual incomes.

We have discussed above in outline the important alternatives to landlordism as a system of farming, both in their pure form as also in their possible variations. It is quite possible that the genius of our people will not be satisfied except on the adoption of a combination of two or more of the dominant forms above.

State farming, though it may secure certain advantages of large-scale farming, reduces the independent peasants to the position of mere wage-earners who lose completely their freedom in the management of the farm. State farming on a province-wide scale would be too stupendous a task for the West Bengal Government which is faced with acute dearth of qualified agricultural officers, and is lacking in necessary finance. It would also open the flood-gates of nepotism and corruption to the Government officials whose past records leave much to be desired. In effect, it would mean substitution of private landlordism by state landlordism without the saving grace of direct personal contact between the landlord and the tenant. Even in Soviet Russia, the land of State control, State domination and State ownership, State farms hold a position far less in importance than collective farms wherein State interference is not so much in evidence. In fine, by reducing the peasants through force of arms to the status of wage-earners it would kill their independence and stifle their initiative. The Co-operative Planning Committee set up on the recommendation of the 14th Registrar's Conference therefore recommend that "in the existing conditions of the country State farming should not be taken up except where land is already held by the State and for the purposes of experiment and demonstration."

Peasant proprietorship is often wrongly supported

on the analogy of the prevalence of the ryotwari system in Bombay, parts of Madras, etc. But it is as untrue to hold that the ryotwari systems in these provinces actually equate peasants and proprietors of lands as to say that the ryots of West Bengal do not enjoy much the same set of permanent and heritable rights in their tenancies as their compatriots elsewhere, as has been conclusively shown by the Famine Enquiry Commission in their Final Report.* Indeed, as the F. I. Commission pointedly remarks on page 253 that the defects of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, of uneconomic size of holdings, and of uneconomic sub-infeudation below the occupancy-right holder are not peculiar to permanently-settled estates alone, but are common with all the other land-tenures prevalent in India. Change-over of the West Bengal land-tenure system to the ryotwari pattern would not offer a solution of these grave defects.

A system which recognised the actual cultivator of today as the ryot, particularly when irrespective of the basic nature of the tenure, small holding is the rule all over India, would simply not work. It may be a good escapist policy to follow this line of least resistance; it may even be sought to be justified on sentimental pseudo-socialist grounds that men down on the ladder already should not be touched during this troublous transitional stage. It is also true that an independent and contented peasantry helps the growth of a sturdy democracy and offers a perennial reservoir of strength on which the country can draw in a national emergency. But the uneconomic holdings have to be converted into economic ones, even in the interest of the peasants, involving some necessary dislocation in the holdings of some of the existing peasants. Sub-division and fragmentation have to be countered by consolidation, perhaps compulsorily, involving some displacements in employments. Admitting the urgency of consolidation even at some cost, the F. I. Commission recommended on page 263 that for such purposes "stamps duties and registration charges should be remitted and fees for encumbrance certificates waived" by the State. All these involving serious limitations to the rights of the ryots are foreshadowed. Even an ardent champion of peasant proprietorship like Sir Manilal Nanavati has thought fit to recommend restrictions on the peasant's freedom in respect of transferability, partitioning etc. For obvious reasons, there is hardly any advocate for full-fledged peasant proprietorship today.

Even with such restrictions the so-called peasant proprietorship will fail to deliver the goods. Peasants are chronically short of funds. They do not have good seeds, good measures, proper water supply or even requisite technical skill. They will have to procure all these from outside agencies and to the extent these agencies lie outside the control of the peasants, they will control the peasants and will make an end of

the peasant proprietorship system for all practical purposes.

It cannot be denied that population in the provinces is growing steadily and our methods of productions till now have been small-scale and primitive. On top of these, food for the millions of refugees have got to be found. Agricultural productions, including of course, raw materials of the fundamental industries have got to be geared to the industrial policies of the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. If agricultural inefficiency born of sub-division and fragmentation and innumerable sub-infeudation has got to be overcome we cannot afford the luxury of peasant proprietorship with individual small-holdings at this stage. In these days of planning all around the blissful planlessness of individual peasant proprietorship would be the end of our economic freedom. The F.I.C. on page 271 definitely refused to accede to the proposal of Sir M. Nanavati for state acquisition of even land cultivated on the crop sharing basis for distribution among cultivators. Indeed the Commission held that multiplication of small holdings would not necessarily mean increase in agricultural efficiency and may well involve the State in heavy financial burden on their behalf.

THE REMEDY—MULTI-PURPOSE CO-OPERATIVES

Indeed, the Commission in page 272 definitely suggests that "it is desirable that cultivators of small farms should be organized in multi-purpose co-operative societies." This recommendation is in keeping with the spirit of mutual help and understanding which centuries of landlord-tenant system has created in West Bengal. The success of peasant proprietorship system anywhere postulates the pre-existence of a spirit of robust independence among the people but for decades past leadership in the villages has come as a rule from a particular section only.

Coming down to the practical question of the actual acquisition of lands from the rent-receivers for the setting up of ryotwari system, the Commission definitely sets its face against it. It says on page 276-77:

"From the financial point of view, therefore, it seems to us likely that the abolition of the system cannot be carried out within a relatively short time, without incurring financial commitments which might seriously restrict the sources of public borrowing available for other urgent schemes of development in the post-war period. Priority in the allocation of available resources should be given to large schemes of irrigation or industrial development which unlike a scheme designed to replace one land system by another, are calculated directly to increase the productive resources of the country." It can be pointed out "that the Government of India has enunciated its industrial policy entirely along the above lines, so that acquisition of existing industries to the detriment of the development of new industries may not be pursued on a narrow view of emergency."

If—as is evident from the above, peasant pro-

* Famine Enquiry Commission Report, p. 252.

prietorship is not a suitable substitute for the existing land-tenure system of West Bengal, collective farming is also not. Collective farming may be somewhat better than State farming inasmuch as it leaves some incentive to the peasant members for the improvement of the farm because of its special method of paying wages and because of the ownership by the collective of the means of production. But in the detailed role that State officials play in controlling the collective it is as much open to the charge of nepotism and corruption as is the pure form of State farming. It is to be specially remembered that Government officials since the famine days in our country have not much reputation to lose on the score of incorruptibility. But, more than this, collective farming may be misunderstood by our peasantry as outright expropriation and raise many socio-economic problems. The deep attachment of our farmers to the ownership of land will seriously stand in the way of its introduction. Indeed when ownership in other fields of industry remains undisturbed, the peasant will not easily part with his title deeds. (The peasant will simply refuse to be dispossessed of his land, his livestock and implements, in short, to lose his identity altogether and be a mere wage-earner under the collective commune. Even Soviet Russia in the thirties had to pay disastrously heavy price in men, money and material in forcing down upon the peasants a collectivism which they openly resented, and had to introduce later a strong dose of individualism even within the collective framework to keep the peasantry contented.

It appears therefore that the system of farming which will not affect any of the fundamental social institutions or customs, will be appropriate to the native genius of Bengali farmers born and brought up in an atmosphere of mutual sympathy, understanding and tolerance and will yet give increased production. What is so greatly needed now is a network of multipurpose co-operative societies in which the existing interests in land will be commutable in their shares of equivalent dividend-yield. With intelligent government propaganda aided by the majority party in the countryside it will not be too difficult to persuade the peasants to surrender their lands—while retaining the substance of their rights in them intact—for purposes of management and development and themselves working on the joint plot as so many part-owners.

This system of multipurpose co-operative societies will be more advantageous than state farming in that it will retain management entirely into the hands of local men while never shutting the door of state assistance. As against collectivism involving a wholesale revolution in society, threatening to uproot the basic structure of private property even, it will keep down the rights of private property in check in view of the national emergency for increased food production. In contrast with peasant proprietorship with small holding,

this system bids fair to raise the standard of living of the peasants not only for those who will be kept on the farm, but also for those who cannot economically be so kept but provided for elsewhere in the manifold spheres of activity of the multi-purpose society. In its astounding flexibility, the multi-purpose co-operative system can serve both as a short-term expedient and as a long-term solution, adjusting itself to the needs of the times in keeping with the availability of modern machines and technical skill. By bringing various types of people to work together in the same farm, the system will substantially help the people in mastering their caste prejudices and communal distinctions and achieve national harmony. It will effectuate a smooth change-over from a much-maligned land-tenure system to an admittedly modern method of farming and transitional hardship incidental to any change will be reduced to the minimum. Above all, it will render unnecessary expenditure of huge sums on payment of compensation which will be unavoidable in case of any other substitute—and the saved sums may then be utilised on important irrigational projects along the lines of recommendation of the Famine Enquiry Commission. In any case it will do away with any gap between the abolition of zamindaries and the setting up of a permanent substitute thereafter. Above all, this form of co-operative farming will automatically effect consolidating of farming even without a change in the laws of inheritance the scrapping of which the Famine Inquiry Commission could not recommend despite weighty arguments for the same. At the same time it will involve effective restriction on the existing rights of transfer of land as was recommended by the Famine Inquiry Commission in their *Final Report*, page 265. Not only by saving the huge amount of compensation money, but also by tapping private resources of West Bengal's millions of peasants and rent-receivers, it will make necessary finance forthcoming for the improvement of agriculture and by taking up subsidiary lines of work allied to farming it will throw open new avenues of employment to displaced personnel who cannot be provided for in the organised industries or in pure agricultural work. It will of course steer clear of excess of official interference but will not fail to secure expert knowledge and governmental assistance and co-ordination in the interests of better and greater production.

A carefully planned co-operative scheme of the above type which properly puts emphasis on the individual rights in land, though not on the individual holdings and which ensures the requisite degree of Government help and co-operation together with those of the people directly concerned should now be the aim of West Bengal Government for initiation. Reverberating faith in the possibilities of such a scheme should be created in the minds of the country-people by means of intensive propaganda at suitable sites under Government auspices. For if co-operation fails, with that will fail the last hope of rural Bengal.

THE ISLE OF WIGHT

By GEORGE EDINGER

Off the south coast of England, and separated from it by a channel that takes 20 minutes to cross, lies the Isle of Wight. Twenty kilometres across and 30 from end to end, this small, sunlit fragment of Great Britain comprises a great diversity of scenery.

from the mainland to sample the seabathing, to gaze at the famous daffodil fields or enjoy the spacious prospects of hills and the sea.

Then came 1940. France fell. The Holiday Island was overnight an outpost of the Free World. As thousands of people who have taken one of those old-fashioned puddle steamers that used to ply to Cherbourg and back on a day's trip, well know, it is only 100 kilometres across the water to occupied Europe. The hotel-keepers and the landladies of all the lodging houses that line the front in the more sophisticated stretches of the Island saw their livelihoods vanish overnight. When the bombers came, they were lucky if they did not see their lodging houses vanish too.

So there were few who visited the Isle of Wight, and those who did so had excellent cause. But visitors apart, there were 90,000 people living on the island, and they had no intention of leaving it. To many living in the cottage with white-washed walls and thatched roofs, and in the grey stone farm-houses away from the tourist tide, their island was the



Thousands of tourists come over from the mainland to the Isle of Wight to enjoy the sea-bathing and scenery of the island

From the rolling, bare, wind-swept uplands on the west you used to look out leisurely over the jagged line of rocks called The Needles at the great ships sailing to America.

On the sheltered, southern shore, where daffodils and almond blossom flourish among the beechwoods, the sheltering down and crag and forest have been diversified, by a generation that was nurtured on Victor Hugo and Walter Scott, with romantic bowers, "Gothic" castles and bow-windowed villas in the 120-year-old style that the British call "Regency."

The Island's attractions have been appreciated for a thousand years, as you can see by the tessellated pavements of the Roman villas that have been found under the soft turf.



Winkle Street, Isle of Wight

Queen Victoria built herself a house on the north coast at Osborne, and a few miles from it stands Cowes, the centre of English yachting. For season after season, thousands of tourists have come over

whole wide world. The horizon of their imagination, like the horizon of their vision, was bounded by the sea. Along with them, were many old sailors in the Navy or the Merchant Service who chose the Island to

end their days, and for whom the supreme happiness was to sit with a telescope in a cliff-side garden, watch the ships go by and (on special occasions) to fire a little brass cannon to salute a homecoming liner that had friends aboard or had accomplished a record run.

Suddenly and speedily these people had to adapt their ways to a new order which, even if it was not so drastic as Hitler's, needed a high degree of versatility and good humour.

For, the Island people was not only in the front line, they must virtually have been self-contained. Yet the shock was not, after all, so great as one might imagine. The Island had been in the wars before. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was repeatedly raided and ravaged by the King of France's ships. Queen Mary Tudor in the sixteenth century devised a comprehensive scheme for its defence. You can still see the bastions and ramparts erected by her Italian engineer, who, by the way, designed the fortress of Antwerp also. It was beset, too, by the privateers of King Louis XIV, and during the wars against Napoleon, it was necessarily an armed camp, garrisoned in part by a brigade of Dutch volunteers who risked all to share their sovereign's exile.

Thus the monuments of ancient greatness confront you wherever you go on the Island. No Englishman can experience without a thrill that crossing from the mainland that carries him past Nelson's flagship and the chequered island forts that rose to bar the channel at the order of the immortal William Pitt.

Newport, the quiet capital on the Medina River, is overshadowed by the thousand-year-old keep of Carisbrooke castle, whose precincts, carefully preserved, enclose the traditional residence of the Island Governors, of whom the latest, Princess Beatrice, is the only surviving child of Queen Victoria.

For a thousand years this Island has supplied the Royal Navy and the Merchant Marine with some of its most venturesome recruits and the tradition that has taken its young men and boys for the sea service has only been slightly mitigated of late by the rival attraction of the Royal Air Force.

So the Isle of Wight was well able to look after itself. The call for Home Guards met a ready answer from the men who had seen, in the gatehouse at Carisbrooke, the scarlet and buff coat in which their

ancestors went out to face Napoleon. The batteries about Queen Mary's ramparts barked savagely at the intruding raiders. Old ladies, whose heads Queen Victoria had patted long ago in the gardens at Osborne, emerged from the Regency Villas to drive through bombed streets for the Red Cross or the A.R.P. The landladies shook their heads, locked the front door behind them, and went off to make munitions. This fighting answer somewhat confounded the enemy; invasion threats receded. Raiders became more rare.



Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight

And behind its barriers the holiday Isle was able to devise a new economy. Ploughs and tractors began to break up the grass slopes of the gentle hills. In the gardens along the sheltered Southern shore they are growing the early vegetables that had temporarily been lost to Britain with the Channel Islands.

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Erratum

The Modern Review for June, 1948: "Mauritius Once Again" by Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen

The reference on p. 464 to the article in *The Modern Review* for April 1946: The article was written by S. Balgobin, Mauritius.

RAJA RAVI VARMA A Centenary Tribute

By SUDEHA BOSE, M.A.

On the happy occasion of the centenary of Raja Ravi Varma, who was born on the 29th April, 1848, at Kilimanur, an extensive village in the Travancore State, it is our pleasant duty to recall and to review

by the British rule in India, which pervaded every phase and aspect of Indian life. The English people in India took particular pride and pleasure not only in introducing the English language, and its rich and varied literature, but all kinds of English customs, dress, manners, and other fashions of social habits, which adversely affected the national ways of life in India. The introduction of English culture was not a matter of slow infiltration and gradual assimilation by a voluntary and conscious process, but a sudden imposition from without and an uncritical and an unintelligent imitation of everything English without relation to the character and the basic principles of Indian life. The importation of foreign ideas, very little understood, and badly interpreted, sapped the very foundation of Indian life.

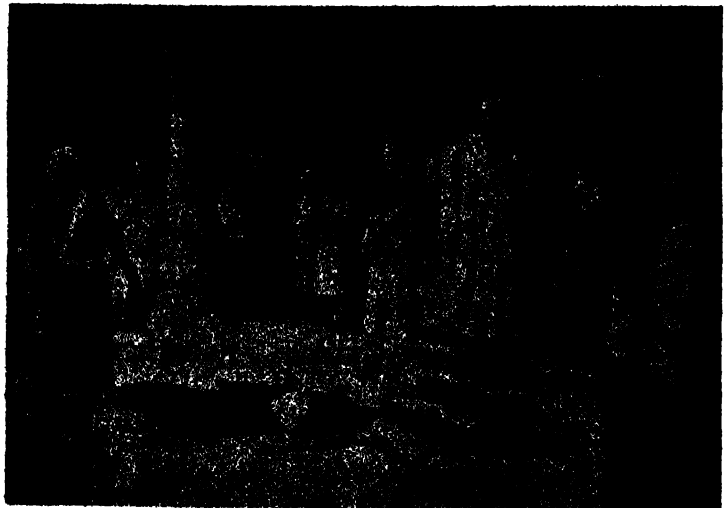
In the field of Art the influence of imported ideas and methods was of much more fatal consequence to the life and growth of national art. The



Sakuntala-Patralekhan

the works of a pioneer artist, who had initiated a new era in the history of Indian painting. Abandoning the point of view and the ideals of the great traditional schools of Indian painting, he adopted the techniques and methods of the Western schools of painting with their scientific apparatus of perspective, chiaroscuro, anatomy, proportions and other aids of realistic and naturalistic painting foreign to the history of Indian and Far Eastern pictorial art. The last representative of the indigenous and traditional methods of Indian painting, Molaram of the great school of Kangra painting, died about the year 1837, and within ten years there appeared in the field of pictorial art a modern representative, "blissfully"

ignorant of the qualities and ideals of the traditional Art of India and "un-hampered" by its age-long conventions, its peculiar types and imaginative methods of expression. The middle of the nineteenth century was the beginning of an orgy of foreignism introduced



Draupadi at the court of Virata

captivating realism of European oil-painting, changed the very outlook of the Indian connoisseurs who began to regard the conventions and the imaginative presentation of Indian life and indigenous themes followed by the old traditional painters, as due to an

inherent incapacity of the language of Indian pictorial art to give a visual presentation of the ideas in an adequately convincing form. There was a tendency, therefore, to discard altogether the language of national art, then still surviving in various parts of India with all its inherited glory and vital powers of expression.



Ramachandra-Samudrashasan

Unfortunately the traditions of the old Indian pictorial art had survived more in the North, than in the South in living practices of indigenous artists, and Raja Ravi Varma had no opportunity in the far-off corner of India to come in contact with the great traditions of Indian painting, and quickly succumbed to the captivating manners, and the superficial grandeur of loudly expressed juxtaposition of colours in European oil paintings, which gave living likeness of the actualities of things, particularly in the branch of portrait-painting. And very appropriately, Raja Ravi Varma's initiation into the mysteries of European painting took place, when he watched Theodore Jansen, an English artist, at work on his commission to execute a series of portraits for the royal family of Travancore. It was indeed a thrilling experience for a novice untrained in the technique of any language of pictorial art—Indian or European—to imitate without any proper guidance or discrimination the vocabularies of a foreign art, before one's judgment had any chance to develop through an understanding of his own national art. And when Ravi Varma started to illustrate the themes from Indian mythology, he

had no idea that such subjects had for centuries before inspired the brush of generations of Indian artists in the great schools of Gujrati, Rajasthani, and Pahadi paintings. Even in the South, the interesting branches of the Ajanta school had survived in splendid forms in the frescos of Sittana-Vasal (Podukottai State, Tanjore District) and in some of the remnants of Chola painting in the Brihadeswara Temple, but they were forgotten records of antiquarian interest, which provided no living models to a practising artist bent on catering to the needs of his own generation. But Ravi Varma belonged to a family of orthodox religious beliefs accustomed to pay daily visits to the temples—a custom still followed by the present Maharaja of Travancore.

And since some of the temples of Travancore are still covered by magnificent frescos, illustrating the Shiva and Vaishnava legends (e.g. those in the Ethamanoor Temple, and the Padmanavapuram Palace), it is difficult to explain how Ravi Varma could flout or ignore the pictorial traditions of his own country. This can only be explained by the psychology which British Dominion engendered in the Indian mind that the products of Indian culture were greatly inferior to those of Europe and particularly in the field of pictorial art, as Indian artists had not developed the scientific "appliances" of accurate representation of natural forms, typically discovered in the later phases of Renaissance art and applied successfully in the



Gangavatarana

Realistic Schools of Dutch painting and their derivatives and analogues in French and English art.

Anyhow, either through ignorance or through a depreciatory estimate of indigenous manners and

methods of painting, Ravi Varma swallowed with open mouth the lessons that the English artist could teach and demonstrate in the series of realistic portraits that he painted at Trivandrum. Ravi Varma had no systematic training in oil-painting in any school of Art, and he picked up the technique by imitation and superficial study. But, though not of a very high merit, judged by Western standards, his imitation of Western painting was acclaimed by enthusiastic admiration on the part of his royal patrons (Maharajas of Travancore, Baroda and Mysore) and particularly the English Governors of Madras and Bombay (the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Ferguson), who were naturally pleased with this obvious submission of an Indian genius to the influence of English art. And

studios did not usher in the masterpieces of the European schools of painting, which still remained a sealed book to Indians and Indian artists. Things might have developed in different ways, if Ravi Varma and his followers had any opportunity to study and assimilate the lessons, which actual contact with the masterpieces of European painting could have conveyed with dynamic consequences. For we know, how in the field of literature the study of Scott and Fielding, Dickens and De Quincey, Smiles and Johnson, Shakespeare and Shelley stimulated the growth of vernacular literature in India, particularly in the great novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in Bengal—the earliest product of the beneficial consequences of contact with English culture.



Vanity

the prizes and medals that the Indian artist won not only in the local exhibitions at Madras and Poona but also in the Indian and Colonial Exhibitions in London and in the Chicago International Exhibition, confirmed his own judgment that he was on the right track in the pursuit of his career of Art. The acquisition of a new language of Art, hitherto unknown in India and never practised, before Ravi Varma introduced it for the first time, is of some of consequence, though not to the extent that the learning of the English language and its repercussions on Indian intellectual and social thought produced in India. For, in the case of Ravi Varma, the introduction of this new language of Art did not introduce the host of dynamic ideas that could flow into India, at the time, through a study of the contemporary English, French, or Dutch schools of painting. The teaching of English brought in its train the whole panorama of the masterpieces of English literature, but, in the field of Art, the knowledge of the tricks of Western



Modesty

Raja Ravi Varma, therefore, began his career under two great handicaps: (1) an ignorance of or an apathy to the ideals and methods of the classical Indian schools of sculpture and painting, which had set very highly developed standards as to how to portray the gods and goddesses of Indian mythology by psychic realisations through spiritual contemplation (*dhyana-mantras*), and (2) an ignorance of the manners and methods of contemporary English painters by which the latter presented the mystic stories of Greek and Norse mythology. If our Indian illustrator of Indian myths had the chance to study how Rossetti (1828-82), and Burne-Jones (1833-98) in England were presenting mythical and legendary themes, things could have shaped differently in the field of modern illustrations of epic subjects. Bereft of any kind of respectable precedents in India and in England, Raja Ravi Varma was left to his own resources to fashion out gods and goddesses on the models of living men and women in the society

around him, and to clothe them in the costumes of contemporary life. Correggio, the decadent representative of the late Renaissance, has been reprimanded by critics for introducing the portraits of the members of his own family in sacred Christian subjects. Such criticism applies with greater force in the case of the mystic and transcendent themes of Saivaite mythology. Shiva in Ravi Varma's illustration of the 'Descent of Ganga' is a self-conscious athlete, not the dreamy *yogi*, whose actions operate in self-forgetful moods of periods of spiritual seances. In the 'Vow of Vishma', the mystic hero of the Mahabharata is weakly rigged out in the personality of a Marhatta chief. By such prosaic methods it was impossible to call up the imaginative but radiant personages—the super-men and women of Indian sagas.

And very harsh, indeed, have been the criticisms that had greeted the mythic subjects painted by Ravi Varma. According to Havell:

"Certain it is that his pictures invariably manifest a most painful lack of the poetic faculty in illustrating the most imaginative Indian poetry and allegory; and this cardinal sin is not atoned for by any kind of technical distinction in the execution."

The strictures of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy are more severe:

"Theatrical conception, want of imagination and lack of Indian feeling in the treatment of sacred and epic Indian subjects, are Ravi Varma's fatal faults. No offence can be greater than the treatment of the serious or epic subjects without dignity, and Ravi Varma's gods and heroes are men cast in a very common mould, who find themselves in situations for which they have not a proper capacity . . . His pictures are such as any European student could paint after perusal of the necessary literature and a superficial study of Indian life."

The explanations we have offered above, can indeed provide no defence to the onslaught of attacks by two eminent critics and connoisseurs of Indian art.

But whatever may be the intrinsic merits of his illustrations of Indian Puranas, there is no doubt that Ravi Varma rendered signal service to the cause of Indian culture by broadcasting pictures embodying the ideals of Indian culture, at a time, when Indian national life and thought was under an eclipse under the dark clouds of Western influences, propagated through the educational institutions set up by the British Government and by Missionary enterprises, in which Indian culture was deliberately ignored or belittled. This new illustrator of ancient sagas was able to widely distribute his pictures through cheap reproductions, which found their way to all Indian homes, rich or poor, in all parts of India. This itself was a piece of achievement to be proud of by any exponent of Indian culture, particularly at a time, which witnessed a severe calamity in Indian national life. If Ravi Varma's pictures fell short of an adequate artistic ideal, they provided valuable

spiritual support to the illiterate and the uneducated and an easy visual aid to remind them of the glorious teachings of ancient sages.

This valuable national service Ravi Varma was able to render by setting up a colour printing press, imported from Europe at great expense. At this press he prepared cheap oleograph prints, somewhat too shiny and gaudy, but fairly accurate renderings of his original pictures. At that time, excepting the coloured lithographs of the Calcutta Art Studio produced by Mr. Bagehi, no other form of reproductions was in use to disseminate works of Art in cheap and accessible copies for those unable to indulge in the



Raja Ravi Varma

luxury of possessing original pictures. Mr. Upendra Kishore Roy had not yet started his process studio to reproduce pictures by the photo mechanical process. So that apart from his artistic achievement, Ravi Varma could claim to be the first pioneer in a commendable publishing enterprise, dedicated to a national cause.

But even in the domain of art creations, his achievement was of no mean order, if we set apart the controversial character of his presentation of Indian mythology. In the branch of portrait-printing, and, in the rendering of Indian types and *genre* subjects, his creations were valuable contributions to a branch of painting hitherto unexplored. His merits as a portrait-painter was widely admired, and Duke of Buckingham, the then Governor of Madras, honoured him with several commissions to paint

portraits which still adorn the walls of the Government House, Madras. This was followed by other requisitions on his skill as a portrait-painter and he was commissioned to execute a series of portraits of His Highness Sir Chamarajendra Woodayar, the then Maharaja of Mysore. Of his studies of Indian types the most charming and convincing examples are his renderings of Nair ladies and a series of imaginative types, symbolising "Modesty", "Vanity", "Reverie", "The Charmer", "The Worshipper" and a variety of other studies, which uphold a high standard of conception and execution, which are creditable successes in his search for Beauty in the current life of the society of his time. Even if he had not ventured into mythi-

cal themes, his *genre* paintings are enough to place him on a high pedestal as a talented and inspired painter of Indian life and character.

To this great pioneer of modern Indian painting our respectful tributes are due for valuable contribution made to the aesthetic phase of Indian culture, which the lapse of a century has not tarnished or diminished.

We should like to conclude by paying a well-deserved compliment to the Founder-Editor of this journal, who was the first to publish an illustrated book on the Art of Ravi Varma with several reproductions of his works executed by the late Mr. Upendra Kishore Roy.

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A VISIT TO SEWAGRAM BY A PILGRIM

By JUSTICE SANKAR SARAN,
President, Allahabad Harijan Ashram

WHAT is this place, Sewagram, the world-renowned little village in the interior of the Central Provinces? Is it in fact a village, or a mere settlement, or just a camp where people meet for a purpose and then disperse, or is it a monastery where men and women of piety live in poverty and penance or indeed is it the sanctuary over which broods the spirit of God once embodied in the frail old frame of Gandhiji? Who can answer these questions? Certainly not one who knew Mahatmaji casually like the writer. Certainly not one who never had the good fortune of a pilgrimage to Sewagram when the Mahatma lived.

All I can say now is that it is a strange place. It is a village and yet not a village. It is situate at a spot where for miles there is hardly any habitation, one might almost say little vegetation and gives the impression of a deserted, rather desolate village. Yet the place is littered with huts, semi-pucca houses and blocks of buildings. There is no electricity at Sewagram and other amenities of the town are absent, yet it is not altogether typical of India's village because it is humming with life. All the same its chief aim is to serve the villages and raise them not to the level of the towns but to the level of ideal self-sufficient communities.

Sewagram is a settlement and yet not quite a settlement. It has not grown from a small village into a township. It came into being, so they say, because one day the spirit moved the Mahatma and he walked from his residence in Wardha and stopped under a tree in the locality where now stand his Ashram and the buildings of the other allied activities and decided to stay there. When his friends and followers found that Gandhiji was determined to

choose that site for his future scene of activities, they immediately put up a hut for him. After that other huts sprang up and gradually the place grew and people began to live there. Mahatmaji chose that place in face of almost insuperable odds. It was malarial and one year he had severe malarial attacks himself. But Gandhiji was not the man to retrace his steps. If the place was malarial he should stay there himself and make it easy for others to live there. If it was inaccessible so much the better, for he could work there for the toiling masses undisturbed.

Is it a camp? Yes and no. It is a camp, because men gather here from different parts of India, indeed of the world on occasions and disperse. It is not a camp because there has always been a continuity of life. Men have come and gone, but the life that Mahatmaji infused in his followers has persisted.

Is it a monastery? Here again the answer is both in the affirmative and in the negative. Here at Sewagram are gathered men and women, many, if not all, of whom are pledged to poverty and chastity. They live, at least try to live, in a spirit of dedication and in pious observance of rules. But, unlike most monastic orders they have hardly any rituals, the rules that they observe are, for the greater part, self-imposed. No dogmas are imposed on them although most of them have a common ideology.

Is it then a sanctuary? I would unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. I am no theologian. I know not the attributes of God nor do I claim to know if He incarnates in human forms in a special way. But if there is truth in the theory of *Avatars*, then to my mind God manifested Himself in the form of the man we knew and revered as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Blessed are we of this generation that we

had the privilege of being his contemporaries and doubly blessed are those on whom the Mahatma bestowed his special attention, I shall not say affection, for such men have equal affection for all. In every sense of the word therefore Sewagram is a sacred place, where in the years that lie ahead, yes, even in the dim distant future men and women will go to worship and be blessed. Human nature with all its weaknesses and frailties has an uncanny knack of discovering greatness sooner or later and luckily we discovered Gandhiji before it was too late, that is, in his life-time.

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When I heard of the Constructive Workers' Conference I thought here was an opportunity for me to visit Sewagram and be near enough the Presiding Deity of that sanctuary. But fate had willed otherwise and the assassin intervened. I was deprived of the unique privilege which might have been mine of having the Mahatma's *darshan* in his Ashram itself. Subsequently the Conference was held and I did attend it. With him it would have been a rare delight to attend the Conference. In March it was a sacred duty to do so.

I arrived at Wardha in the evening and when I got to Sewagram it was dark. With the help of a hurricane lantern I discovered a corner for myself in a room where eight of us were lodged. We were a miscellaneous crowd. An Ex-Premier of a Province, a high functionary of the Congress, a simple volunteer and a worker among the youth were some of my room-mates. But next day I was assigned a semi-open doorless hut furnished with mats. There also we were a mixed crowd.

On arrival I needed a wash. The arrangements there were out of the ordinary. There were no flush arrangements for the Conference guests. I am told there are only two or three sanitary fittings in the whole place. It is hardly a subject about which one talks, yet at Sewagram this subject has received meticulous attention. The water closets are carefully planned and their cleanliness and disposal of their contents scientifically worked out. There are no sweepers at Sewagram, at least I saw none, and all the cleaning is done by the highly cultured inmates who see to it that the refuse substance is so put away that it becomes manure easily. I was greatly struck by it and I wish more people could see this system work so that it could be copied in our villages and towns. After my wash I was told to go to the temporary dining shed, where food was ready for the late arrivals. The food was simplicity itself. But naturally it was wholesome and clean. Each individual was given a brass tumbler, a cup and a plate of

coffee, sugarcane juice was there for the abstemious. Anxious inquiries were made of each guest and there were hundreds of them, if they required special food. Care was taken to accommodate as far as possible the food faddists. I hope I shall not be accused of irreverence if I were to say that Sewagram attracts faddists and cranks. I am told, not only raw vegetables but grass, oil-cakes, and flowering *neem*, at times, find place in the menu of food-reformers. In the matter of dress barring European costume one came across all kinds of dress. *Achkan* and *Pyjama* were rare. *Kurta*, *Dhoti* and *Gandhi Caps* appealed to the majority. But there were the *Lungi* and *Langoti-walas*. When it was chilly in the mornings there were a few *Kambli-walas*. This was the crowd that I saw in the morning. But what a crowd? Ninety per cent of these so-called cranks and faddists had as their motto in life 'Do and die'. They were, till August 15, jail birds and had known suffering, more suffering and still more suffering as their lot in life.

The next item in the programme was the evening prayer. It was scheduled at 8-30 p.m. On an open spot sat either on the bare ground or on mats the congregation. There were a few lanterns burning and a number of people were spinning in that light. Just as the prayer was to begin the lights were dimmed and in that semi-darkness some one chanted the *Mantras* in Sanskrit. It was followed in a melodious voice by the recitation of the Holy Qoran. Then a beautiful *Bhajan* was sung and finally the congregation joined in *Ram-Dhun*. Thereafter lights were put on, rather their normalcy was restored and the audience dispersed quietly.

III

Utility was Sewagram's motto and austere simplicity was noticeable everywhere in everything. In the Conference itself there was neither gloom nor rejoicing. It was not like a big Conference or even a public meeting where leaders are greeted with lusty cheering. It was a business-like assembly which had assumed a solemnity all its own on account of Mahatmaji's absence.

But Mahatmaji's assassination has made Government vigilant and the Conference was simply infested with the Police. The majority of the guests were unhappy about it. They did not like their leaders to be guarded like this. But there was no disposition to take risks where the leaders were concerned and so people submitted to the strict checking of admission cards philosophically. Saturday, the 13th March, was the big day. On that day the Conference was to open. Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Governors Katju and Pakwasa and the Premiers of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and Orissa and many high functionaries of State were there. They were meeting on a great occasion. It was no longer a Workers' Conference. It was a gathering of disciples and devotees.

In this connection I might mention that the habitual tea and coffee addicts were not ignored and with the frugal morning breakfast, one could have tea and

It was reminiscent of the meeting that was held two thousand five hundred years ago after the Buddha passed away. There was earnestness but there were misgivings. There was keenness to perpetuate Gandhiji's work but there was anxiety not to set up a new orthodoxy. The speeches were mostly impersonal. Mahatmaji's life and death were seldom referred to. His name was brought in only occasionally to strengthen an argument. I believe it was deliberately done. But I have a feeling it was a bit overdone. I am no *Bhakta* and seek solace in work rather than communion, yet I thought these earnest souls, some of his nearest workers, might have given us a little more of Gandhiji.

It was touching to find Pandit Nehru visit Mahatmaji's hut before he went to the Conference. Yes, what is Sewagram without that hut? It haunts me till now. Pandit Nehru's speech at the Conference was characteristic of the man. It was frank, and torn as he was between conflicting views he did not know what to advise. He felt it was necessary to consolidate the work Mahatmaji had done and yet he was afraid of the birth of a new cult with its dogmas and beliefs. He put his point of view earnestly and sat down. Maulana Azad was definite that there should be set up an organization to carry on the great work. Make it broad-based as you like but set up an organisation.

Even at a Conference like this heat was occasionally generated. Rajendra Babu presided. He was the most hard-worked man. He is an ideal though rather an indulgent President. But the proceedings terminated in an atmosphere of perfect friendliness. There was earnestness in the gathering. Some of India's well-known public men took part in the discussions, many of them played their part behind the scenes. The result was the decision to establish a Samaj which will owe allegiance to the Gandhian ideology. The fear that if the Mahatma's name was added to it there would grow up a Church, led to the naming of the new society as Sarvodaya (the Blossoming forth of all faculties) Samaj. The workers there seemed to pooh-pooh all ideas of visible memorial pillars or halls or other such manifestations of love, loyalty and homage seemed to leave them cold. How far this Samaj would succeed in keeping Gandhiji in the background I do not know. But of

this I have no doubt that his name will inspire millions in the future as they never did in his lifetime. Men and women will cherish his memory and worship at the shrines that will spring up all over the world not only in India, South Africa and London where he spent years of his long life but in distant corners of the world.

IV

I fear these are random thoughts not even properly arranged. Of the decisions at the Conference the public have knowledge through the Press. I just give my personal reflections of the few glorious days for me, days not necessarily of prayer and penance but of prayerful thinking. I was sad at heart that Bapu was no more but I rejoiced that I caught a glimpse of his greatness at Sewagram, the abode of service. Here let me record the most remarkable event of my visit to Sewagram. It was the pilgrimage to Mahatmaji's hut. It was a novel experience for me. I had heard and known of Gandhiji's life of austere simplicity and had read a description of his hut. But truth to tell I had never imagined that it could be such a small place. It is actually a mud hut with narrow verandahs with two tiny little wooden windows. There was just enough room for a mattress to be placed for the occupant of the house and some space for visitors. Near him was a small desk, a rustic waste paper basket, a spittoon and an improvised sort of book case, where a few sacred books were placed. Nearby behind a partition was spread a mat and a desk, perhaps for his secretary. Near Gandhiji's pillow on the mud wall was written in mud 'Om' and on another wall hung two card-boards with manuscripts written by hand; one was a quotation from Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and the other a few stanzas from Quran. As I entered the room I saw an oldish man sitting there all by himself, looking at the mattress where lay the Mahatma's rosary. With a sorrowful gesture he drew my attention to the long stick which Mahatmaji used when he went out for his walks. I came out of the room and noticed the palm leaves that were spread on the walls to prevent the heat. I saw no fan there. Here lived the greatest man of the age. Thus toiled the noblest Indian of all ages! How puny we are! What shadows we pursue!

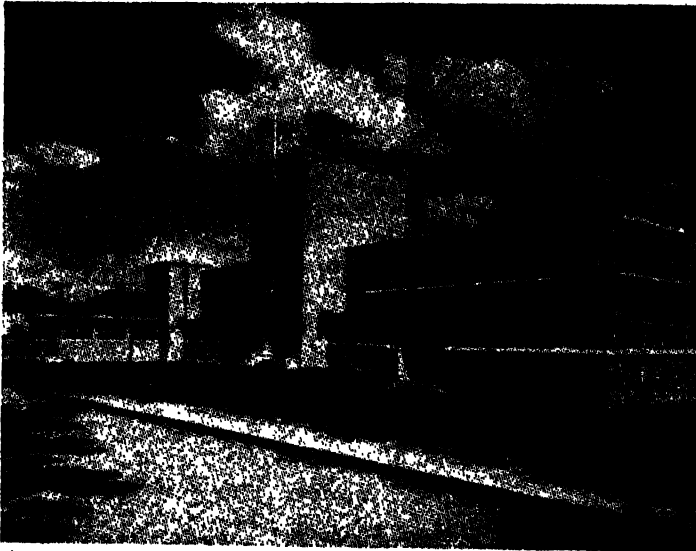


SCHOOL-BUILDING IN BRITAIN

By WILLIAM NEWTON

Architects of modern school buildings must pay attention to the demands of modern education, and emphasise the needs of sunlit classrooms, air currents without draughts, insulation from external noises, and accessible playing fields.

It may well have been that the prestige of the pioneer buildings made the British less ready to think the problem out anew. But development there was all the time, and its pace has been notably increasing throughout the last 20 years.



The modern British school is well exemplified in this picture of an elementary school near London

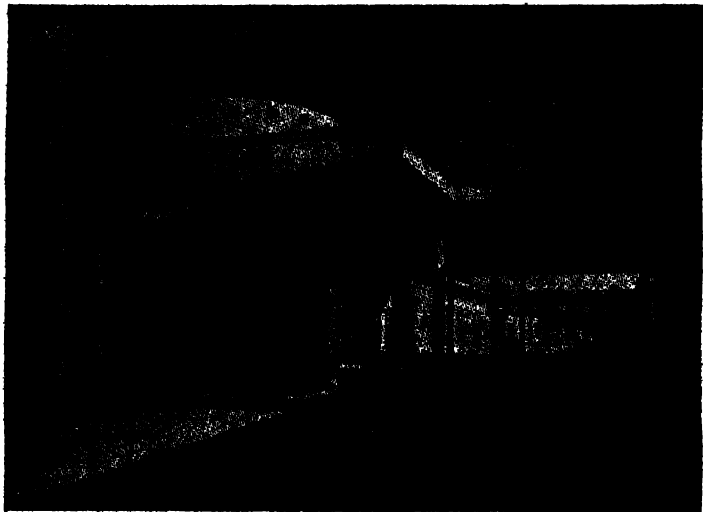
Architecture is the true international language. Music, the art which comes nearest to it in this respect, is apt to have a racial flavour which may be an obstacle to judgment. We might need to be schooled to appreciate the melodies of China or Abyssinia or Tibet; but their buildings we can at once understand from plan, section and elevation, see what their problems are, and compare their solutions with our own treatment of similar problems.

This is perhaps especially true of such buildings as schools and hospitals. Britain was a pioneer in school-building 70 years ago; and to some degree suffered the usual fate of pioneers. The building types evolved as a first solution of the

school problem were further developed and improved in other lands—notably by France in the last years of the nineteenth century—while in England the earlier schools had been so well and solidly built that they were difficult to adapt and alter. And for a time, too,

A sketch of the development of the school "idea" would show first of all an emphasis on compactness, the teaching-rooms grouped round a central hall, into which they often open directly. This after all was very natural. In old days, all had been taught in one big room; and it was a step forward when the teaching-rooms were made separate, even if they were only, as it were, annexes of the main meeting room. But the need for quiet and for ventilation soon moved the teaching-room away from the Hall.

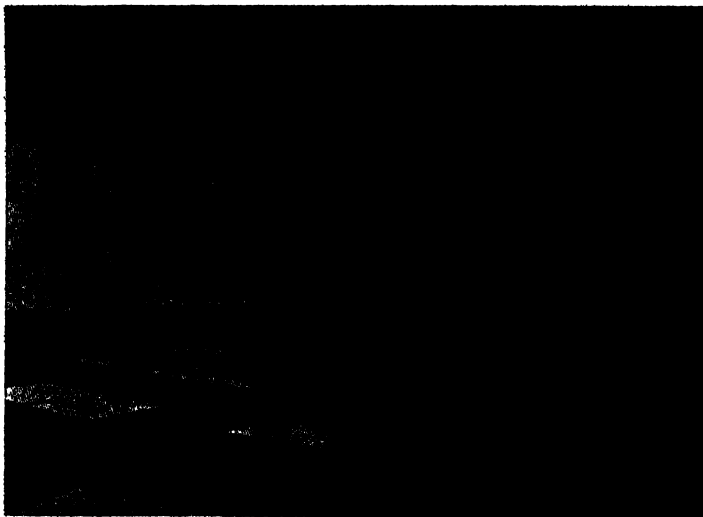
More and more attention is paid to them. The early ones have good light, but are often sunless. Now sunshine, and if possible early morning sunshine, is considered indispensable, and no less important is natural cross-ventilation from windows in opposite walls. Left-hand light for the pupils, insulation from



The entrance to a school in Yorkshire, England

external noise; air currents without draught, a black-board lit but not shiny, easy movement for teacher and pupils, easy speaking without echo—all these are points in the design of teaching-rooms to which more and more attention has come to be paid. As the

subjects taught grew in variety, so did the teaching-rooms; standard class-rooms were added, with all their individual demands, rooms for teaching art and science, woodwork and metal work, cooking and laundrycraft, needlework and handicraft, and similar "practical" subjects—a list which is continually growing.



The modern classroom in a Council school near London

Meanwhile, the assembly hall expands in function. At first it is just a convenient space for collecting the whole school together; but it takes more and more a new importance as the centre of the school's life, where the unity of the whole is emphasised in speeches and ceremonies, in music and drama. Today it is coming to be thought of as the cultural centre, not only of the school, but of the whole district served by the school—as a regional hall to be planned and available for this double purpose—or rather these two aspects of one purpose.

It will be evident that the new needs and uses of these two constituents of the school-plan (the hall and the teaching-rooms) will have radically affected the old arrangements. Instead of being compact, the school building spreads itself out to meet the sunshine and open air; while the hall can no longer be embedded in the other plan-elements, but must, with its enlarged stage and dressing-rooms and foyer, be designed for the easy welcome of a crowd which may come either from one school or from outside or from both at the same time.

A school must always be able to handle crowds,

not only on the occasion of special ceremonies, but every day. For every day the children come—it may be four or five hundred of them—all within a few minutes. Within these few minutes all must take off hats and coats, and perhaps shoes, and be gathered orderly in their appointed place. The arrangement of entrances and cloak-rooms is thus a vital part of the school plan. The earlier solution of a single entrance and centralized cloak-rooms (duplicated where there were both boys and girls) perhaps made supervision easier. Now the tendency is to lessen supervision, to look to the self-education of the child orderliness and reasonable discipline, and in consequence provide open access and a number of cloak-rooms. This again influences the whole planning and grouping of the school units.

Nor can the plan ignore leisure hours, and breaks and all that is needed for the young at exercise and play. The playground we have always had. It is still a problem to site it so as to be sunny in winter, easily reached, near a covered play-space and the water-



The interior of a Gymnasium at a grammar school in London

closets, reasonably subject to supervision, and not embarrassing the teaching-rooms with noise and summer glare. Besides the playground, the modern school provides a covered play-space, gymnasium, library, and dining rooms for mid-day meals, gardens and lawns and flowering trees—all to be married with the building-plan and lay-out, the entrance drives and the green playing-fields.

These are the problems which designers of school-buildings in Britain have had to face and their solutions have been notably successful. In the years before the war Britain's modern schools were among the first in the world and certainly, in the present

times, school-building programmes can be put into operation again and we shall see this enlightened policy for design used to its best advantage for the rising generations.

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REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D.,

*Former Economic Advisor, National Economic Board,
United States Army, Military Government in Korea*

AN urgent need of India is the revival of Buddhism, which was once her supreme religion and which is still the dominant religion in the Far East and South-east Asia. The moral and spiritual sources from which Buddhism sprang still exist in India. Buddhism more than any other religion realized the greatness of inner life and the importance of self-control as the means of achieving peace and tranquillity, both of which are essential today in the face of the rising tides of materialism. The moral and spiritual achievements of Buddhism are among the strongest pillars of the foundation of India's rising new civilization.

The time has come when Buddhism should be revived and reinstalled as a principal religion of India. There are several reasons why Buddhism is needed : (1) the decline of popular Hinduism, which was largely based upon caste, endogamy, taboo (eating of beef), and similar other practices as well as on idolatry and symbolism ; (2) inadequacy of such creeds as are based upon the concept of Hindu trinity, and the mythological concept of reincarnation of God as Rama (the hero of the Ramayana) and Krishna (the hero of the Mahabharata) ; and (3) the lack of proselytizing in Hinduism as indicated by the decline in number of the Hindus, as compared with Moslems and Christians.

Buddhism has surpassing moral and spiritual values. The grandeur and glory of Buddhism once attracted not only the masses but also the scholars, monarchs and conquerors. The messages of Buddhism long ago crossed the national boundaries and at present it counts among its followers a vast number of the humanity. Buddhism is a part of the moral and spiritual achievement of India and its teachings still form India's cultural heritage. After a thousand years, India should again welcome its own creed and establish, as her greatest religious teacher, Gautama the Buddha, the "Light of Asia."

The revival and regeneration of Buddhism in India should be attempted from different angles : First, like Christianity and Islam, Buddhism is a proselytizing religion and its message should be brought to all classes of people. The possibility of converting the so-called depressed classes into Buddhism should be explored ; second, the life of Buddha and Buddhism should

be a part of the curriculum of all the schools, colleges and universities in India and every Indian, irrespective of his creed, should be required to know the life and teachings of Buddha. Buddhist temples should be built at convenient places and Buddhist literature should be made available in all Indian languages.

India should organize a Buddhist council, which will be the fifth in its order, the fourth being held in the first century of the Christian era, preferably at Saranath where Buddha preached his first sermon some 2500 years ago, and all the Buddhist countries, such as Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Tibet, China, Japan, and Korea, should be invited to send their representatives to the council. The council may last from three to six months and a program should be drawn up in consultation with the prominent members of the Buddhist countries as to the subject-matter for discussion. But they should include such questions as (1) the present status of Buddhism in various countries ; (2) the Renaissance of Buddhism and the adjustment of its doctrines and tenets in the light of modern science, art and philosophy and in accordance with the needs and requirements of men and women in modern society ; (3) the establishment of an international university for Buddhist countries ; (4) an arrangement for periodic conferences of the Buddhists in each of the Buddhist countries every two or three years ; and (5) similar other subjects which may be decided upon by the council.

The revival of Buddhism will have several effects on India as well as on other Buddhist countries.

First, it will elevate the moral and spiritual status of India and raise her in the estimation of the other peoples. It is a paradox that the people who contributed most to the concepts of monotheism, monism, and Buddhism would permit their own countrymen to follow the crudest idolatry and most obscene symbolism as their cults.

Second, it will bring India into close contact with the South-eastern and Far Eastern Asiatic countries, all of which have monsoon economy and some basic cultural unity. Hindu and Buddhist empires were once established in Sumatra and Java and extended to Formosa and Luzon in the north, and Bali and Lombok

in the south, and some of the best Hindu temples are still to be found in Indo-China and the best stupa in Java. India has all the possibilities of enriching her moral and spiritual cultures from most of these countries, where Buddhism has been a living religion for the past ten centuries.

Third, a close relationship between India and these countries may facilitate the Renaissance of Buddhism so that its tenets and doctrines may be reoriented and readjusted in the light of modern art and philosophy and may form the moral and spiritual foundation of industrial civilization and may avoid some of the materialistic effects in the East as it has been the case in the West. India and these countries may even establish their own living and cultural standards in industrial centers, the possibilities of which have been created by the inauguration of regional

labor conferences by the international labor organisation in Asia and America.

Finally, India must also actively participate in all international activities and attempt to establish international peace. As in the old League of Nations, power-politics have already appeared in the international affairs of the United Nations and groups and blocks have already been formed for working out their problems, such as the Latin American bloc, the Western European bloc, the Arab Moslem bloc (extending from Pakistan to Egypt), and the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have also their dependent countries. For her international activities India will be able to depend upon the South-eastern and Far Eastern Asiatic countries as her allies for the solution of some of the important international problems, especially with reference to Asia.

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INDIAN STUDIES IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

By Dr. GIRIJA MOOKERJEE

I HAPPENED to be passing through Tuebingen one evening last winter and Prof. Von Glasenapp the great Indologist asked me if I could not stay the night and take part in the meeting of the Indian Seminar in which Prof. Hermann Weller was reading a paper on *Raghuvansam*. I readily agreed and after dinner made for the chemical laboratory of the University where the meeting was to take place. It was not easy to find. The approaches to the building were dark and when I eventually got inside the house, I could not find the way to the laboratory. There was no porter and the passages were dark, the consumption of electricity being strictly rationed. At last, by following the direction of a streak of light coming out of a room, I finally discovered the place and was soon introduced to a group of a dozen people who had braved the weather to hear Prof. Weller speak. The room was not heated and it was a terribly cold night. Everyone had his or her overcoat on but even then one shivered. Prof. Weller spoke for about an hour and afterwards there was a general discussion on the etymological significance of the Sanskrit word "Uma". Prof. Weller ventured the suggestion that it might have something to do with the German word "Oma", meaning a grand-mother and thus "Uma" might really mean the mother of the earth!

At any rate, the whole thing was impressive to a degree. I could not for a moment forget that, most probably, none of the audience had a decent meal for months and it applied equally to the speaker, who looked haggard and pale and could hardly move with ease. Still, their love of India was strong enough to make them forget all the inconveniences and to take part in the discussion of a subject which, to say the

least, was highly technical. I could not help being deeply moved by this scene and I felt that our people at home should know about it. After all, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to German scholars and German Indologists and the fact that even under the present circumstances, some of them carry on their Indian studies should not be allowed to be forgotten.

I carried on subsequently an enquiry in all the four zones of Germany and found to my pleasant surprise that most of the famous German Universities have already reorganised their Indian Seminars and students were flocking there from all parts of the country. Interest in India has grown even more than before and there is also a strong desire among the students to know something of modern India. Unfortunately, some of the well-known scholars had died during the war amongst whom the pride of place should go to Prof. Heinrich Lueders of the University of Berlin. He was a great authority on Epigraphy, Buddhism and the Vedas and he was well-known to several generations of Indian students who frequented the Berlin University. His wife who also had made a name for herself in researches on Buddhism, died during the war. Dr. Ziesenis of the University of Breslau (now in Poland) who was an authority on Shaivism is reported to have been killed in action. Among those who died after the war, Dr. Reinhard Wagner was well-known to the Bengali visitors to the German capital, for his painstaking attempts to write Bengali in Roman character had made him very dear to such well-known scholars of Bengali as Dr. Suniti Chatterjee and Humayun Kabir. It is reported that Dr. Wagner died in a concentration camp where he was brought after the armistice because of his being a

member of the National Socialist Party. I was told that before his death he was engaged in a German translation of *Srikanta*. Many Bengali visitors to Berlin will miss this lovable man whose modest flat in Tempelhof was always open to them and who had dedicated his life to the study of the Bengali language. Similarly, Dr. Beythan, the well-known student of Tamil, died after the war, as well as Prof. Bernhard Breloer of the Berlin University who had made valuable researches in the study of Kautilya.

On the other hand, Prof. Waldschmidt, a great authority on Indian and Buddhist art, has begun his courses at the University of Göttingen and his lectures are very well-attended. The old Prof. Kirfel of Bonn is still active and has just published a new book called *Die Dreiköpfige Gottheit* based on his studies of the Puranas. Prof. Lommel had remained in Frankfurt throughout the war and he is now teaching the Vedas and Avesta at the University there. Prof. Weller who is in Leipzig says that the Russian authorities are giving him all facilities and he is now lecturing on Buddhism. Dr. Hoffmann has also been permitted to resume his lectures on Tibetan Buddhism at the University of Hamburg and I found that Prof. Nobel of the University of Marburg was holding his classes on *Alankara* and Chinese Buddhism with great success. Prof. Von Glasenapp was appointed the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Tübingen (French Zone) and after having lost his home and famous library of Indian

manuscripts at Koenigsberg, has now settled down in this town. He has built up an Indian Seminar out of practically nothing and has already published another book called, *Die Weisheit des Buddha*. I also came to know that Prof. Otto Schrader is teaching "Vāismavism" at the University of Kiel.

Some of the Indologists have of course been not allowed to take up their former jobs. Among them is Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf, who was a close collaborator of Netaji during his stay in Berlin. He is engaged on his own in a study of *Apabhramsha* literature. Similarly, Prof. Hauer of Tübingen and Prof. Wust of Munich have been debarred from rejoining their posts owing to their memberships in the Party.

Everywhere, however, people complained that the shortage of books and magazines was very great. For nearly twelve years, the Indologists have not been able to have contact with India and they are very eager to develop them again. But the postal system is primitive and as the German money is valueless they are not able to subscribe to Indian papers and magazines nor can they buy new books. They look upon former Indian students of German Universities to remedy this defect and any book or magazine sent, will be thankfully acknowledged. It is my belief that we ought to do everything in our power to be of help to these eminent men who are carrying on the torch of Indian learning in spite of hardships, the extent of which is almost unimaginable in India

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SCHOLARSHIP IN JOURNALISM

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"It is not the quantity, but the quality, of knowledge which determines the mind's dignity. A man of immense information may, through the want of large and comprehensive ideas, be far inferior in intellect to a labourer, who, with little knowledge, has yet seized on great truths . . . A good mind is formed by a few great ideas, not by an infinity of loose details."—W. E. Channing in *Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Classes*.

I

This is just the sort of subject that suits me—inasmuch as I am, thereby, enabled to ramble at my sweet will and pleasure, to branch off into any tempting by-path or side-lane that crosses my pre-arranged path. Discursiveness is of the essence of essay-writing, and what was good enough for Dryden, Lemaître, and Walkley—and, coming down to our own time, for that doyen of English dramatic critics, the late Mr. James Agate—is, without doubt, good enough for me, too. All the same I must, in the interests of historical accuracy, hasten to disavow any claim to scholarship—even "north-north-west." It is true, of course, that I have always had (ever since, in a manner of speaking, I

could lisp in numbers) a vague hankering after that priceless jewel; but a concatenation of circumstances, over which I may rightly protest that I have had no control, effectively prevented that vague hankering of mine from realising itself to the fullest extent, of "expanding" itself, in Walter Pater's celebrated phrase, "to the measure of its intention."

A stronger mind than mine would, in all probability, have scorned to be defeated by the mere caprice of events; would even, on the contrary, have been spurred on to redoubled efforts just because of that formidable obstruction in its way. But it is useless to cry over spilt milk and to cast a longing, lingering, look over the "might-have-beens." Had such and such a thing not happened I might (who knows?) have soared, on the wings of my innate ambition, to such and such a height. Vain consolation! In the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, however, such and such a thing did happen; and the Lord of Hosts Himself cannot put back the hand of the clock and start me—or, for that matter, anyone else—afresh on my brief sojourn in this most transitory of all the worlds. As Sir Thomas Browne puts it, "The iniquity of obli-

blindly scattereth her poppy." The past is now a closed book, there is no known process by which we can remould it nearer to our hearts' desire.

*"The Moving Finger writes ; and, having writ,
Moves on ; nor all your Piety nor Wit*

*Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it."*

II

I have not, then, any pretensions to scholarship. But this bitter pill is not without its sugar-coating, in that though I may have no pretensions to scholarship I am yet not unaware that there is such a thing as scholarship and that the man who possesses it has an immense advantage over the man who does not possess it. As Walter Bagehot observed shrewdly :

"While a knowledge of Greek and Latin is not necessary to a writer of English, he should at least have a firm conviction that those two languages existed."

(The profound truth of this observation will be brought home to us when we remember Gibbon's magnificent saying that the Greek language gave a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of metaphysics).

Scholarship, indeed, is never wasted anywhere : least of all in journalism, which, in my humble opinion, is immeasurably enriched by it, being, in fact, transformed beyond recognition by the additional graces that it never fails to lend to anything that it touches. It is not given to everyone of us to be a scholar : this kind of thing cometh not out but by prayer and fasting. But, at any rate, we should not be guilty of the supreme sacrilege of looking askance at scholars and scholarship. The scriptures enjoin us to love the Highest when we see it. If we cannot do even that we write ourselves down as no better than mere clods, as no better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. This may seem obvious ; but it is far from being so.

III

We have arrived at a point when there are none so poor as to do reverence to scholarship ; and especially is this evident in the field of journalism, that Cinderella of the professions. But, to quote the words of the immortal Sam Weller, this is wrapping it up in a small parcel. At the present juncture not only is scholarship conspicuous by its absence in journalism : it is severely frowned upon when it makes the slightest show of raising its head from the abysmal depths to which Fleet Street (and, even more so, whatever stands for Fleet Street in our hapless country) has, in the plenitude of its ignorance, consigned it. This is, pre-eminently, the Age of the New Journalism ; and New Journalism and scholarship are as poles apart. As far as the New Journalism, at any rate, is concerned it is safe to say that no

*"... brighter Hellas rears its mountains
From waves serenest far,"*

and that no

*"... new Peneus rolls its fountains
Against the morning star."*

Scholarship, indeed, can find no "abiding city" in the world of the New Journalism. If this is the case in England it must, *a fortiori*, be the case in India as well ; for whatever passes for journalism here takes its cue from the journalism that flourishes there. We are not pioneers but imitators ; and imitators have, as a rule, a penchant for copying the worst features of the thing imitated rather than the best.

There is that in the New Journalism which is inimical to the encouragement of scholarship ; and those who would follow Apollo and the Nine would do well to apply elsewhere for admission. Matters had been different, of course, before the late Lord Northcliffe, the Father of the New Journalism, took Fleet Street by storm. Then scholarship had a place in the sun : to the practitioners of the art in those days it was, as Dr. Johnson said of Greek, "like old lace—you can never have too much of it."

*"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
And to be young was very heaven."*

IV

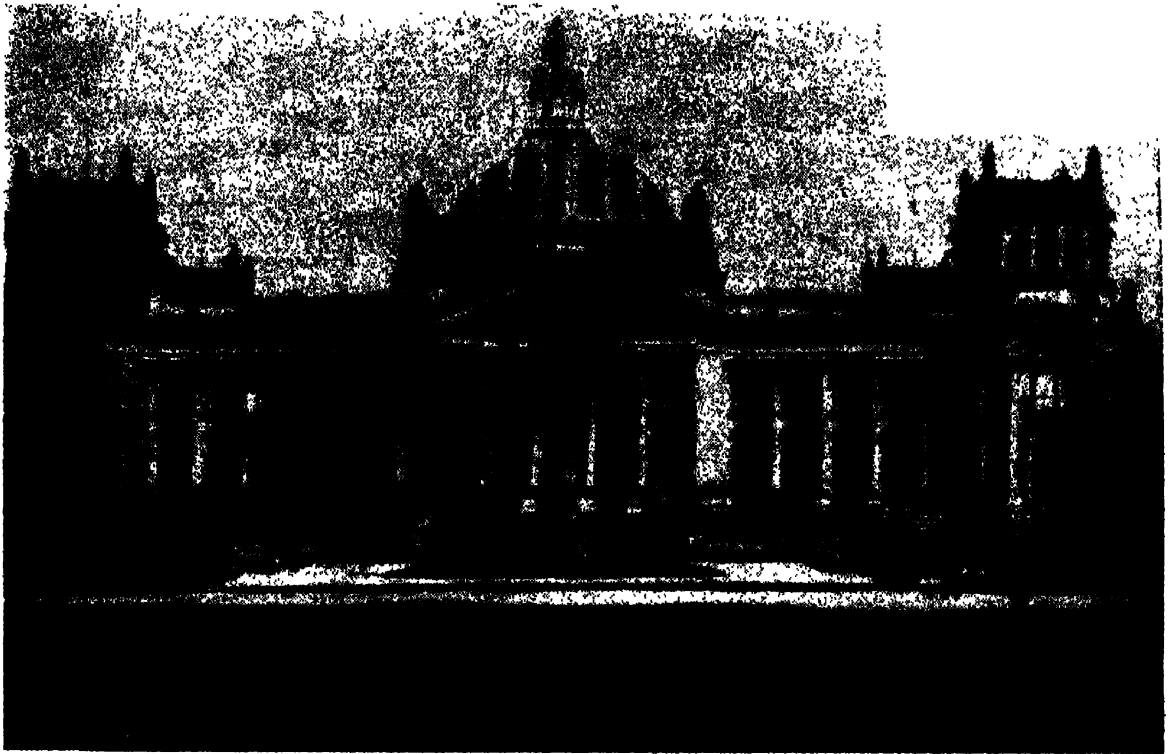
If a slight exaggeration (pardonable in the circumstances) may be permitted, to be a journalist then was to be a scholar : the two terms were almost interchangeable. Those who were aspirants to the journalistic purple generally made sure that they had the requisite qualifications. Quite apart from the fact that they were not, like their successors, dead from the neck up, as the saying is, they invariably came to their tasks with the proper intellectual equipment as well as with a firm determination to leave their patrimony, like the old Athenian, not worse but something better than they found it. In other words, they took pains to be splendid. They regarded themselves as the inheritors of a fulfilled renown and, therefore, saw to it that they gave of their best to the noblest of all professions. You could never catch them napping. In especial, they were adepts in the instrument of their calling. In their hands English prose

*"... became a trumpet ; whence they blew
Soul-animating strains."*

They knew perfectly well that scholarship, by itself, cannot carry a journalist very far : he must learn how to put it to the correct use. That was why they took endless trouble to prune and to polish. In the matter of the mechanics of their trade they had a lot of sixth sense, as it were, that brightness does not fall from off the air ; that, instead, brightness has to be cultivated—and cultivated, too, with assiduous care. Book-lore should never, if it is true, be despised, but it would be all the better if it could exist side by side with the ability to write well : else it would turn no wheels and grind no corn.

V

The journalists that I have in mind were not only ripe scholars but excellent penmen ; they were alive to the pregnant truth that literature should never be divorced from life. They did not misanthropically



Reichstag before the war



Reichstag after the war



King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia (*left*) and King Farouk of Egypt conferring in a tent at Port Tawfik

theory that literature is only for the "high brow." They held, on the other hand, that it should be the possession of the common man no less than that of the *dilettante*. It was said of Socrates that he brought down philosophy from heaven to inhabit among men. The same can, with equal truth, be said of these giants in the different realm of the "humanities." They harnessed them to the fleeting needs of journalism. Such being their high endeavour it was no wonder that they touched nothing that they did not adorn. The tiniest paragraph that they wrote had distinction stamped upon it, was invested with a sort of plenary inspiration. Reading their articles was a liberal education in itself. You were not fobbed off with the crumbs from their table: you were served with a full meal, as delicious as it was wholesome. You expected a toothsome thing and you got it.

Who were these masters? In the main they were Scott, Spender, Massingham, and Gardiner. They formed a quartette that has never been surpassed anywhere. They have had no single successor. It was, probably, not quite an accident that all of them belonged to the great Liberal party. During that period there was an efflorescence of the human spirit in that party that was well-nigh unique. In politics as well as in the arts it "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." Look where you would it was a Liberal that dominated the scene. It was from that cultural Pamir Plateau that all—or nearly all—the rivers and rivulets of genius flowed and "winded somewhere safe to sea." That illustrious savant, Lord Morley himself, drew inspiration from the same prolific source. Naturally, these four figures whose names I have mentioned above had no option, so to speak, but to tread the same path of intellectual development.

It would be unprofitable to go into the question of who was the tallest among them. There can be no comparison where superlatives are concerned. The mountain-peaks are all snow-clad. Scott was, undoubtedly, the doyen among them. He had also the advantage of being associated with the best daily in England. That, of necessity, gave him a "pull" that was, unfortunately, denied to others. He was the seniormost among them. His noble example could not but have been an invaluable asset, acting, as it must have done, as a sort of beaconlight to the younger set. Scott was an institution by himself: the *Manchester Guardian* a veritable "school" of journalism. In English journalism Scott was, indeed, a landmark; and when he died the whole country rose as one man to render him homage.

VI

In so far as comparisons are possible among giants, however, it has always seemed to me that Massingham towered above them as Mount Everest towers above Kanchenjunga and Nanga Parbat and the rest. Massingham was in a class by himself, as Cowley said of Pinder, "He formed a vast species alone." His soul was like a star and dwelt apart. He was the biggest

man of them all, though an unkind fate denied him the chance of becoming an institution in the same manner as Scott. His was a more fiery spirit: nor had he the knack of suffering fools (and knaves) gladly, as anyone must have who is determined to make the best of both the worlds. Even idealists, if they do not wish to be "caught out," usually contrive to have a streak of materialism deeply embedded in their composition: if it escapes public detection it is because it is cunningly camouflaged and is made to form an inextricable part of the general colour-scheme. The lack of this protective principle, of this "safety-first" device, was Massingham's undoing.

Spender had neither the idealism nor the brilliance of either Scott or Massingham. He was not an out-and-out Radical like them and was noted for adapting "the middle-of-the-road" policy in most matters. He brought everything to the touchstone of practicability. The words of Sir William Watson about Matthew Arnold are equally applicable to him:

*"... for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll
The deep authentic mountain thrill
Ne'er shook his page,
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage."*

This is not to belittle Spender's contribution either to politics or to journalism; but I am here dealing with the imponderables, and Spender, consistently displaying more of the diplomatist's skill than of the idealist's fervour as he was wont to do, has, obviously, no place in this "galley." Even his literary style was not comparable to that of the other Three Musketeers.

VII

As for A. G. Gardiner there is not a lover of journalism or literature who does not mourn his death, which occurred last year, though it had not been entirely unexpected. He had long passed the palmist's span of three score years and ten. That, however, does not mitigate the sense of our loss to any appreciable extent; rather does it serve to heighten it. We had been so very much accustomed to take his presence in our midst for granted that now we cannot bear to contemplate the void caused by his demise with any degree of equanimity. His was, indeed, a name to conjure with. The initials, "A.G.G.," were known and honoured wherever they were found: they were an instantaneous passport to our affection. We read every line of his that we could lay hands on, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. His writings were suffused with charm. No wonder that even his worst enemies could not resist their lure. It is no exaggeration to say that, once you come to him, you could not leave him without a pang of regret. I can still remember many a dinner that was allowed to get cold because I happened to be in the middle of an article, or essay, of his. It is equally true that I often neglected my more serious studies for the same reason. It can be said of him, as it was of someone else before him, that he "beguiled

children from play and old men from the chimney-corner." His death is a loss in another respect also, as he was the last of a race of journalistic giants.

Scott in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Massingham* in the *Daily Chronicle* (and, later, in the *Nation*) and *Spender* in that "old sea-green incorruptible," the *Westminster Gazette*, and *Gardiner* in the *Daily News* "magnoperated," in the late Mr. James Agate's beautiful phrase, as no "foursome" had ever been privileged to do. It was the grandest symphony that anyone could have hoped to hear. For nearly two decades *Gardiner* preached the Liberal doctrine from the pulpit that the *Daily News* provided for him. I am not prepared to aver that he was a match for the other three in point of political lore. Politics was far from being his first love. He did not come to it *con amore*. Pride of place in his mind was always given to literature. But, with all his limitations in that line, he managed to make up by unwearied diligence for what was lacking in primal impulse.

VIII

To the public *Gardiner* is known more as an author than as a journalist. It is probable that now many have forgotten his editorship days but still remember with inexpressible gratitude the pleasure his printed pages gave them. When the late C. E. Montague resigned from the *Manchester Guardian* in order to dedicate himself entirely to the service of literature a farewell dinner was arranged in his honour at the Reform Club in Manchester at which Scott presided. While proposing the guest, and after speaking of the affection in which he was held, Scott proceeded :

"We want to thank him for all he is and all he has done, the unswerving stand he has ever made for liberty, his deep and critical understanding of literature, the drama, the finer arts, for the crystal clearness of his style and its wonderful vigour and vividness, for the model he has set before them of English pure and undefiled."—C. E. Montague: *A Memoir*. By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto & Windus, 1924, p. 266.

We may transfer this well-spoken eulogy word by word to *Gardiner* himself. Scott then referred to Montague as an author :

"Only in his books does he become completely himself. Montague has lived both lives, the life of the journalist and the life of the author—he has lived them hard, and he has lived them together. The paper of the day must die with the day, but its work, if well done, as Montague has done it, does not die ; it enters into the life of the nation and helps to direct its mind and shape its destiny."—*Ibid.*, pp. 266-7.

This tribute also can be applied to *Gardiner* *verbatim*. *Gardiner* lived in his books much more than Montague did. Montague's passion was at white heat even while writing the day's leading article in his paper or the notice of the previous night's play in the theatre. This cannot be said of *Gardiner*. He had always an eye to the future and practised a wise economy in his day-to-day work. While not stinting his service to the *Daily News* he looked farther ahead than most working

journalists do. He was an author first and a journalist afterwards.

IX

I have brought in these names—of Scott, *Spender*, *Massingham* and *Gardiner*, that is—with a view to pointing a moral and adorning a tale. They were journalists as well as scholars. Journalism, we may concede, is a lesser thing than authorship. In addition, it has the supreme disadvantage of being evanescent : it has its hour and then ceases to be. It is as fleeting as the raindrops on a widow-pane or as dictators in a South American Republic. Yet, because these four possessed minds that could transcend the hour they built for themselves monuments, not, indeed, of "storied urn or animated bust," but monuments much more permanent—monuments that reside in the recesses of thankful hearts. These names, however, do not, by any means, exhaust the list. Brave men lived before, as well as since, *Agamemnon*, and the ranks of English journalism were never devoid of illustrious personages, though they might not, intellectually speaking, have attained quite "the thews, the stature, bulk and big assemblance" of the Big Four aforementioned.

There was C. E. Montague, for instance. He was, if not "the noblest Roman of them all," a Roman, nonetheless, "of the same like," as the Scots would say. When he retired from the *Manchester Guardian* he left a legend behind him, a legend of his journalistic accomplishments. He was eminent both as a scholar and as a journalist. His writings were masterpieces of composition. The esteem in which he was held by his brethren of the craft can be glimpsed from the exquisite tribute paid to him by his father-in-law, C. P. Scott, which I quoted a few paragraphs earlier. Thus does Royalty salute Royalty. Montague was passionately in love with good writing and never grudged the time he gave to it. He was, by the example he set to others, responsible in no small measure for the general raising of the standard of journalism in his day.

X

Next to Scott himself the *Manchester Guardian* owed the greatest debt to him. It was a rare privilege, indeed, for anyone to be able to boast that he learnt journalism at the feet of such acknowledged masters as Scott and Montague. The late Mr. James Agate never tired of bestowing his meed of praise on "C. E. M." He would break off in the middle of a sentence and sing a hymn to the greater glory of that inimitable artist in words. And Mr. Agate could, in this matter, "tell a hawk from a handsaw."

In his *Eyo* (the first of the series) Mr. Agate gives us this delicious vignette of Montague :

"One went into Montague's little room at the *Manchester Guardian* office and found him standing at a sort of writing pulpit, apparently, in view of the intensity of his attention, to you, utterly idle. Yet he was probably in the middle of a piece of pyrotechnics in comparison with which the virtuosity of concert performers are mere runlights. Next morning, when you read your paper, you

realised that you had broken into the middle of some Liszt-like but purely English rhapsody, that the Great Man had stopped in the middle of his soaring octaves, suspended his performance to listen to your futilities, bowed you out, and resumed his passage at the demisemiquaver of his leaving off."—*Hamish Hamilton, 1935, p. 45.*

XI

I have mentioned the name of H. W. Massingham. To my mind he was the greatest journalist that England has ever produced, the like of him we shall never see again. His fondness for literature was a by-word among his colleagues. As for his prose style mere words cannot describe its matchless beauty: the panting pen toils after it in vain. About his sense of literature his colleague, the late Mr. H. W. Nevinson, tells us:

"As I said, the creation and steady maintenance of the literary page on the old *Chronicle*, and of the strong literary side upon the *Nation*, so long as he remained editor, were characteristic. He never tolerated the fashionable separation of literature, or of any other form of art from actual daily life. His mind was keenly alive to beauty in nature, in pictorial art, in the drama, and especially in literature; but he detested the conception of an exclusive and cloistered beauty as a peculiar privilege of aesthetic and literary circles."—*H.W.M., Cape, 1929, p. 154.*

XII

I have written enough to indicate how a journalist is the better for at least a modicum of scholarship. All the great figures of English journalism were scholars, at any rate to a larger extent than we in our hapless country have any idea of. The journalist who comes to his profession *via* literature is any day bound to be head and shoulders above the journalist who comes *via* something else. Even when writing on the sterling balances or on that fantastic "Plan" to which Lord Mountbatten has given his august name a sense of literature never comes amiss. The share that the world's masterpieces have on that quicrest of all trades, journalism, is incalculable. It is not the extent of one's knowledge that is the criterion but the wise assimilation of the little that one has contrived, in a busy life, to amass. It is not necessary to be a walking encyclopaedia. The gist of the matter was put by Milton thus:

" . . . Who reads

*Incessantly and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior
(And what he brings, what need he elsewhere seek ?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep-versed in books and shallow in himself."*

O:—

ENCROACHMENTS ON PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY IN THE NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

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It is the Government of India Act of 1935 that for the first time definitely laid the foundation of federation in India and for the first time in our history, we worked and enjoyed 'Provincial Autonomy' during the last ten years (1937-1947). Provincial autonomy and federation mean that the provinces or the constituting units would enjoy complete self-government within the frame-work of the constitution, that is with regard to certain subjects that are specifically allotted to the provinces. In technical language, federation would recognise the splitting up of the sovereign power between the Centre and the Units, each being entirely equal to and entirely independent of the other in their respective spheres. Whatever might be the merits or demerits of this type of government, Indians have accepted this since 1937 and worked it enthusiastically for the last ten years and even zealously fought for it whenever the Centre tried to interfere with it. (The most notable case was when the Premiers of U. P. and Bihar threatened to resign when the Centre tried to interfere on the question of the release of defensus in 1938).

Having seen the taste of such autonomy, the people of India are now expecting only a sort of a federal government for India. This was the principle accepted by the Constituent Assembly and we expected the

Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly to keep 'Provincial Autonomy' safe while framing the new constitution. But unfortunately the Drafting Committee have not cared to bear it in mind, and, wittingly or unwittingly, they have produced a constitution that would give the Centre ample power to interfere in provincial matters, so much that the right of the people of the province to rule themselves according to their own wish within their sphere and by an executive of their own choice has been completely taken away from them. I want to give a few such instances with the hope that it will attract the attention of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

Such encroachments on Provincial Autonomy could be seen in the following instances and articles:

- (i) The name of the State.
- (ii) Selection of the Governor.
- (iii) Declaration of the 'Emergency' by the Governor.
- (iv) Impeachment of the Governor.
- (v) Amendments to provincial constitution.

THE NAME

Article One of the Draft Constitution says that "India shall be a Union of States." The Draft Committee assure us that there is nothing in the name and it does not in any way interfere with India being a federation. But if there is nothing in the name at all,

why suggest a suggestive name and tell us it means nothing. From the general comments made in the Press on the Draft Constitution, the intention of the Committee seems to suggest that India should have a strong centre. Now among the federations of the world, some are strong and some are weak, in the sense that in a strong federation the bonds of union are tight and inelastic, i.e., the respective spheres of activity are rigidly laid down without any possibility of encroachment by either, any dispute about the interpretation of any point being left to be decided by the Courts. In such a category come the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Australia. Among the weaker federations could be mentioned the Union of Canada and the U.S.S.R., if the latter could be called a federation. Another feature of a strong federation is that the residuary powers should be left with the units as it is done in the U.S.A. In Canada the residuary powers are vested in the Centre. Is it an accident that where the units are weak when compared with the Centre, the country is called a Union? The residuary power in India vests with the Union.

THE SELECTION OF THE GOVERNOR

Article 131 of the Draft Constitution prescribes the way the Provincial Governor should be selected. Either—there is an option here—he is elected by the adult voters of the province directly, or he is appointed by the President of the Indian Union from among a panel of four candidates elected by the Provincial legislature by proportional representation with a single transferable vote. In either case the Governor need not belong to the province itself, it is enough he is a citizen of India and otherwise not disqualified. The Governor is the chief executive of the province and all acts of the government shall be carried out in his name, though, except when he could act under his discretion, he is to be guided by the advice and aid of a cabinet of ministers. The Governor, though the authors of the 'model constitution for the provinces' (a sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly with some of the Provincial ministers as members) intended to be a mere 'nominal' or 'constitutional Governor' like the English King or the French President, has certain powers with regard to some 'emergency' situations and tribal areas. That he could be an outsider to the province, and, if the second alternative is accepted, that he could be indirectly elected and then selected by the President, is the first encroachment on provincial autonomy. Why not make the provision that the Governor should belong to the province itself. The authors of the original scheme suggested that an outsider would be impartial; but would he not be indifferent also? Another suggestion was that, though the provision was there, the adult voters of the province would not ordinarily elect an outsider, nor the members of the legislature. But this is not a safeguard. If a central party in power selects a name for the Governorship and the province does not elect him,

there might be all sorts of troubles for the province, as evidenced by the experience of Madras when Prakasam was elected Premier against the advice of the Congress High Command.

If the Governor is really a 'nominal' one, then it does not matter if he is an outsider or not. But the Governor in the future constitution is not at all nominal. He is the watch-dog of the provincial peace and tranquillity and when 'a grave emergency' arises he has to act promptly and, in this connection, he has sweeping powers, as we shall see presently. There are three kinds of nominal executives in this world today. One is the hereditary king of England who remains nominal by historical necessity and expediency. The second is the Governor-General of the Dominions appointed by the King of England and made nominal by law. Another is the elected (by the legislature) President of France who is also made nominal by law. He is given no powers and, though the Government is carried on in his name, every decree of his should be counter-signed by the concerned minister. Now the Indian Provincial Governor is not nominal in this respect and that is the real beginning of all trouble. Hence it is that he should be a citizen of the province and should be chosen by the province itself. Why should, if the alternative is accepted, the nominal and indirectly-chosen President of India have any power to select the Provincial Governor? This is not democracy.

'EMERGENCY' POWERS

Now let us see the provisions relating to 'emergencies'. Article 188 of the Draft Constitution says as follows:

"If at any time the Governor of a State (the provinces are also called states in the new Constitution) is satisfied that a grave emergency has arisen which threatens the peace and tranquillity of a state and that it is not possible to carry on the Government of the State in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, he may, by proclamation, declare that his function shall, to such extent as may be specified in the proclamation, be exercised by him in his discretion, and any such proclamation including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of this constitution relating to any body or authority in the State.

Provided that nothing in this clause shall authorise the Governor to suspend either in whole or in part the operation of any provision of this constitution relating to High Courts.

(2) The proclamation shall be forthwith communicated by the Governor to the President who may, thereupon, either revoke the proclamation or take such action as he considers appropriate in exercise of the emergency powers vested in him under Article 278 of this constitution.

(3) A proclamation under this article shall cease to operate at the expiration of two weeks unless revoked earlier by the Governor or by the President by public notification.

(4) The functions of the Governor under this Article shall be exercised by him in his discretion."

We do not know what kind of 'emergency' the authors of the original 'model' constitution had in their mind when they gave this power to the Governor which they ordinarily hope to be revoked within two weeks. This Article is the counterpart of Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935; and it is left to the discretion of the Governor to declare an 'emergency.' We are familiar with the abuse of Sec. 93 in India so far. In a democracy and under independence, we cannot imagine a situation when the majority would have refused to shoulder power and form a cabinet, the only contingency which was under contemplation when Sec. 93 was added to the 1935 Act. It would be impossible to imagine a normal situation that would compel the Governor to use this Article, but that is not my point here. My point is that when he uses that power under his 'discretion', he is made responsible to the President of the Union. One may say that this is a safeguard against the misuse of power by the Governor but this might also lead to abuses under certain circumstances similar to those that existed in the N.-W. F. Province after the 15th of August, 1947. Suppose the Governor and the President happen to belong to one party and the majority in the Provincial legislature happen to belong to another. Will it not give ample power to the Governor to coerce the majority in the Assembly?

Unfortunately the future of the party position in India gives enough scope to the Governor to play mischief. I visualise a situation in certain provinces, especially those with more than one provincial language to have many parties in the Assemblies, with no party having a clean majority. So the Governor could easily take advantage of this fluid position and with the help of the so-called 'independent' or unattached members make or unmake ministries according to his own convenience, as it happened in Sind and Bengal many times. But my main question is why should the Centre have any power to interfere in provincial politics? If the normal constitution fails, there is ample provision in the Draft for the Governor to act. If the crisis is a minor one, he can dismiss a Ministry and appoint another and face the legislature, or, if the crisis is a major one, he can dissolve the Assembly and order fresh elections, in a democracy. The electors are the final arbiters in such a matter. It is their business to select their provincial executive; but, instead of recognising their final and sovereign power, the authors have given that power to the President of the Union, who is another 'nominal' institution that is indirectly elected. And what happens to the province if the President agrees with the Governor is covered by Article 278 of the Draft by which the President may assume to himself the powers of the Governor and the Ministers and the Parliament (the legislature of the Union) may assume the powers of the provincial legislature. With this the picture is complete and any party that has

a majority in the Centre can easily coerce a Provincial Ministry run by any other party. Even if this may not be normally used, this is a mischievous contingency which we have to reckon with under conditions like those existing in the N.-W.F. Province after partition as I stated earlier. This reduces Provincial autonomy to a farce. Of course, it is true that there is no provision in the Draft for the President to take the initiative in the matter, but the authors welcome a Governor who does not belong to the majority party in the Assembly and then give him this power so that he would himself be interested in taking an initiative. It is ridiculous that under any conditions a province should be administered by the President and the Parliament and this should be remedied by the Constituent Assembly.

IMPEACHMENT

Suppose a Governor misuses his powers and resorts to emergency powers and so on, the Draft provides for impeachment of the Governor for violation of the constitution. It is the business of the legislature to judge whether the Governor has violated the Constitution or not. Article 137 deals with this problem and it runs as follows :

Art. 137 (1) When a Governor is to be impeached for violation of the constitution the charge shall be preferred by the Legislative Assembly of the State.

(2) No such charge shall be preferred unless—

a. the proposal to prefer such a charge is contained in a resolution which has been moved after a notice in writing signed by not less than thirty members of the Assembly has been given of their intention to move the resolution, and

b. the resolution has been supported by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the Assembly.

(3) When a charge has been so preferred, the speaker of the Assembly shall inform the Chairman of the Council of States and thereupon the Council of States shall appoint a Committee which may consist or include persons who are not members of the Council, to investigate the charge and the Governor shall have the right to appear and to be represented at such investigation.

Look at the cumbersomeness of the procedure and the delay that might be caused. Dirty linen is washed in public at least three times during the process, first before the Assembly presumably by the Ministers, and next before the Council of States (who washes there is not known and also is not known whether such a resolution passed before by the Assembly should make the Council of States automatically to appoint an enquiry committee or the Council will again sit in judgement) and before the final committee. Nobody suggests that an impeachment should be a cheap one and should be resorted to as often as the Ministers and the Governor quarrel; but, if it is found that the Governor is really violating the constitution, some effective remedy that will act as early as possible is required, because, otherwise as it is, it is not likely that

any impeachment proceedings would be finished before the lifetime of a Governor. Again the question of violating the constitution is a legal matter that deserves to be examined by a committee of legal experts, but our Draft Constitution has made it a political matter throughout, unless the Council of States is wise enough to appoint a few legal experts on the committee. Why not refer the matter to the Supreme Court and, if necessary, appoint a few jurors also for the hearing?

Another question which is much more of importance for us now is why bring in the Council of States? The Council of States in India by no means corresponds to the Senate in America, nor does it possess the powers and functions of that body. To what extent the Governor of a province has violated the constitution is a matter in which primarily the province alone is interested, and as long as the Governor has got at least one more than a third of the members of his party in the Assembly, he need not be afraid of any impeachment at all! I will picture to you some circumstances and you tell me what you can do if you are the chief minister of a province. There is a Governor in a province appointed by the President of the Union and the Governor has a third of the members of the House belonging to his own party. Now he begins behaving in an unconstitutional manner with a view to end the ministry and bring his own party to power. Now what will you do to remedy the situation? The Chief Minister cannot go to court as under the constitution whatever advice he gives to the Governor or whether the Governor is acting accordingly or not is not matter for the courts to investigate. Look at Article 143 which runs as follows:

(1) There shall be a council of ministers with the chief minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.

(2) If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter as respects which the Governor is by or under this constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion.

(3) The question whether any and if so what advice was tendered by ministers to the Governor shall not be enquired into by any court.

Clauses 2 and 3 are copied from the Government of India Act 1935. They were incorporated there in the 1935 Act by an alien government ruling over India to strengthen the hands of its Governor, who was endowed with extraordinary powers and 'special responsibilities' against a popular ministry hostile to the Governor. Our Governor now is not an alien nor has he any 'special responsibilities.' Then why blindly copy these provisions from the 1935 Act? A straight enunciation of the functions of the Governor 'in his discretion'

(which should be as few as possible and should be the normal constitutional requirements like the appointment of a ministry and its dismissal, etc.) and provision of a constitutional requirement that every other decree of the Governor should contain the counter-signature of the concerned minister as in France, or the chief minister, would be a better arrangement than give the Governor ample discretion to act 'in his discretion' and then make it impossible for any court to sit in judgment.

What is, then, the constitutional remedy for the Chief Minister of a province if the Governor exceeds the provisions of the constitution? He cannot go to a court nor can he think of impeachment. Now impeachment is not a normal remedy and should not be resorted to ordinarily. And again for a sufficient case to be made up the cup of sin must be filled sufficiently, i.e., the Governor should have violated the constitution many times. This means that the Governor could easily over-ride the ministers in some cases till his cup is full, and, even then, he is safe if by doing so he is pleasing more than a third of the disgruntled members of the Assembly. Even if the Chief Minister is able to cross over these hurdles, then he has to please the Council of States who also should be satisfied with his case. We do not know who represents the case of the Chief Minister in the Council of States and who the case of the Governor. But there is every likelihood of the Council of States taking a different view, either on grounds of indifference (as provincial matters, specially of small provinces, may not evince much interest to the Council) or on political grounds. If that hurdle also is crossed, then comes the final enquiry, and meanwhile either the term of the Governor is over, or that of the Ministry, and again meanwhile the Governor could have done enough mischief.

The truth is that it is dangerous to give so much discretion and emergency power to the Governor, make it impossible for a Court to enquire and make a puppet second chamber of India to sit in judgment whether a committee should or should not be appointed! The best and democratic way is different. In a real democracy it is the people of the province that should decide whether they want the Governor or the Chief Minister if there is a tussle between them, and so the appeal from the Assembly should be to the voters of the province but not to the Council of States. The Drafting Committee have not taken into consideration such democratic devices as the initiative and the referendum. The Draft creates a dual executive in the province in the Governor and the Chief Minister and also a number of opportunities for quarrel between an undemocratic and ambitious Governor and a powerful Chief Minister with a majority in the Assembly, and, if there is a real tussle for power between them for leadership and differences soon arise, the sooner one is removed the better and option to choose between them should be left to the people of the province and to nobody else.

AMENDMENT

In a real federation based upon democracy, the people of a federating unit have full sovereignty as far as the provincial sphere is concerned, and, as such, they should have the full power to decide the way they would like to rule over themselves. Article 304 of the Draft Constitution deals with the problem of amending the constitution and provides the following :

i. Where the question of amending the constitution of India or the provinces as far as the Executive and the Legislature is concerned, the passing of the amendment in the parliament is enough.

ii. If it is a question that involves the allocation of subjects between the provinces and the centre, or the representation of the provinces or States in the Parliament, or the powers of the Supreme Court, the amendment should be passed, in addition, in at least a half of provincial legislatures and a third of the Chief Commissioners' provinces.

iii. Where the question of only the method of choosing a Governor is concerned or the number of houses of legislature, an amendment could emanate in the province and then it should be passed by the Indian Parliament.

Here again there is an encroachment on provincial autonomy. Why should the Centre have the right to amend the constitution relating to the provinces? One may say that it is to ensure uniformity. Now there is no special advantage in having a uniform constitution for the whole of the Indian provinces. We have already reconciled ourselves to three kinds of 'States' as the Drafting Committee call all the units of the federation,—to what are now called Governor's provinces, Indian States, and the Chief Commissioners' provinces and a fourth one if their suggestion for the rule of the merging states is accepted. The Constitutions of the Indian States are not uniform and not subject to the will of the Indian Parliament. Why should there be uniformity among the provinces. Suppose the people of a province are dissatisfied with this cabinet system of government (where there cannot be a stable ministry for want of clear majority as in France) they should have the power to amend their constitution within the general framework to suit their purpose, to choose the American presidential type or the Swiss federal type. In any case it is better to leave it to them as it is they that feel the inconvenience of a bad constitution.

Again the Draft Constitution is not clear if the Parliament could amend the constitution of the provinces or not on its own initiative and, more important than that, if the Parliament could initiate amendment of the constitution of any single province. If the provision is so sweeping, and there is nothing to prevent us from interpreting it so, then it means complete subordination of the province to the Centre which is again undemocratic and 'unfederal,' if I may call it so. Again it may be used to coerce 'rebel' provinces.

CONCLUSION

I have come to the end of my article. I have tried to prove here that the Centre has been given too many over-riding powers over the provinces and provincial autonomy has been encroached upon in many respects. I agree that there should be 'checks' and 'balances' in a constitution, but the Drafting Committee have tried to get them from the wrong direction. The proper check and final arbiters in any constitutional matter are the voters. Instead of looking in that direction, the Drafting Committee are looking in the direction of the Centre which is a negation of the principles of democracy and federation. Such encroachments on the spheres of the provinces by the Centre, though normally intended to cover extraordinary situations, might also be used for political ends and that is a contingency which we cannot ignore, for, after all, morality and politics do not always go together. I do not for a moment deny that India should have a strong Centre or that it should not have the power to make the provinces follow its policy in extraordinary situations like war, etc. But for these purposes we can make other constitutional provisions. Already the Seventh Schedule (the schedule dealing with the list of Provincial and Central subjects) is strongly in favour of the Centre and there is also the provision that the Centre could declare an emergency. That is enough for an emergency. But under normal circumstances, and within the limited and clearly defined provincial sphere, the Centre should not have any voice. There is no justification for it and it is undemocratic.

My careful study of the working of Provincial autonomy in India under the Act of 1935 and the study of the Draft Constitution in the light of that makes me suggest the following to be incorporated in our future constitution:

i. The Governor to be elected by the majority of the Legislature. He should have no 'special responsibilities' and his powers 'in his discretion' should be limited to the normal constitutional requirements like the appointment of Chief Minister, etc., on strict democratic lines.

ii. The Governor could be recalled by the people on the initiative of the legislature.

iii. The emergency powers should be used by the Governor for only a short period to enable him to dissolve the Assembly and appoint a fresh Ministry. The appeal should therefore be to the Provincial voters and Article 278 that gives powers to the President and the Parliament to assume control over the Province should completely be dropped. Excepting this and other of the limited discretionary powers, every other act of the Governor should be countersigned by the Chief Minister.

iv. The Centre should not have the power to amend the Provincial constitutions without their consent and in pure provincial spheres, every province should have the power to amend the constitution by direct democratic devices like the initiative and referendum.

COMMUNISM IN MALAYA

A Menace to Indian Labour

By Dr. C. SIVA RAMA SASTRY,
Ex-Medical Officer, Congress Medical Mission to Malaya

THE PRESENT SITUATION

A wave of unprecedented indulgence in murder and loot by politically inspired terrorists has created a new situation in Malaya. The terrorists are believed to be Chinese communists exclusively. Perak and Johore areas are the worst affected by these gangs. The total number of murders of businessmen (Chinese) and estate managers (British) has mounted up to over twenty since the beginning of May.

Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, has stated that international communism is playing an important part in this unrest. From what I studied at close quarters, I have no reason to disbelieve his statement.

Mr. Creech Jones, the present British Colonial Secretary, stated in the House of Commons on the 16th of June, 1948 that the Colonial Office was considering the use of troops to restore order in Malaya.

To combat what is described by the police as 'Chinese gangster members of a communist strong Arm-Corps, out to destroy the rubber and tin industries,' Sir Edward Gent, the British High Commissioner, has granted to the local authorities very extensive and arbitrary powers. What is the background for all this explosive situation? How far does it affect Indians in Malaya?

Though Indians have no hand in any of these crimes, it is unlikely that the Indian labour can escape the dire consequences that will follow the closure of plantations in Malaya which is inevitable if terrorism continues.

INDIAN LABOUR HIT MOST BY COMMUNISTS

Of the 7½ lakhs of Malayan Indians, 3½ lakhs are engaged as rubber tappers. Many others are working as wage-earning labourers in plantations and mines. In September, 1946, I brought it to the notice of the Government as well as to the A.I.C.C. the impending communist menace to Indians in Malaya.

The Indian labour did not yet fall by then into the communist trap. The reasons were not far to seek. Communists were controlling the better organised Chinese labour. On several occasions previously, these Chinese Communists dragged the Indian labour into strikes and managed to dump Chinese labour in their place at the most opportune moment. Further, most of the Indian workers were I. N. A. sympathisers and would not give up their nationalist sentiments. The Indian labour soon started to organise themselves into separate Indian trade unions. Thereupon the communists tried new tactics. This time they tried to buy off the Indian labour leaders with bribes; failing which they even wanted to use any force to win them over. If the communists did not actually harness by force any of the Indian labour leaders suc-

cessfully, it was because of the fear of any possible reactions by the Indian labourers.

There were still many Indian labour leaders with character who believed in compromise as the bliss of life. They used to organise strikes, where inevitable, and whenever these people settled strikes amicably and justly, taking into consideration the investments, returns, produce and other factors, the communists used to dub these people as the agents of the British planters and instigate the Indian labourers to finish them off. The labourers are illiterate and are apt to believe this.

To the communist, conflict and not compromise is the basis of life. He does not care whether the immediate annihilation of his own people and that of his own State takes place. If all States die, and Russia alone lives, world communism will be a reality and he will be happy. Every word and action of his is tuned to the foreign policy of Russia and the every principle of Stalinism for export are planned for this purpose.

The communists hitherto hoped to bring about revolution by making labour demand wages beyond the means of capital to pay. Now they seem to have chalked out a new plan. Murder of industrialists and businessmen and the consequent effects of terrorism are the surest and the easiest ways of creating anarchy and chaos. Out of anarchy and chaos, the communists hope to wade through to power. They must be made to realise that crime does not pay.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN MALAYA

In Malaya most of the agriculture is industrialised. This capitalisation of agriculture is a step preceding socialism (of the Russian brand) according to Stalinism. Fragmentation is uneconomical from labour's point of view. The murder of managers and businessmen will mean closure of the estates with the consequent unemployment of millions of labourers.

Further, the future of rubber is very shaky in view of the development of the synthetic stuff. Plantations and mines in Malaya require huge sums for remodelling so that they may recover completely from war damage. Malaya is entirely dependent upon foreign imports for the supply of foodstuff, clothes and other basic amenities of life. Any dislocation of the economic life of Malaya at this stage will bring about untold miseries not only to the industrialists but also to the common men, if Malaya fails to produce more.

Every planter knows that the Indian labour wedded as it is to ethics and morality, has no hand in the ugly gangsterism now prevalent in Malaya, yet it will be the lakhs of Indian labourers alone that will be wiped out first, if the plantations are closed and business comes to a standstill. The communists (Chinese mostly) will be safe. It is high time labour

is organised on a sound basis to save itself from the clutches of international communism.

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM RESPONSIBLE FOR LEFT REACTION

Capital tends to squeeze. The European planters should have been more liberal after war than what they were before. Several regional planters' associations unanimously passed resolutions to starve and subdue labour by prolonged lockouts where labour fought for the redress of their grievances. Labour did have serious grievances. Where appeal to reason and fairplay fails, labour will have no other alternative than to go on strike. The remedy for this is liberalism on the part of planters and not vindictive antagonism. The niggardly attitude of the planters drove labour into the other extreme. Ever since Lord Mountbatten left Malaya as a Supremo, the administration of Malaya fell into the hands of the most sinister right-wing rulers. Neither Mr. Gent nor Mr. Macdonald are the persons capable enough to view labour grievances dispassionately and with sympathy. In June last I received a letter from a lady controlling over twenty thousand labourers in Perak area stating that the labour policy of the Government was disruptive to the labour organisations in Malaya. Disrupted by the Government and oppressed by capitalists, labour, uneducated as it is, is very likely to fall an easy prey to the unscrupulous communist propaganda.

The Chinese labour has already fallen into communist hands. The Indian labour would have escaped and can still escape if it is allowed to organise on a

sound basis. The Indian political leaders are mostly the agents of Malayan Indian Chettiers. These Chettiers joined hands with the European planters to declare lockouts in isolated estates and starve labour if they demanded anything. As a rule the amenities offered by Chettiers to Indian labourers are less than those granted by other planters. They even planned to press the Indian Government to repatriate Indian labour so much so that the commercial interests are the exclusive Indian interests in Malaya. The Malayan Indian Congress, whose founder-president is today the Indian Representative in Malaya, is the *de facto* organisation of the commercial elements of Malaya. The Malayan Indian labour could not find either in this man or in other local Indian leaders people whom they can count as friends and guides.

THE PATH OF SAFETY

The path of safety for an Indian labourer lies in moderation and compromise and not in conflict and chaos. If Indian labour is allowed to drift with the wind, it is no use to repent at leisure for the dire consequences that will threaten his very existence.

The British Government must replace Macdonald with a more liberally minded man. The India Government must appoint a liberally minded man as its Representative in Malaya, one who can win the confidence of labour and lead them in the right path.

Malaya requires as no other colony does a group of trade union workers to organise its labour on sound lines. Will the socialists take up their cause?

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THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

By SUBRATA ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A. (CAL.), B.A. (CANTAB), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

At the Crimea and Berlin Conferences that were held in 1945, the Allied Nations in their exuberance of triumphant victory displayed a remarkable degree of unanimity that has since ebbed, disappointing millions. Broadly speaking their German policy was embodied in four "D"s—demobilisation, disarmament, denazification and deindustrialization. Since then a bewildering mass of conferences have been held in Paris, Moscow and London, but each one ended in a deadlock. Eventually on December 16, 1947, there came from London the big news of the final parting of ways between the East and West. The division of Germany became an accomplished fact. It is on this basis that the occupying authorities of the Trizonia—the U.S.A., British and the French—along with the Benelux Powers, have lately agreed in London on the creation of a state in Western Germany, which is destined to play a decisive role in the economic rehabilitation of Western Europe.

Ever since this tragic failure of the Russians and Americans to agree, the ordinary man in Europe, as elsewhere, has been dismayed at the disquieting scenes of cooperation and vilification, picketing and

recriminations, undignified abuse and bellicose propaganda, that are too frequently hailing from responsible sources in Moscow and Washington. Both sides are to share the blame. Marshall has obstinately refused a fair deal to Molotov in his reparation demands—the principle of which Roosevelt had so generously conceded. Molotov, on the other hand, would not budge an inch to make reparation removals compatible with the economic revival of Germany. Anyone ideologically separated from a Communist or fellow-traveller, even though a staunch anti-Nazi, and inclined towards democratic Socialism, is marked out in Russian eyes as a dangerous Fascist, and hence his liquidation is the indispensable price for Russian co-operation for a United Germany. The Americans have reacted equally violently and are bent on shielding a Government of the right, led by the Christian Democratic Union, which is avowedly capitalist in outlook, and inspired by the near-Fascist industrial bourgeoisie of Germany. Schumacher's Social Democrats who predominate in the British Zone are too impotent to change American policy which, as it appears, will eventually prevail over the Trizonia.

Barring the resurgence of a militant Germany is admittedly the declared aim of all the occupying Powers. But the gulf is widening every day between what is professed and what is performed. Four major symptoms are already visible which seem to indicate that once more in European history, German militancy may throw a menacing challenge to human civilisation. These are, failure of the re-education programme, discarding the plan for decentralisation, and survival of an industrial potential far in excess of peace-time needs, unchanged pattern of business ownership and the constitutional shape of the West German State.

Re-education in democratic ways is only a make-believe slogan, and rather more apparent than real. Drastic economic reforms in the Russian zone have made the path towards socialism an easy one, but it is socialism without democracy, as one pattern of totalitarian regime is being replaced by another. There has been no appreciable changes in the psychological set-up of the Germans in the Western Zones, and it is the experience of many recent visitors that the average man there still remains a Nazi at heart. What Hitler taught for years went deep into his mind, and a few splashes of democratic white-wash will not help him in his political re-birth. He now feels he has to play the role of a major partner in the Allied Camp, in case there is an armed conflict with the Soviet Union. This eggs on his military instinct, and that is a task after his heart's desire, for which he does not require much persuasion. He therefore asks for *quid pro quo*. The semi-official document prepared by Senator Harmssen for circulation in the Western Zones contains an emphatic assertion that the Germans are already being unjustly treated and that, as a matter of right, they should not pay reparations. This is the same tune as piped in *Mein Kampf*, and little Hitlers, obetinate, arrogant and entirely unrepentant, are just biding their times.

There survives in Germany an industrial potential far in excess of peace-time needs. The popular impression that the country is so devastated that she will take many years before she can reach her peace-time production level is not true. This is what Mr. Jacques Rueff, President of Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, observed, "The over-industrialisation of Germany for military purposes has created conditions in which, despite destruction and the exceptional wear-and-tear of war, there remains an industrial potential which in any case and no matter what may be the outcome of the present controversies, is vastly superior to the requirements of peace-time economy." The U.S.A. is bent on building up a strong industrialised Germany that will, on the one hand, help to check the Westward offensive of Russian Communism, and on the other, act as integral part in the economic recovery and military planning of Western Europe. This will, of course, segment American business prospects and has therefore obtained the blessings of John Foster

Dulles, the big brain behind the State Department. What is commonly known as Dullesisation of Germany really means a programme of thorough rehabilitation of the Ruhr industries, so faultlessly thorough that even the French have started quaking in their shoes at the thought of its dangerous implications. The French are aware of what happened under Dawesisation of Germany when, at the end of World War I, American, British and Dutch capital poured in to strengthen the German monopolies and international cartels which served as massive pillars of Hitler's regime. The political motive is now, as it was then, the creation of an anti-Russian front.

It seems therefore that there is no room for surprise that in the Bizonia, one of the agreed D's—deindustrialization—has been silently dropped. Many of the war plants scheduled in 1946 for immediate destruction have been preserved. Even the reduced dismantling plan is almost abandoned although, in Eastern Germany, the Russians have carried it out pretty thoroughly. Western Germany has a population of 45 millions as against 17 millions in the East. In the West are concentrated 86 p.c. of German steel, 80 p.c. of her coal and 61 p.c. of industrial production. The industrial resources of this part are only second to that of Britain in Europe, and it is mainly here and not in the Russian Zone, that one shall locate the potential danger of revival of a militant Germany.

The French have already given way on practically every issue. They wanted separation of Ruhr and Rhineland from Germany. This was not conceded. They asked for international control of the chief industries of the Ruhr. Here again they were disappointed. Now they are pressed by the U. S. to give up the idea even of an adequate control over the distribution of the Ruhr's output, except perhaps the allocation of exports of coal, coke and steel, and this takes away, as the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* observed, the last guarantee that the greatest industrial area in Europe shall not again become the anvil on which is forged a new aggressive German war machine.

International control of the Ruhr is meaningless without establishing a sort of balance of power inside the coal-iron-steel area of Western Europe, as suggested by Andre Geraud, which alone can take away German monopoly and equally distribute the productive power between interested countries in the West. The Germans will probably lose a number of blast furnaces and steel mills, but then, should they really need more steel for legitimate purposes, they can always get it from their neighbours. One great merit of this scheme is that it makes effective provision for international control of German industrial resources without however retarding economic recovery of Western Europe. This is not acceptable to the Americans and the French cannot be blamed if they smell a rat in dollar-financed rehabilitation of war

potential of the Ruhr. I gathered the impression of their extreme uneasiness when I visited Paris last year.

The old pattern of ownership is still there in Western Germany. It is true that North German Steel Control is decartelised. In other words, twenty companies have been detached from the parent steel union. But individual ownership still remains private and there is hardly any bar for them to recartelise once there is a little slackness in Allied pressure. Moreover, German assets abroad have been veiled and protected in order that the vested private interests may remain intact. It seems therefore that Bevin does not really mean what he says about socializing heavy industries in the Ruhr. The situation as it prevails has been well depicted by the special correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation*, "Heavy industrialists and financiers served in the highest posts of Hitler's Germany. They ran the country, they owned the State. In Western Germany today it is not a great exaggeration to say that they (or their strawmen) still own the state. The only difference is that they are not running it yet. Or not quite."

The constitutional shape of the West German State is a matter upon which every Frenchman I came across held a strong view. In the interest of their security the French are desperately trying for a loose federation of separatist and semi-independent Landers (Provinces or States) with a Centre holding the minimum of powers. It is their intention to prevent the Germans from waging another war—even though a war that it may again lose. The Americans, however, believe that economic progress is impossible

unless there is a fairly strong Central Government within the federal structure of the new State, and they are inclined to dismiss French apprehension as 'hyper-sensitive' in the same way as Lloyd George did after the end of the First World War. This is broadly speaking also the British view. The problem no doubt is one of degree, as the *London Times* recently observed, "An endowment of the Germans with full authority would risk the early emergence of persons and policies, that belong to the heritage of Hitler; the stinting of authority beyond the point at which the Germans feel themselves genuinely responsible for Self-government can only ensure lassitude and inefficiency."

From September 1, the Constituent Assembly of the projected West German State is expected to commence its function. An occupation Statute is likely to be introduced which will provide for Allied control in matters of defence and foreign policy. Be that as it may, the Russians have cleverly contrived to throw the burden of dividing Germany on to the shoulders of America and Britain. The Soviet-sponsored Peoples' Congress has already launched its unity campaign which in all probability will stir the imagination of the vanquished Germans. The Russians are also in a position to put unbearable pressure on the Western Powers to quit Berlin. They will probably make Berlin the seat of their 'real' German Government with powers actually confined to the East, but with an eye towards the West. Anyway, it is hard to believe that the political technique of partition which nowhere has worked satisfactorily will succeed in the case of Germany.

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NOTES ON THE MASANJORE DAM

By GOPIKABILAS SEN

The Masanjore Dam forms a part of the proposed Mor Project. For some reason or other, the execution of the Project seems to have been held up for some time. There are however certain facts relating to the area in question which the public should know, so that they can realise why the work should be undertaken at the earliest opportunity.

The facts presented below will prove that the portion of the Santal Parganas which will be involved, if the Project is undertaken, is economically tied more closely with Birbhum than with the northern districts of Bihar which lie adjacent to it. The parganas of Belpata, Muhammadabad or Karaya-Kundahit have very close trade as well as social relations with the district of Birbhum. This is true particularly of the original inhabitants of the area and not of the Santals, who are immigrants. The language of this particular region has been classified as a dialect of Western Bengali by Grierson himself. Historically too, the area under review formed part of the territory of the Pothuar Rajas of Birbhum, and was only torn

from the District for administrative reasons after the rising of 1855.

The present trouble due to which the Project is being delayed seems to be due to the fear that if a region which is now under the administration of Bihar prospers by association with Bengal, then the latter Province may one day claim the area as its own. The present writer is however interested in showing that, whoever may rule over the land in the present or in the future, there are various urgent reasons why the work should be executed as early as possible. Then Birbhum will prosper, (not at the expense of anyone else); and at the same time, the contiguous area in Bihar will share in that prosperity, as it is already sharing in the economy of the former district.

ORIGIN OF THE SANTAL PARGANAS

1. The first thing to note about the Santal Parganas is that it is not their Pargana; they are neither the original inhabitants of the district that today bears their name, nor do they constitute the majority of the population there even now. In the

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (Edited by Mr. O'Malley, 1910) it is written :

"The Santals seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Birbhum where they had been brought in to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known, but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in the Dumka Subdivision by 1819. . . . Between 1815 and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santals. In 1818, Mr. Sutherland found them busy clearing the forests below the hills in the Godda Subdivision ; in 1827, Mr. Ward noticed that they had settled in the extreme north of the Subdivision ; while a report of Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Damin-i-Koh 'inhabited by Santals and Bhuiyas but chiefly by the former.' Under the administration of Mr. Pontet, who was directed to give them every encouragement in clearing jungle, the Santals spread far and wide without much opposition from the idle Paharias, and even penetrated to the Burhait Valley in the heart of the Rajmahal Hills."

The aforementioned Mr. Ward wrote :

"There are within this described line two or three villages established by the race of people called Santals. These people are natives of Singbhoom and adjacent country ; their habits and customs are singular ; they are of no caste, extremely hardy and industrious, and are upon the whole considered an extraordinary race of beings. They emigrate from their own country to those districts which are known to abound most in forests, and where they are welcomed by the zamindars who invite them to settle. From choice they select the most wild spots, and so great is their predilection for the wildest places, that they are seldom known to remain at one station longer than it takes to clear and bring it into cultivation."

The migratory habit of the Santals is noted in the *District Gazetteer* :

"The tribe is still spreading east and north, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of semi-laterite known as the Barind. Dinajpur alone contains more than 48,000 persons born in the Santal Parganas, and Rajshahi and Bogra more than 8,000."

Mr. Carstairs who was Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas from 1886 to 1899, in his memoirs entitled *The Little World of an Indian District Officer*, writes thus of the Santals :

"But what of the Santhals? Where were they? That is the wonderful part of the story. So far as we know, at the time of the Permanent Settlement there was not a single Santhal in the whole of this area. Bhuiyas, Khetowries, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Highlanders—yes, but Santhals—no."

But even after the great migration, the Santals did not at any time form a majority of the population of the district. In 1901, they were only 36.6 per cent of the population (vide Census Report, 1901). The ancient

mahal Hills accounted for 4 per cent. The balance of 60 per cent or so was made up of Hindus and Muslims, Bhagalpur people in the north and Birbhum people in the south.

2. In 1855, the Santals rose in rebellion which was put down after an extensive military campaign. Among the causes that led to it were exaction of money-lenders and oppression of petty officials. Immediately after, as a measure of pacification, a new district called Santal Parganas was created. Out of its area of 5400 sq. miles roughly 3500 sq. miles were taken from Bhagalpur District, 1500 sq. miles from Birbhum, and 400 sq. miles from Murshidabad. The Bhagalpur portion went to form the Subdivisions of Godda, Rajmahal, the northern part of Dumka and a part of Pakur. The Birbhum portion (consisting of parganas Sarath-Deoghar, Pabia, Kundahit-Karaya, Muhammadabad and part of pargana Darin Mauleswar) went to form the Subdivisions of Deoghar, Jamtara and the southern portion of Dumka. The Murshidabad portion went to form a part of Pakur Subdivision. In the newly created district a special Non-Regulation system of administration was set up by Act XXVII of 1855 whose principles are summarised as follows :

"To have no intermediary between the Santal and the Assistant Commissioner ; to have complaints made verbally without a written petition ; to have all criminal work carried on with the help of Santals themselves."

Mr. Carstairs who worked this system for thirteen years in his memoirs comments thus :

"The Santhals were a minority of the people. They owned none of the land ; they did not trade ; they were looked down upon by the other inhabitants as little better than beasts. They had not even a reputation as fighting men ; and if they had any, they lost it in the rebellion. They had been living for fifty years under the ordinary law of the land. Yet for their sakes a new constitution was devised, to which not only they but all the other inhabitants were made subject. I call this a wonderful turn of events. There is nothing like it in all history."

But the legal cordon thus drawn round large tracts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts for the benefit of the Santal minority did not fundamentally alter the lives of the indigenous non-Santals, *Dikus* as they were called by the Santals, who continued to have trade and social relations with their friends and kinsmen across the new boundary.

ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE AREA IN QUESTION

3. For centuries Birbhum was a semi-independent principality on the border of the jungle country with its capital at Nagar (Rajnagar) first under Hindu, then under Muslim rulers. The Raja of Nagas took up arms against the British but was defeated in 1760. In 1770 was the great famine of Bengal. When the Permanent Settlement came in 1793, the Raja could not meet its demands and his extensive domain fell away. Birbhum in those days was much larger than the present district of that name. Major Rennel's map, based on his survey of 1767-71, which is accepted as

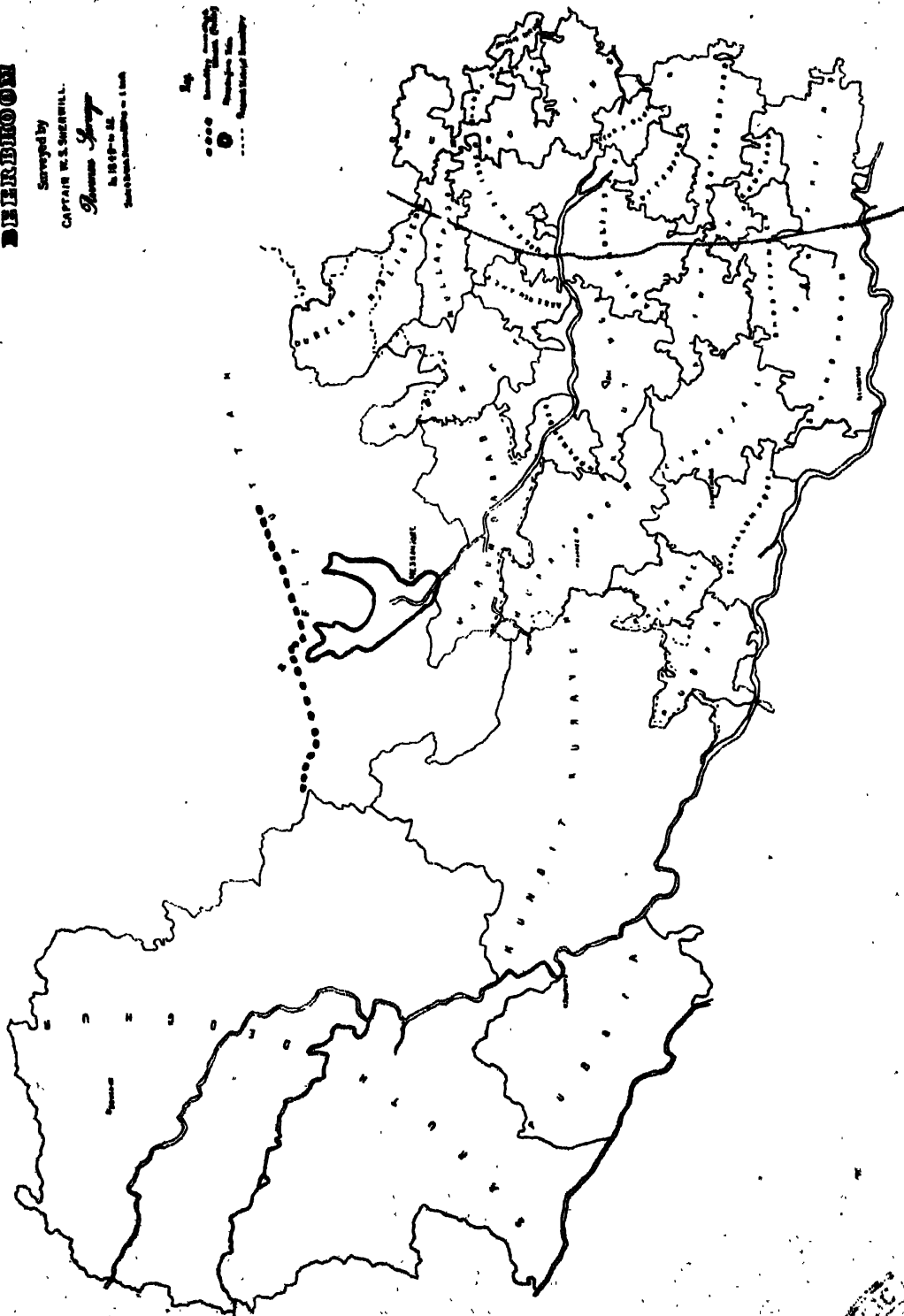
NOTES ON THE MASANJORE DAM

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INDEX MAP
of the District of
BERBICOM

Surveyed by
CAPTAIN W. S. SUGGILL
James Sugg
In 1904-05 A.D.
Scale 1 inch = 1 mile

Legend
--- Boundary of
--- Boundary of
--- Boundary of



ESTABLISHED
1884

Birbhum extended in the west to Deoghar and Jamtara, and on the north to Dumka including the pargana Belpata. According to Sheristadar Grant in his *Historical and Comparative View of the Revenue of Bengal*, published in 1788, quoted in the *Settlement Report of Birbhum (1924-32)*, the seminary of Birbhum consisted of 22 parganas covering 3858 sq. miles and assessed for the revenue-paying portion to a jama of Rs. 366,509 by Murshid Kuli Khan. Grant goes on to say :

"The remaining two-thirds proportion of territory were composed of the pergunnuhs Roony, Keltky and Selvor, Sarhaut, Gotby, Jamtara, Pauraw, Akerah, Cceeryah, Couhurb, Belputta, Buharrow, Nuary and Malurjore."

There were *ghatwal* tenures under the Nagur Raja for guarding the hill passes. In a suit decided not many years ago between the Raja of Hetampur and a tenure-holder in the Dumka area, the Privy Council has held that the latter was a "Birbhum Ghatwal", and entitled to the privileges that appertained to that office. That the parganas Sapath-Deoghar (1114 sq. miles), Pabis (179 sq. miles), Karaya-Kunduhit (406 sq. miles), Muhammadabad (133 sq. miles) and part of Darin Mauleswar (x sq. mile) were excluded from Birbhum as late as 1855 has already been stated. A map of the district prepared in 1852 by trigonometrical survey by Capt. Sherwill shows 33 parganas with an area of 3114 sq. miles. The proposed dam at Masanjore is to be built at the north-west corner of Pargana Muhammadabad where it meets Pargana Belpata. The dam will flood an area of 43 sq. miles between Masanjore and Dumka. All this is old Birbhum land. In point of fact, the village of Masanjore is in the Permanent Settlement Register of Birbhum.

THE AREA IN QUESTION : ITS CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

4. The Masanjore Dam is part of the Mor Project which aims at better utilisation of the water of the Mor river which drains the northern portion of Birbhum district and the central portion of Dumka Subdivision. It is, in fact, the Mor Valley Project although the Valley and Project are both comparatively small. In the upper valley is Dumka, in the lower valley is Birbhum proper ; both the headquarters towns Dumka and Suri are situated on the Mor and joined by a 28-mile metalled road. Two-third of the way up this road is Masanjore. The whole valley is one in culture and economy ; the district boundary runs through it almost unnoticed. People on one side of the line give their daughters in marriage to their castemen on the other side. There is trade in country produce, timber, silk-cocoons, and hand-spun cloth. The principal trade centres are Asanboni, Raniwar, Ranibahal and Dumka in Santal Pargana and Suri, Rampurhat, Mollarpur and Mahammad Bazar in Birbhum. Numerous bullock-carts carry goods between these bazaars. Inter-communication is made easy by the fact that the people of this area, including many Santals (who however use their own Mundari tongue at home) speak the same dialect of Bengali which Grierson has termed Western Bengali.

Speaking of Western Bengali, Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. V, Part I) says :

"Similarly, it is spoken in the Eastern and Southern portions of the Sonthal Parganas. . . . Here, however, it has no Aryan language with which to compete, as is the case in the Orissa Native States, except in a small tract south and east of Deoghur (Deoghar) where Bihari and Bengali overlap, the former being spoken by natives of Bihar, and the latter by natives of Bengal. . . . Finally, the Mal Paharias of the centre of the Sonthal Parganas have, like the Kharias, abandoned their own Dravidian tongue, and speak a corrupt form of the language of their Bengali neighbours."

BIRBHUM, WHERE THE EARTH IS THIRSTY, AND

MEN ARE HUNGRY

5. Much of Birbhum district is covered by undulating laterite ridges that rise in the hilly region of Chota Nagpur and extend eastwards to meet the Gangetic alluvial plain. The Settlement Officer in his *Report on the Settlement Operations in Birbhum (1924-32)* describes the soil thus :

"The soil is mostly covered with laterite nodules, while granite veins traverse the district at places running up on the surface for hundreds of acres in bleak barren plateaus which have not yet yielded to the efforts of man and made amenable to cultivation."

The Settlement Officer in another connection has said :

"If improvement in agriculture is to be expected irrigation will demand the largest attention."

With this kind of soil depending on chance rain, Birbhum has a long history of famines, the latest being in 1943. Since 1940, a total of Rs. 18,64,978 has been distributed as relief, the details of which are shown as follows :

Relief Expenditure in Birbhum District

Year	Amount
1940-41	Rs. 2,04,762
1941-42	Rs. 1,90,476
1942-43	Rs. 3,300
1943-44	Rs. 8,79,614
1944-45	Rs. 2,98,122
1945-46	Rs. 2,27,204
1946-47	Rs. 26,856
1947-48	Rs. 34,548

Rs. 18,64,978

Even in normal years Government is required to issue large sums in agricultural loan to allow the marginal cultivators to tide over their difficulty. The Mor Project is essentially for the benefit of Birbhum district. If the entire scheme (including the Masanjore Dam) is executed 853 sq. miles or one half the entire district (1752 sq. miles) would receive irrigation. Only 387 sq. miles of the irrigable area will fall in the neighbouring districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan. Without the Dam at Masanjore the irrigable area would be reduced to a fifth, and the spectre of famine cannot be banished under the circumstances. The Dam site is situated in a tract just across the district border which is really not distinct from Birbhum proper. The population of Birbhum district is over ten lakhs : the number of people who would be displaced by the

construction of the Dam is estimated at 21,000 souls (including only 9,000 Santals). The Bengal Government is understood to have made proposals for the rehabilitation of the displaced persons at considerable expenditure.

HISTORY OF PARGANA BELPATA

6. Belpata is a large *pargana* or *tappa* with an area of 452 sq. miles in the southern part of Dumka Subdivision. Low hills run from west to east. The river Mor flows across it from north to south and breaks through the barrier of the Belpata range at the southern end of the *tappa* near Masanjore. Before the advent of the Santals in the 19th century and the creation in 1855 of a special administrative jurisdiction for their benefit called Santal Parganas, what is now Dumka was in two parts, one, Pargana Handwe, with economic and cultural affiliations to the north in Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and another, *tappa* Belpata, with similar affiliations to the south in Birbhum. The dividing line between them ran a little to the north of the present town of Dumka. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* "Hendow" is listed under "Sircar Munger" while Birbhum is shown under "Sircar Mandarun" (Gladwyn's translation, 1897). Belpata was included in the Birbhum seminary. Sheristadar Grant in his *Historical and Comparative Views on the Revenues of Bengal*, published in 1788 (Fifth Report of the Select Committee, Firminger's Edition, Vol. II) gives details of the settlement made by Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan with the Raja of Birbhum (Nagore). He says:

"The remaining two-thirds proportion of territory were composed of the pergunahs of Roonhy, Kehtky and Selvor, Sarhaut, Gotby, Jamturrak, Pauraw, Akerah, Ceeryah, Couhurt, Belputta, Buharrow, Noney, and Malarpore."

Mr. (later Sir) Hugh McPherson in his classic *Report on the Settlement Operations in the Santal Parganas (1898-1907)* has thus summed up the position in the Dumka area in the pre-British days:

"That Godda-extra Damin together with tappah Handwe of North Dumka were mostly dependencies of Kharakpur in Akbar's rent roll, but rarely paid tribute to the Moguls as the parent estate was constantly at war with itself, or its neighbours or its overlords; that the southern half of Dumka and the whole of Deoghar and Jamtara formed that portion of the samindari of Birbhum which was unassessed till Kasim Ali became Subadar in 1760."

In Major Rennel's authoritative map (1767-1771) Belpata is shown as part of Birbhum.

7. When the Permanent Settlement was introduced in 1792, Belpata was recorded as one of the estates of the Raja of Nagore. The original register has been preserved in the Birbhum Collectorate. Soon after, in 1795, Belpata was separated from Birbhum in connection with the pacification of the Maler hill tribes in the neighbouring Rajmahal Hills. The transfer is mentioned in the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (Edited by Mr. O'Malley, 1910):

"Mr. Fombelle also succeeded in obtaining sanction in 1795 to the proposal that pargana Belpata should be transferred from Birbhum and brought under the hill system—a proposal made by

Cleveland some years ago—and also the hill portion of Pargana Nuni in the south-east."

The connection of the *tappa* with the Nagore Raj family, however, did not cease immediately. There is a document in the Birbhum Collectorate that certain lands in Belpata held revenue-free by the Raja of Nagore were resumed in 1800. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton has left a note written in 1810 on Belpata which is quoted in McPherson's Settlement Report. He wrote:

"Tappah Belpatta, originally part of Virbhum, on the sale of the Raja's estates, was purchased by Uttam Kumari, his widow, who is a sister of Raja Kader Ali. She is a lady much to be pitied as her husband's irregular and dissolute conduct prevented her from living with him and as his extravagance has ruined the family affairs."

8. Although Belpata was transferred from Birbhum to form part of a hill tract (now included in the Santal Parganas), in the final survey conducted by Mr. Ward in 1824-28 Belpata was left out of it. Mr. McPherson in his Settlement Report has discussed Mr. Ward's Survey. He says:

"What Government wanted was a compact estate covering the general hill tract occupied by the hill people. The same considerations were applicable in the case of Belpatia and Noony. Mr. Sutherland had said of Belpatta that with a mere nominal exception of Soondardih, where a few hill people had huts, there appeared to be no real hill inhabitants. . . . Pargana Noony had been added to the hill system in 1795 at the instance of Mr. Fombelle who discovered that some of the Ramgarh Hills in that pargana were inhabited by hill men, but both Belpata and Noony were integral parts of the Birbhum Raj, a fact recognised by Mr. Sutherland in 1819 and by Government in its Resolution of 1823."

Thus although Belpata did not serve the purpose for which it was separated from Birbhum, once the transfer had taken place it continued to form a part of Bhagalpur district, till 1855 when both Bhagalpur and Birbhum were partitioned to create the Santal Parganas. Capt. Sherwill's map of 1854 shows the position at that time. Belpata were included in the Santal Parganas, and the major portion of it, after many vicissitudes, passed into the hands of Rai Kamalেশwari Prashad Bahadur of Monghyr.

9. But the people of Belpata remain what they were, very similar to those of Birbhum. The Suri-Dumka road passes through Belpata. As one travels along the road, one sees similar cultivation and the same type of faces as in Birbhum. The large village of Kumrabad halfway between Masanjore and Dumka is hardly different from a village of the same size in Birbhum. Probably there are more Santals about, more *sal* trees, and the hills are nearer, otherwise it is much the same. And one hears all round the Western Bengali dialect of Birbhum. All the settlement records are written in Bengali. Mr. Gantser who conducted the last Settlement Operations (1925-32) writes in his Report:

"The proprietors of the Belpatta estate in Dumka subdivision applied to have the records of their South Dumka villages written in Hindi. All these applications were rejected."

STORY OF A GREAT BETRAYAL

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

The Home Department of the Government of Assam addressed the following communication to all their "Gazetted Officers" on the 25th June, 1947. It is reproduced verbatim.

HOME DEPARTMENT

Branch—Confidential

No. C.175-47-20

Dated Shillong, the 25th June, 1947.

From—Sir Harold Dennehy, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam.

To—All Gazetted Officers of the Government of Assam.

Sir,

I am directed to say that in view of the partition of India and the formation of the Governments of Pakistan and the rest of India in the near future, the Special Committee of the Partition Office, Government of India, New Delhi, appointed to work out the machinery for implementing the partition of India, has decided as follows:

- (1) Every Government servant, Indian or European, should be given an opportunity to elect the Government he wishes to serve;
- (2) Each Government servant should be asked to state at the same time whether he wishes to be given an opportunity to reconsider his choice within a period of six months from the date of the transfer of power.

2. I am to request the favour of your furnishing Government with your replies, *within one week of receipt of this letter* to the attached questionnaire in your own handwriting.

3. I am to make it clear to you that the representatives of the two future Governments mentioned above guarantee your existing terms and conditions of service.

QUESTIONNAIRE

(All answers to be in Block letters)

1. Name in full :
2. Service and/or Department :
3. Substantive appointment :
4. Present appointment :

Answers to all questions asked below should be in a simple affirmative or negative:

(All Government servants are assured that their existing terms and conditions of service are guaranteed by the representatives of both the future Governments).

1. Do you elect to serve Pakistan?
2. Do you elect to serve in the rest of India?
3. Is your choice final?
- *4. Is your choice provisional?

The provision made for exercising such a choice on the part of Government servants, from the highest to the lowest, is the acme of democratic self-determination. But this provision has been twisted by the Assam Government to serve its narrow purposes of securing the monopoly of services and contracts for their supporters of the Assamese-speaking community of about 25 lakhs in a population of about 70 lakhs; their *bete noir* have been the Bengalee-speaking community

* If your choice is provisional, you will have an opportunity to reconsider and indicate your final choice within a period of six months from the date of transfer of power. The provisional choice will not in any way prejudice your seniority or other conditions of service.

of about 35 lakhs belonging to the districts of Sylhet and Cachar attached in 1874 to the Brahmaputra Valley to constitute the administrative province of Assam with a view to pay its way. There was nothing unreasonable in this ambition if kept within proper limits; Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, rationalized it for us when he had said that "backward communities and groups are coming up in education and demanding their fair share in them." But what the Assam Administration and the cabal which upholds it have been up to has been demonstrated in and through what happened at Pandughat about five months back and at Gauhati in May last.

So, when the Bardoloi Ministry issued on behalf of the Central Government their intimation to their officers, the highest in the I.C.S. and the lowest as policemen and postmen, to exercise their "option" for one of the States—Indian Union and Pakistan—they, perhaps, did not realize the full implications of this device. But it did not take them long to grow to a consciousness that here was an opportunity to get rid of the Sylhetees in their services after the Sylhet Referendum had gone against the Indian Union; they welcomed it as a God-send to realize their purpose. So, we find them issuing a Cabinet Decision (August 13, 1947) through the member of the "Steering Committee" of Assam. It has to be remembered that the decision was taken after the Bengalee Ministers—Shri Basanta Kumar Das and Shri Baidyanath Mukherjee—had come out of it as a result of the Sylhet Referendum; the only other Bengalee Minister left being Janab Abdul Matlib Mazumdar of Cachar whose status in the Ministry was almost negligible. This new circular trampled under foot the spirit of all the assurances given on June 25, 1947. This decision was intimated to all concerned in a letter dated August 22, 1947. In it occurs the following:

"The Government decision is that any Government servant who is a native of or domiciled in the Sylhet district and is posted on 14th August, 1947 in Sylhet, should remain there irrespective of his choice to serve in any dominion and not be exchanged against an officer outside Sylhet—who may have opted for Pakistan The Government of Assam will take no responsibility for such officers after the 15th of August. Those officers who are natives of or domiciled in the rest of Assam and who may have opted for Pakistan will not be allowed for the time being to exercise their option to join Pakistan" (Separation office Letter No. SS 11 dated the 22nd August, 1947).

In Paragraph 3 of this letter the Government of Assam took occasion to describe their "policy" in respect of this personnel:

(a) Temporary personnel: The Government of Assam cannot give any guarantee as to continued retention. The Government of Assam will not appoint to permanent posts temporary Government servants who are natives of or domiciled in the parts of Sylhet district which form part of East Bengal.

(b) Permanent personnel: The Government of Assam do not undertake to retain in service

Government servants who are natives of or domiciled in the parts of Sylhet district now forming part of East Bengal in excess of their requirement and create blocks for local recruitment. The Government of Assam will, however, take up strongly with the Government of East Bengal the case of all Government servants of the above categories, both temporary and permanent, who opt for East Bengal so that the East Bengal Government may employ them and guarantee them the existing terms and conditions of service.

In the order requiring Government servants, natives of or domiciled in Sylhet, and posted on the 14th August, 1947, in Sylhet, that they "should remain there irrespective of his choice to serve in any dominion," particular care was taken to transfer from other parts of Assam as many Sylhetee employees as possible to Sylhet, so that they may be axed the more easily. We have known of cases where they were transferred to Sylhet as late as August 13, 1947. And the cup of their bitter disappointment was filled when the East Bengal Government refused to honour the pledge given by their Central Pakistan Government-to-be to Government servants as indicated in the letter of the Chief Secretary of Assam dated June 25, 1947. In the result, 1496 employees (including 422 temporary) were released from Sylhet by the Government of East Bengal. When at last, by their letter No. SS 11/94 dated December 6, 1947, the Assam Government decided to release the Pakistan choosers, their number rose to 1812. But 465 Assamese Muslims were not released, though choosing Pakistan *originally*, as they revised their choice in favour of India. No such revision from the Sylhet personnel in favour of Pakistan was accepted by the East Bengal Government.

This was not all. The Central Government of the Indian Union was misled by the Assam Government to make statements in this matter from which those made by the Premier of Assam, Sriji Gopinath Bardoloi, varied. Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru asked certain questions to which the Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel replied as follows on March 19, 1948:

1. "547 permanent and 185 temporary employees were released by the Government of East Bengal." —(Ans. to Q. 906).

2. "It was not a guarantee given to the employees of any Provincial Government . . . This is, therefore, a matter for the Government of Assam to deal with." —(Ans. to Q. 905).

3. "Government of India understand that the orders issued by the Government of Assam on 6th December 1948, (i.e. releasing Pakistan choosers at last) satisfactorily solved the problem created by their previous somewhat inconsistent orders." —(Ans. to Q. 905).

Sriji Gopinath Bardoloi gave a different story of these transactions in his reply dated April 3, 1948, to questions put in regard to these.

1. (a) Released by East Bengal—1496, including 422 temporary.

(b) Released by Assam—1812. 1553 Muslims and 259 Non-Muslims.

(c) 465 of these officers revised their option for

the rest of India after they were given the right to do so.

2. Government of Assam carried out certain instructions of the Government of India in this behalf and asked officers . . . the nature of option they would exercise on the basis of agreement between Pakistan and India whereby guarantees of service were given (Ans. 218(a)).

3. As a result of discussion with the Government of India this Government have accepted the principle that (i) vacancies created by options to Pakistan would be filled up by the permanent officers of Sylhet opting for India. (ii) The rest must be considered an excess to requirements in the province and would be dealt with under normal rules appertaining to retrenched personnel. —(Emphasis mine) (Ans. 221).

The opinion expressed by Sardar Patel that the problem has been "satisfactorily solved" appears to have emboldened the Assam Government to go forward more enthusiastically in their "evictions." Letter No. F.G. 45/48/1, dated Shillong, April 1, 1948, informed all concerned that, "Under Article 80 of the Assam Pension Manual, 3 months' notice of discharge with effect from 1st January, 1948, should be served on all the permanent released personnel who have not yet been permanently absorbed, stating clearly that due to the transfer of a major portion of Sylhet with its institutions their services will not be required on and from 1st April, 1948." And letter No. FG. 45/48/6 dated 5th of June, 1948, dashed the hopes of those who had been "temporarily absorbed."

"I am directed to say that as already instructed in this department letter No. FG. 45/48/1 dated the 1st April '48, permanent released personnel who were not permanently absorbed on or before 31st March '48 should be deemed to have been discharged on compensation, pension or gratuity as the case may be with effect from 1st April '48 irrespective of the fact that they were temporarily absorbed at that time, as they had no lien on any permanent posts on that date due to retrenchment of their substantive posts." —(Emphasis mine).

The story related thus far goes to prove that the assurance carried to Government servants in the letter of June 25, 1947, quoted in the first part of this narration, has not been honestly fulfilled by the Assam Government. And the Central Government submerged by the problems precipitated by Pakistan in West Punjab and in Kashmir have not found it possible to pull up "the men on the spot" on the other extremity of their Union. It may be that when the problem of 10 million people displaced from their ancestral homes, west and east, confronts the Union authorities and confuses them, the problem of a few hundred employees unjustly treated by a single unit of their Union appears to be small. But the betrayal of their hopes constitutes the drops that wear out the stone of the patience of many millions. And the Nehru Government has been ignoring the principle involved at peril to their own integrity. Dishonest or recalcitrant units should be called back to the decencies of social conduct. Otherwise disruption of morale is inevitable, leading to confusion unimaginable today.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NEW ASIA: By Dr. Kalidas Nag. To be had of the *Prajna Bharati*, 72, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is an opportune publication. Mankind must move towards greater and greater unity. That is a need which will be brought into more and more prominence with the march of time. The Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March, 1947, has prompted Dr. Nag to bring out before the public his thoughts and ideas on the different aspects of the problem of this large-hearted movement—thoughts and ideas which have already, to some extent, appeared as articles of various journals. Still, it is delightful to realise once again that our relations with Malayasia extend over so many hundreds of years or that Chanpa and Kamboj had inscriptions in Indian languages even as early as 3rd century A.D.

Advocates of Basic Education will note with pleasure Dr. Nag's views on their scheme which seeks to bring about a revolutionary chapter in the history of education in Asia. "The food and clothing industry for the 400 millions of Indians, properly co-ordinated with elementary and secondary education may evolve tremendous expenditures of energy and resources; but may, at the same time, repay in human dividends beyond calculation" (pp. 75-76). This is viewing things in their proper perspective. We wish our educational experts could take to such a human way in tackling their problems.

Additional attraction is provided for in the prefatory essay which appears under the name and style of Rabindranath Tagore but which is in fact a record of the symposium between the great poets and leaders of Iran and Iraq and our poet, near about 1932. There we find the *raison d'être* of this book: "In the East we must never forget to link up our educational institutions with the fundamental values of our undivided spiritual life; because that has been the great mission of our ancient universities, which, in spite of political vicissitudes, never allowed their vision of humanity to be darkened by racial considerations. Asia owes it to humanity to restore her spirit of generous co-operation in culture and heal the suffering peoples of the modern age, now divided by cruel politics and materialistic greed which vitiate even the citadels of education." Great words, uttered by our greatest mind: the subject is provocative, and the book serves to bring it forward to our notice.

P. R. SEN

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS: By Benoy Gopal Ray. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 5-4.

In this book we have an account of the life-history of some of the great men that the last century produced in India. In about eight to ten pages each, the life, activity and thought of such great men as Rabindranath

and his father, Vivekananda and his preceptor, Ram-mohan and Swami Dayananda, Keshab Sen and Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi have been condensed. Naturally the accounts have been somewhat meagre and superficial, if not scrappy. The author's merit consists in the fact that he has brought together a galaxy of great names.

In the restricted and technical sense of the term, none of them were philosophers. That implies no disrespect to the illustrious names. A great man is great in spite of the fact that he is not a scientist or a mathematician. Christ was not less than Einstein because he did not know the Law of Relativity and Buddha was great in spite of the fact that he showed no knowledge of the Differential Calculus. So Rabindranath is a great man and Gandhi is a *Mahatma* even though they cannot be called philosophers in the narrow sense of the term. Still, words have their fixed meanings and we should remember them when we use them.

We wish the author had devoted more space to the discussions of these great lives he has selected. And for the sake of accuracy and to avoid raising a wrong expectation in the reader's mind, we would also suggest a change in the appellation of the book.

DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY: By Shulley Rahameem. Distributors (not Publishers): New Book Company Ltd., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 3-14.

The author has given a shape to his name which obscures his race and nationality. And he has given such an appearance to his book—it is printed and got-up so well—that the inanities contained in it are strongly barricaded.

The book is a complete misnomer. It is neither a dictionary nor is there anything approaching philosophy. There are, however, a number of words chosen, more or less at random, with an ostentatious show of wisdom; and sentences are placed under them sometimes of two words, sometimes of three and sometimes of four, which purport to explain them. Thus we are told that an *Architect* is a "stone poet", a "chisel aristocrat" and so on. In the group of three-word sentences we have "global uncommon sense", "world civic sense" etc., as example of thoughts in three words. Thoughts in four words give us "The march of isolation", "The march of Purdah", etc.

Portions of the book are written in prose and portions in verse. And sometimes the sentences contain verbs and sometimes they do not. The whole book is a curious miscellany, a hotch-potch of thought and non-sense, a rabid display of hyper-activity of brain. The author expects that his book will have a tremendous sale in America. It is an atomic age and atomic sentences, i.e., sentences not fully expressed, will have the patronage of the country which holds the atomic secret. We wish him success. He invites all thinkers of the world to unite and to put down their thoughts on paper. If paper is

scarce, they are advised to put down their thoughts in the blank pages of our author's book, and he purposely left some pages blank. We wish all the pages were blank. That would have been more profitable to his purchasers as well as his reviewer. From what we have said above, the reaction of his readers after glancing at the pages of the book can better be imagined than described.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIA'S NATIONAL PLAN: By K. T. Shah; Vora & Co., Publishers, Ltd. 3 Round Building, Bombay 2. First Edition: May, 1947. Price Rs. 3-12.

Prof. K. T. Shah, Honorary Secretary, National Planning Committee, has discussed in this book the nature, scope and administration of a National Plan for India. The present volume has been published not on behalf of the National Planning Committee but on his own authority. It has history behind it.

The N. P. C. had begun formulating plans and schemes before government of the country came in Indian hands. The Interim Government took up the matter and appointed an Advisory Planning Board consisting of 14 members—officials and non-officials in equal proportion. Prof. Shah was also on the Board as Honorary Secretary. According to him, 'The approach of the Board to the problems referred to them was fundamentally different from the lines laid down by the National Planning Committee. Their conception of the scope, nature and purpose of a National Plan, the technique of its preparation and the mechanism of its execution and administration also differed radically from those which had influenced the Planning Committee on the problems of machinery.' The present writer differed in these matters from the majority of his colleagues and recorded his views in a Minute of Dissent to the Board's Report. This volume contains the substance of the Minute.

Prof. Shah, an economist of repute and an acknowledged authority on the subject, has discussed the problems of administration and machinery of National Plan in details. As the political and economic conditions of the country have undergone great and unprecedented changes since August 14, 1947, plans drawn up before that date need be modified in the light of later events and adjustments.

For clarity of ideas, thoroughness of details, soundness of views and minuteness of schematic presentation the present volume will be of great help when appropriate administrative organisation and machinery will be set up to put the National Plan into execution. A Schematic Chart at the end of the book has greatly enhanced its value.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

INDIA'S LEADING COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS: Published by the Secretary, All-India Commerce Association, Allahabad. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 8.

The All-India Commerce Association was formed in 1947 with Sir Padampat Singhania as its President and Prof. A. N. Agarwala of the Allahabad University as Secretary. The first Conference of the Association was held under the auspices of the Lucknow University in December last and papers were read on the following subjects: (1) The Indian Taxation Policy, (2) the Planning of India's Foreign Trade, (3) the abolition of Zemindary and (4) the Indian Railway Transport.

All the subjects discussed at the Conference are of supreme importance to modern India, free as it is today to shape and mould her destiny. Altogether there are three papers on Taxation Policy all equally good in their manner of approach: Prof. S. N. Agarwala wants to make all investments tax-free with a view to encourage industries to solve unemployment. Prof. Bireswar Ganguly wants a regular and substantial 'Capital Budget' of the state to solve the problems of industrial development and employ-

ment. Dr. K. C. Sarkar aims at no taxation of necessities of life and comforts. He also wants protection as a whole. On the Planning of Trade there are six papers. After the attainment of freedom our Foreign Trade must be reconstructed with a view to contribute the maximum benefit to the wants of the country. 'Favourable balance' with an export of raw materials should be a thing of the past and 'invisible imports' in any shape and form must be kept at the minimum. In one word Planning of India's Foreign Trade must be for India's interest and all state machineries, Exchange, Tariff and Taxation, must be applied to achieve this end. Prof. B. N. Chatterjee's and Prof. Om Prakash's paper deserve special mention. On the subject of Zemindary there are six papers. There are a few suggestions about the reconstruction of India's economy, particularly agriculture, after the abolition of Zemindary system. Agriculture is a great problem of Free India and on its proper solution depends the happiness and prosperity of millions. During British rule India had been forced to be an agricultural country for the supply of raw materials to Foreign Capitalists at the cost of industrial development and this state of affairs must now change and a new adjustment brought about in the economic structure of the country. Most of the writers recommend peasant proprietorship in the new order as socialization in fullest sense of the term may not be practical in our country. On the subject of Indian Railway Transport there are three papers. Indian Railways were not constructed for the economic development of the country for the benefit of Indians but for political and economic purposes in which British Imperialism was interested. So from the very beginning we have anomalies not only in the layout but also in the financing and administration of the Railways. However, now almost all the Railways are State-owned, thanks to the Great War and the adverse finances of the British Government. Now is the turn of India to utilize the Railways for her own economic development. Management, production of railway materials and equipments, tariff, all require thorough overhauling and a programme has already been laid down for improvement. All three papers prepared by Prof. V. V. Ramanadham, D. Pant and Sri Rama Murty deserve mention for dealing nicely with the different aspects of such an important subject.

We are confident that this volume will interest all students of economics and commerce and also the general public who are interested in these vital subjects.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BOMBAY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT (Act XXV of 1938): By Prabhudas Patwari and Prasannadas Patwari. Published by Chandrakant G. Vora, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad. 1944. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 8.

SUPPLEMENT to the above by the same authors. 1946. Pp. 88. Price Rs. 6.

This Act was enacted by the then Congress Ministry. It has proved a great success in keeping the relations of Labour and its employer harmonious, by settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration. The Act has been annotated not from the lawyer's point of view, but from the point of view of those who have to administer it, or those who are governed and are to be guided by its provision. In this object the authors have succeeded admirably.

BENARES AND SARNATH : PAST AND PRESENT: By Prof. A. S. Altekar. Benares Hindu University. Pp. 80. Price Rs. 1-4.

This small guide-book with many authoritative historical details of the temples and shrines will surely meet the needs of cultured visitors to Benares. The printing and get-up can easily be improved.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYA KATHA: By Srikumar Bandyopadhyay. *Saraswati Library, C18-19, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6-8.*

The author's erudition and critical acumen are widely admired and respected. This book contains thirteen essays in literary criticism, viz., Folktales, Vidyapati, The Poems of Vidyapati in Grierson's collection, The Newly Discovered Manuscript of Chandidas, Characteristics of the Novel and the Method of Its Judgment, Bankim Chandra as a Novelist, Shelley and Rabindranath, The Dreams of Rabindranath, Rabindranath's Prose-poems, Rabindranath's Last Series of Poems, Raja-laxmi and Kamal-lata, The Growth of Bengali Prose, The Nature of the Bengali Novel and Its Future. The index shows that topics cover a wide range. They are all marked by keen perception, catholicity of taste and balanced judgment. The discourses on Bankim and Sarat Chandra are profoundly interesting and the estimate of Vidyapati's *Kirtilata* throws light on an important, but little-recognised work. To all serious students of literature, this work will undoubtedly prove useful.

D. N. MOOKHERJEE

CHOTODER DABA KHELA: By Swami Santananda Bharati. *Calcutta Photo House. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-12.*

There is a paucity of books in Bengali on chess, and this small book, written for the beginners, removes a want. The printing and get-up is good. The author should have added a chapter on Bengali games of Aswachakra, Gaj-chakra and the diagrams are very useful for understanding the different moves especially to a beginner.

J. M. DATTA

HINDI

MUKTI KI MASHAL: By Tej Narain Kak. *Universal Publishing House, Shivchuranlal Road, Allahabad. Pp. 46. Price Rs. 2.*

Here is a sheaf of songs of the downtrodden and the defeated in life, and also of those who are filled with dark despair. But the poet inspires them, in the ringing verse and voice of faith, with cheer and self-confidence, telling them that in the spirit of Man there is something of the unconquerable hero who ultimately shall hew his way through bondage to freedom, through darkness to light, through poverty to plenty, and through misery to prosperity. This faith, therefore, should be revived and re-integrated in action so that the torch of freedom, handed down to him age after age, be passed on to posterity. The songs are marked by moving sincerity and spiritual strength. The get-up and printing are a credit to the publishers.

BHOJPURI LOK-GIT MEN KARUNA-RASA: Compiled by Durgashankar Prasad Sinha. *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad. Pp. 496. Price Rs. 6.*

Folk-songs have an abiding insight, emotion and interest. And there is in them that innocence of the eye and the heart which has preserved them from the ravages of time. Therefore, they will ever remain a source of inspiration as well as information to all alike—singers, scholars, saints and sons of the soil.

The present collection consists of Bhojpuri folk-songs, that is, folk-songs sung for centuries past in Bhojpur in the district of Shahpur in Bihar. The compiler, who has been engaged in the task of collecting them for nearly two decades, has now edited and annotated them with an ability and efficiency which are well worth emulating by others working in the same

field. If the folk-songs of each province were published in this manner we shall have a people's history of Indian civilization and culture. The *Karuna Rasa*, in which most of these folk-songs are keyed, is a synthetic sentiment; as such, it has overflowed into every human attitude and activity, specially of those who, like our villagers, have still kept up their spontaneity and sympathy of reaction to their environment and intuition. The compiler has done a great work and has so earned the gratitude of all lovers of the people. The publishers too, have achieved an unusual distinction in performing their particular part.

G. M.

GUJARATI

HAMARI JIBAN KAHANI: Translated from the English original into Gujarati by Mahadev Haribhai Desai. *Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Revised 3rd Edition. December, 1947. Price Rs. 6 only.*

It would be as much ridiculous excess to try to appreciate Pandit Nehru's autobiography at this time of the day as to paint a lily and to gild refined gold. His autobiography, which gives a history of contemporary times and is at the same time a history of Indian Nationalism, has been hailed with acclamation by his contemporaries, and, deservedly, Mahadev Bhair Desai, whose literary abilities were not in any way inferior in quality to his devotion to a life of sacrifice, had been the fittest person to render the English original into Gujarati. More than 20 thousand copies have been in demand. The book will be treasured not only by students of politics but also by students of Indian cultural life. The copious index will help the reader to use it as a work of reference as well. The Gujarati translation has marched hand in hand with the English original.

Every Gujarati would be proud of Mahadev Desai's legacy in this particular respect.

P. R. SEN.

DEENBANDHU: By Rasulbhai N. Volra, Baroda. Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 2.

Rev. Charles Andrews, who had dispensed with his religious orders and become a layman, had, as every Indian knows, devoted his life to lift up India in every way and for that reason, earned the surname of "Deenbandhu" i.e., brother or helper of the poor. Every Indian language should possess his biography. This is a translation into popular Gujarati by a Mohammedan writer of a Hindi version. It should be well received, we think, by the ordinary reader as the story of his life is very well told.

THANDE PAHORE: By Muni Kumar M. Bhatt, Bhamagar. Published by Padma Prakashan Ltd., Bombay. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 3.

"In the Cool of the Evening" is the title of this humorous book. People are inclined to relax at the end of the day and indulge in pleasantries. That is why this collection of 22 prose and 10 verse writings is named as it is. Humour, quiet and biting, subtle though laughter-provoking, peeps at one from every line of these writings and adds to the fame of the writer, as a humourist both in the platform and at the desk. A companion of his, an able first in the line, Jyotindra Dave, has written a Foreword, which brings into relief, both his own and Muni Kumar's latent powers of depicting wit and humour.

K. M. J.

China - India's cotton market of the 4th century



There is plenty of historical evidence to show that China was one of India's principal cotton markets in the fourth and fifth centuries. But the brainy Chinese were not satisfied with the trade; they also imported India's Churga Gin and improved it by replacing the hand crank with a foot treadle. The illustration, taken from a 15th century Chinese Encyclopaedia, shows the Chinese Gin in operation.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



What is Culture

P. S. Naidu writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

The spirit of our age is at war with itself, tearing its own body to pieces and paving the way for the final destruction of civilisation. When the situation is examined carefully, it is found that the disaster that threatens the whole world is due to the conflict of cultures. Aryan culture is arrayed against Semitic, White against Coloured, American against Negro, and Brahmin Aryan against Non-Brahmin Dravidian. The war of cultures is threatening to assume unmanageable dimensions. What, then, is this culture under whose banner so many peoples are preparing to take the field?

Cultural objects, that is objects that are believed to be the expressions of the culture of individuals or groups that have produced them, are diverse in their nature and wide in their extent. From the cave drawings and the stone implements of primitive man to the pyramids of Egypt and the Ajanta paintings and frescoes—it is a far cry indeed. Yet all these objects are equally representative of the respective cultures of their creators. And the Futurist and Impressionist drawings too! They represent a very significant aspect of contemporary culture. Philosophy, art and science, language and literature, music and dance, painting, sculpture and even food (according to an eminent sociologist) are expressions of culture. What is the significance of designating this bewildering mass of objects by a common name? There must be some unity among them justifying the common name. They express an inner something of which they are but different products.

Treatises on cultures—and their number is legion—are not very illuminating. They fail to orient us properly in the midst of the vast mass of facts of culture gathered by painstaking research workers. Taylor, the great authority on primitive culture, says: "Culture includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society." There is utter confusion here between culture and civilisation, and between such widely differing aspects of experience as art and knowledge. Moreover, there is an implication that culture can be acquired by man only as a member of society. When we turn from Taylor's *Primitive Culture* to the well-known *Encyclopaedia*, we find that they are not any more illuminating.

The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* tells us that the most essential element in the psychology of culture is that which relates to the intellect and the will, with the accompanying contrast between the life of culture and that of activity. This definition neglects completely the effective aspect of human life, which is the sole basis of culture; and exalts the intellect which plays only a subordinate part in cultural life. The *Encyclopaedia of Social Science* has a long article on culture full of brilliant suggestions. At times we feel that we are being taken to the centre of the problem, but at the critical moment a sudden halt is called, and thereafter there is a steady sliding down. "Culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes,

ideas, habits and values. . . . The real component units of culture are the organised systems of human activities called institutions." This article recognises the need for a psychological analysis of culture, but lacking the proper psychological foundation it is not able to come to grips with the problem.

The *New English Dictionary* defines culture as "cultivation, tending, cultivating or development of the mind, faculties, manners etc., improvement or refinement by education and training." Apart from the suggestion regarding cultivation, this definition is the least illuminating of all the definitions given so far.

Our need at present is an orienting concept, which will reduce to some pattern the vast mass of cultural facts and objects, just as a magnetic field reduces to a comprehensible pattern the widely scattered iron filings within the magnetic field. In the light of a simple orienting concept we should be able to grasp the meaning of cultural objects, and their proper relationships to one another and to the mind that created them. Any simple cultural formula is bound to be psychological for the very obvious reason that culture is the ordering of the mind in its endeavour to reach or create a better order of things than that which it finds in its environment. We propose to frame the simple psychological formula needed for understanding and interpreting human culture in its broad outlines. This formula will be tentative in its application, and will bear modification and expansion indefinitely, but it will be sound in essentials, and will be a very safe guide for exploration.

CULTURE AND CIVILISATION: A CONTRAST

It is necessary to make a slight digression at this stage in order to point out the difference between culture and civilisation. The two terms are really opposed to each other in connotation. Civilisation stands for a certain aspect of life in the west which is the antithesis of culture. In the proper type of mental organisation there ought to be complete harmony between the inner mental cultural objects. True culture consists in this harmony between the inner and outer aspects of the organisation of sentiment-values. When such harmony is absent, or when disharmony is introduced out of set purpose, then culture ceases to have any meaning. In the so-called civilised life of today, lived according to Western standards there is complete lack of harmony between inner mental structure and the outer expression of it in the conduct. One may boil inwardly with fierce hatred or anger, but one should not express these feelings. One should put on an appearance of calm and friendliness. Insincere conduct is tolerated, nay even prescribed for keeping up appearances. This is civilisation, and such civilisation is not culture. Civilisation demands a certain type of conduct in society whether such conduct is or is not in conformity with the motive which animates the person concerned. Culture on the other hand demands strict conformity of conduct with motive, of outward expression with inner sentiment. Civilisation is the means of getting on in this outer world of mundane values while true culture is the means of getting on in the inner world of spiritual values.

State Language

Is it derogatory to adopt foreign ideas and institutions if they are found to be more conducive to progress and happiness than those found in one's own country? Writes S. S. Ali in *The Insurance World*:

Was it derogatory to have replaced our indigenous bullock-carts by motor buses, or railway trains? Or, the age-old patriarchal form of government by democracy? Or, in case of dog-bites, to use the Pasteur system of treatment in place of charms and incantations, even now in use in some of our backward villages? Did China harm or humiliate herself by embracing Buddhism? Again, did Europe insult her native genius by giving up paganism in favour of Christianity, a religion of foreign origin?

If the answer is no, then why should it be derogatory to retain English as our State language, if it be found to be conducive to the progress and happiness of our people than Hindi which is being recommended by some. Let us examine this question from every possible angle.

Hindi certainly is known over a wider area in India than any other local language; but except in two or three provinces, where it happens to be the mother-tongue of the people, it is not known well enough to serve any useful purpose. In the rest of the Indian provinces, its knowledge represents no more than the ability to articulate a few words or sentences, preposterous in respect of both grammar and pronunciation, and that also amongst a certain section of the urban population only. Its claim to be regarded as the *Lingua Franca* of the country, therefore, is without any foundation whatsoever. In order that it may be used as such, it will have to be taught the same hard way as English is now taught.

Now, it may be argued that since learning of both English and Hindi involves the same amount of time and energy, why not teach Hindi, which is, after all, an indigenous language?

The counter-argument is that whereas Hindi is a purely local medium, English is almost a universal one. Once one has mastered this latter language one is no longer a citizen of India only, but a citizen of the world. And today, whether one realises it or not, we are all citizens of the world, it being no longer possible for a civilized nation to live in water-tight isolation in a specific geographical unit. For the first time in the history of the world, realization is beginning to dawn upon mankind that the world is one; that a diseased spot in one part of it affects the health and welfare of the rest; that it cannot settle down to peaceful and progressive conditions, if even one part of it remains diseased, or neglected, or is subjected to selfish treatment by another.

This being so, knowledge of an international language is essential, and since English is the only language which can claim that status, for us who have the 'open sesame' to it, to give it up willingly and deliberately would be a highly retrograde step. It would be like an island nation giving up its navy at the instance of a set of clamorous thinkers who have arrived at the conclusion that for creatures of the land, it is derogatory to use maritime transport or seek naval protection.

It may be protested that it is not our intention to give up English altogether, but to retain it as an optional second language, together with such other European languages as German, French, and so on.

That I am afraid, will not take us very far. Second languages are never learnt properly, as we all know who have had Persian, or Sanskrit, or Arabic in our schools and colleges. If we are to learn it well enough to benefit from its virile literature, and to hold our own in markets and conferences of the world, it must continue as our State language. Human beings are essentially lazy, and the only way one can ensure their proper learning of a language is by way of reward through State recognition.

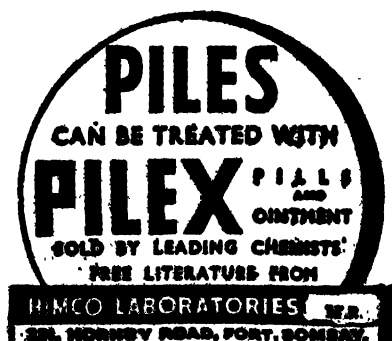
Is it possible to have Hindi as our State language, and at the same time learn English as proficiently as we do now? I am afraid not. The average man's time and opportunities are limited. He has first to learn his mother tongue. Then Hindi, if it be adopted as the national language. Then, after having learnt these two, he will have to turn his attention to a third language. Now, where will he have the time for all these?

To adopt Hindi, therefore, as our State language is to impose upon a vast majority of Indians an added unnecessary burden.

From a purely cold-blooded business point of view, therefore, it would be a national economy to prescribe only two languages: First the language of the province, which one must learn; and then English, which will serve as an inter-Provincial, as well as an international medium. A Province can, if necessary, have two official languages, as in some parts of Canada: the local language as English.

Assuming it is a little more difficult to learn English than Hindi, does not the reward justify the additional labour? The learner is certainly acquiring a more useful equipment. It will always involve more labour to make a motor car than a bullock-cart, but does not the product justify the extra labour?

Then comes the question of adequacy. Is Hindi, as it stands today, adequate to meet the requirements of a highly developed modern State which include, not only a comprehensive political vocabulary, but also vocabularies for the Army, the Navy, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Botany, Biology, Geology, Mining and so on and so on, in a never-ending array. A motor car alone has over four thousand different components, for each of which there is a specific or a generic name. Hindi not only has no names for these, but also, so far as I am aware, it has not even a recognized name for the motor car itself. This means new words will have to be coined in hundreds of thousands, probably in millions, to cover the entire gamut of the highly complicated modern life. Exactly how many years it



will take to complete the feat, and how many more for these newly coined words and phrases to acquire unequivocal meanings, through usage, through court judgments, and other processes, it is indeed difficult to forecast. And when, if even all this has been done, the language that will evolve will not be the homely Hindi we know, but a new language, probably very much more foreign to us than English. Is it worthwhile then taking all this trouble, and suffering so much inconvenience just to satisfy the over-sentimentalism of a few?

I say "a few" because except for some in the interior provinces, the people of the rest of the Indian Provinces simply dread the idea of having to replace English by a primitive language like Hindi. If a Gallup poll were taken, I have not the slightest doubt that English would win, but unfortunately, the supporters of this language lack the powerful political magnetism of bigotry and intolerance. Politicians of the interior provinces, who seldom come into contact with foreigners are generally more intolerant than others, and therefore also more popular. This is indeed unfortunate, for through their reversion to the ways and habits of the past, their avowed attachment for everything indigenous, good or bad, and their blind antipathy towards everything foreign, regardless of merit, they have built up around themselves such a halo of patriotic glamour that it will be a long time before they can be dislodged from power by the more tolerant leaders from other more progressive provinces, who through constant contact with the British and other foreigners, have developed a more cosmopolitan outlook.

It is hotly argued that now that we are a free people, to continue to use a foreign language would be slavish.

This is, of course, rank nonsense, for language has nothing whatsoever to do with either freedom or slavishness, which are attitudes of the mind, and one can develop either under any set of conditions. I think I am right in saying that never was a freer man born than Mahatma Gandhi, and yet he lived all his life under foreign rule, and was a product of foreign education, received in a foreign country. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that it was his foreign education that was to a great extent responsible for his irrepressible urge for freedom. Take, again, the case of the unscrupulous "bania" who would sit hours at the door of a petty official, ready to pay any price in honour, dignity and bribes for a little monetary gain. Well, he will always remain a slave, whatever be the government he is under.

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When we find that almost every leader of India's freedom movement was a product of English education, to say that learning of this language warps the mind, is sheer perversity.

On the contrary, it may be laid down almost as a general truth, that those Indians who have not had any English education are not by any means the most inspiring specimens of our countrymen. Our so-called Pandits and Moulvis are not only like children to talk to, but are also, as a rule, undependable, and can easily be swayed one way or the other. Black market and other anti-social activities are carried on more by people innocent of English education than their more modern counter-part. English education at least improves them in this sense, that even when they do indulge in such activities, they are not altogether free from a sense of guilt.

Foreign education is again discountenanced on the ground that it tends to mix cultures. This is no doubt true, but it is a point in favour of such education rather than against it. I do not see any virtue in wanting to grow up along a rut shaped by men hundreds, and thousands of years ago, and who, in knowledge and experience, could not as a whole but be inferior to us. We claim affinity to them in such pride and affection because they are not here for us to see. If it were possible to see them, we would probably find them more foreign to us than our most distant contemporaries. A modern Englishman would, I am sure, feel more at home in the company of a contemporary Indian, than in that of an ancestor of his who lived a thousand years ago, never bathed, dressed uncouthly, fought brutally and interminably with neighbouring clans or political parties, and dug his teeth ferociously into huge chunks of half-burnt meat.

The world that we live in today is very different to the world of hundreds and thousands of years ago, when people, living in narrow unsurpassable areas, not only did not have to come into contact with others, but did not even know of them. Their requirements were simple and limited too, so that they could live in blissful independence of one another. Fortunately or unfortunately, that world is no more. Science has annihilated distances, and crushed down all geographical barriers. The result is that our conception of units is becoming more ideological than geographical. We are beginning to identify ourselves not so much as Americans or French, British or Italians, but as socialists or capitalists, communists or democrats, and so on.

Science has also placed in our hands destructive

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weapons of such terrible implications, that unless we hurry up and demolish our mental barriers and distances as well, in keeping with the exigencies of the times, we shall soon end by completely annihilating ourselves. It is necessary, therefore, that we take stock of things as they are now, and mould our outlook on that basis, rather than slavishly follow past ideologies of patriotism, nationalism, culture and so on.

If by the word foreign is meant something that did not originate in a particular geographical area, to have antipathy towards it is sheer childishness.

To judge the merits of a commodity, or an idea, or an institution, the only tests to be applied are—does it beautify life? Does it help to establish better relationship between man and man? Is it conducive to general human welfare? If the answer is yes, it is no longer foreign, but belongs to the whole world.

To get the best out of nature, one must utilise whatever one finds good or useful anywhere.

It is the same with regard to everything else such as language, literature, ideology and so on. If a nation is to grow to its full stature, it must be ready to assimilate whatever useful or civilising it finds anywhere in the world.

Every country has evolved something beautiful about art, science, religion, business methods, material things, methods of living, and so on. To get a really full life we must learn to co-ordinate all these. This is not slavishness but common sense.

People cry themselves hoarse on the subject of preservation of national cultures. But when you come to think of it, what is culture but habits of thought and action adopted by our forefathers to exist and thrive under certain geographical and other conditions, such thoughts and actions being naturally influenced by their knowledge and experience of things at the time? Also include in this list, if you like things created to give expression to the yearnings of the soul. These, again in their turn, were influenced by the physical and other conditions around them. As these conditions change and our knowledge of things improves, if we still want to mould our thoughts and aspirations after those of our ancestors, then we are just retarding growth.

What is the function of a language? To express ideas. Nothing more and nothing less. Now the language that does it most effectively and to the largest group of people is certainly the most desirable language.

This is cold logic.

We have before us the choice of one of the two

languages—Hindi and English. Now let us see which is the most desirable.


Hindi is, firstly, utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of a highly developed modern State. Secondly, it is purely a local medium, not spoken or understood anywhere outside of some parts of India. Thirdly, from a literary point of view, it is primitive. If my information is correct, nothing original of a worthwhile character, has been written in this language since Kabir wrote his poems about 500 years ago. It has no literature which can profitably inform, educate, or inspire a modern man or citizen. Its past history of prolonged literary and intellectual barrenness does not inspire one with great hopes as to its future potentialities.

English, on the other hand, has the richest collections of words and phrases with accepted meanings on all subjects, such as physics, chemistry, medicine, engineering, politics, civil, criminal and constitutional laws etc., etc. It is secondly, the only language in the world that can claim an international status. Thirdly, its literature is rich, virile, comprehensive and up-to-date, and in all worldly matters more idealistic than any other. Close connection with this literature gives us an opportunity to imbibe the high efficiency, idealism, civic consciousness, the high sense of integrity of the world's most constitutional race—qualities without which no venture, social, industrial, commercial, or political can attain any marked degree of success.

These being the points for and against the two languages, the choice should not present any difficulty. And after all, English is not quite as foreign as some of us try to make it out. Two hundred years of association has robbed it of its newness, and Indians of all provinces have developed a peculiar aptitude for learning it.

The ability to absorb a beneficent foreign institution is not slavishness. On the contrary, not to be able to do so is slavish. It is slavishness to the past which retards growth. And to cease to grow is to head for destruction.

If it is a good thing to be patriotic to a portion of the world we call our country, it must be a better thing to be patriotic to the whole world—to humanity in general. To achieve this greater good, our narrow desire to grow up as a distinct entity must be discarded. Instead, we must face the world with an open mind, ready to adopt whatever helps progress of the world as a whole. One of the most powerful factors for bringing about a better understanding between the diverse elements of the world is language, and since there is no other language which is so widely spoken and understood as English, we should have no hesitation in retaining it as our State language.




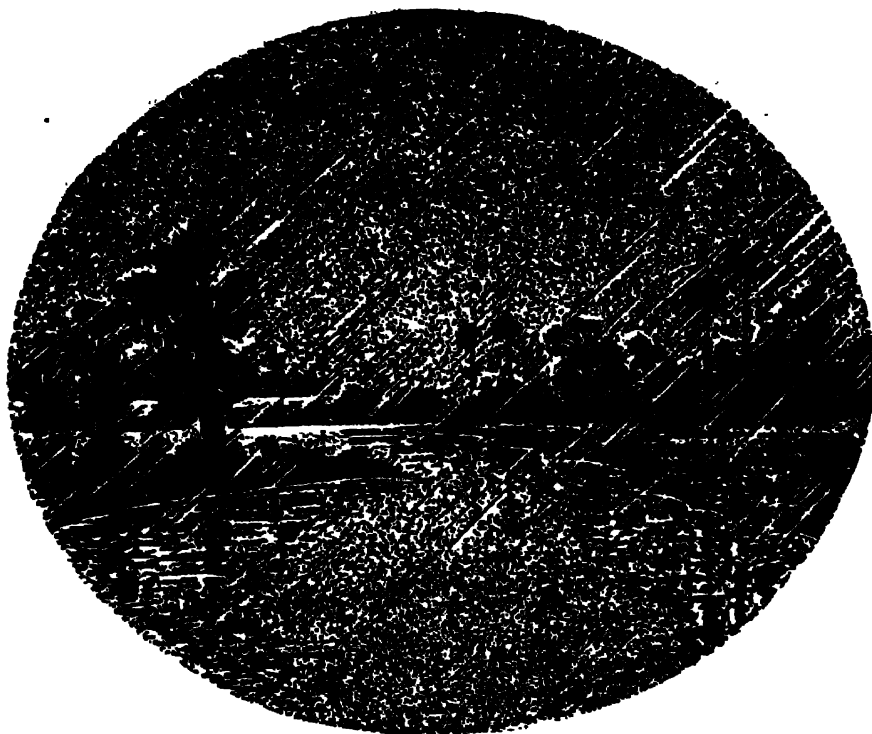
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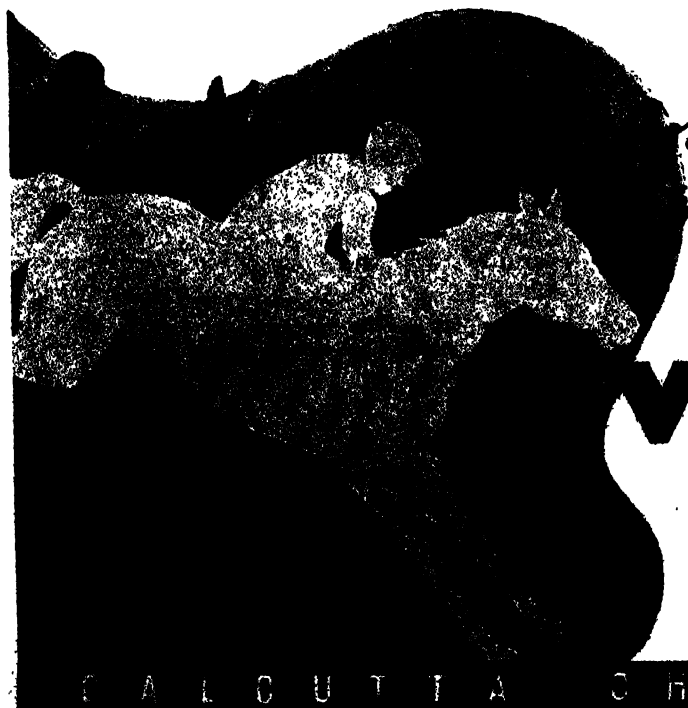
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

National Movements in Indonesia

Dr. O. B. Tio writes in the special number of *Merdeka*, May 1948, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of Indonesian struggle for freedom:

May 20 this year is a significant day for our Indonesian people. Why? It was 40 years ago, when the first organised national movement was founded in Indonesia. This does not mean that before 1908 no struggle took place in our country against the Dutch rulers. On the contrary!

A continuous wave of struggle for national independence was and has always been carried on against Dutch colonialists despite the white terror.

The Java, Atjeh, Bali-Lombok wars and others in the past were events of struggle, which signified the class-movements in our country to get rid of foreign rule. Unfortunately these were led in an *unorganised* and *spontaneous* manner.

To celebrate our 40th anniversary of national movement and to provide the reader with some idea of our Indonesian struggle in the modern organised way against Dutch imperialism, the writer would like to divide our national movements into 3 (three) periods:

I. 1908-1918: Beginning of the foundation of organised national movements in our country. National consciousness and organised struggle against Dutch imperialism for national independence.

II. 1918-1945: Period of mass-struggle, revolts, strikes against Dutch and Japanese imperialism for national independence. White terror and mass deportation to concentration camps by Dutch and Japanese imperialism against our Indonesian people.

III. 1945-till present date: Foundation of our Indonesian Republic. Continuation of our national anti-imperialist struggle for full independence, democracy, peace and prosperity of our masses.

I. THE PERIOD OF 1908-1918

The beginning of our organised Indonesian national movements dated from the year 1908. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 and the defeat of the corrupted Russian army opened a new page in world history. Here for the first time in the modern era, the "superior" white race was beaten and defeated by the "inferior" coloured race.

This event reflected itself not only in our country, but generally speaking in all Asiatic, colonial, dependent countries and oppressed peoples. It was the beginning of the awakening of national consciousness and organised national movements in our country.

In the year 1908 a group of Indonesian students and intelligentsia in our country established a national organisation with the name *Budi-Utomo*. (NOBLE ENDEAVOUR). The organisation had formerly no political aims. It had no deep roots among our masses. It was founded for the purpose of demanding better educational and social conditions from the Dutch rulers and was for a long period the organisation of the Indonesian educated class and restricted to Java only.

Shortly after the foundation of the *Budi-Utomo*, another national organisation was founded in the year of 1911. It had some political aims, but based on religious grounds. This national-organisation was known as the *Sarekat Islam* (Moslem League). Since the majority of our people are Moslems, the *Sarekat Islam* gained popularity and influence among our masses.

The third national and political organisation which brought about consciousness of nationalism was founded in the year 1912, and known under the name of *Indische Partai* (East-Indies Party). Based on the principle of one people belonging to one nation and not on any religious belief, the East-Indies Party embraced all parts of Indonesia. The East-Indies Party then changed its name to *Nasional Indische Partai* (Indies National Party).

The strong Islamic ideological principles of the *Sarekat Islam* could not avoid the penetration of the new idea of nationalism which was growing up daily in our country. Our people at that time were not yet politically-minded, but strong national feelings found deep roots among our people.

The *Sarekat Islam* had to consider the dialectical march of events in our country. Henceforth the organisation had to base its line of action not purely on religious, but also on more liberal and nationalistic principles.

In 1914, just before the first World War, a new organisation was founded with socialistic principles. The founders were Dutchmen and the new organisation was called *Indische Social Democratische Vereeniging* (East Indies Social Democratic Association). At the beginning only our intelligentsia joined this new movement, because our masses were just in the infant period of politics. Nevertheless the nationalistic ideal which had so far urged us for the attainment of national independence, from that moment onwards, gradually, took over to it more democratic and socialistic ideals. On account of these new political and ideological developments in our country a new period was ushered in the history of our national and mass-movements.

World War I was raging in the West. In Russia the revolution broke out in the year 1917. The Russian masses smashed the power of imperialism and established a people's Government. In the same year of the Russian revolution the Communist Party of Indonesia was born.

The historic year 1917 paved the way to a Russian victory in the class-struggle against imperialism and found an echo everywhere in the world.

The eyes of our people were opened. New forms and methods of class-struggle have been since then introduced and adopted in our national struggle for independence against Dutch imperialism.

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II. THE PERIOD OF 1918-1945

During World War I, Dutch imperialism remained neutral. Due to the change in the international political situation and being afraid of losing their rich colony, the Dutch colonialists promised, under the pressure of our national movements, to give more liberties to Indonesians.

A well-known fact of imperialism is that it does not fulfil the promises made by it to improve the lot of the masses. The same happened with the Dutch imperialists. As soon as the dangerous period of 1918 was over, the Dutch rulers forgot the promises made to our people. The promised liberties and reorganised constitutional government in Indonesia for our people materialised merely in the establishment of the so-called "Volksraad" (People's Council). It was nothing else than a bogey institution. More than one-third of the members were nominated by the Dutch and the remaining members were not popularly elected and had absolutely no political power. Political power and administration remained in the hands of the rulers. It was a bitter blow for our national movement and was due to lack of experience. In the meantime repressive measures against the liberties and democratic rights of our people were introduced and increased.

Exploitation, poverty and repressive measures were carried to such heights that they became almost unbearable for our people. A revolution broke out in the year 1926-1927. For two months our heroic people gave resistance to the Dutch rulers and during this period the masses kept power in their own hands. It was the first experience in modern times for our people to stage an open battle against the Dutch exploiters. After the revolution which failed in the year 1926-27, Dutch terror raged in Indonesia directed against the masses and the national movements.

Several hundreds of the best sons of our country were hanged and several thousands of the best sons and daughters of Indonesia, the flowers of the nation were sent to upper Digul in New Guinea. In this way the Dutch rulers took their revenge against our people who fought for liberty, justice and humanity. The Dutch colonialists tried to break the revolutionary spirit and struggle of our people, but in vain. Despite the horrible terror of the Dutch colonialists the struggle for freedom went on. In Europe, especially in the Netherlands, our students were very active. In the Netherlands Indonesian students had their own organisation the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (Indonesian Association). Originally established as a cultural and social organisation, the Indonesian Association turned over into a political national organisation and formed the nucleus of a struggle for our masses outside our country. It had close contact with the national movements and masses in Indonesia who were forced by the rulers to work underground in our struggle for national independence. In Holland Dutch imperialists took revenge against our students. Indonesians were arrested and their houses searched and raided.

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The Indonesian students' prosecution took place in the year 1928. Dutch imperialists accused the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* of having the aim of overthrowing the Dutch government! Lies of imperialism are well known facts in history. After detaining them for six months the Dutch government was forced to release the Indonesian students, cause nothing could be proved against them.

No concentration camps, death sentences and white terror could break the will of our people fighting for a just cause.

In 1934, despite the work of Dutch agents in Indonesia, a revolt broke out among the crew of the Dutch cruiser, the *Seven Provinces*. Under the leadership of the Indonesians, with the co-operation of the Dutch hands, the crew bound their officers, took the command of the cruiser into their own hands and raised the red flag. That was a blow on the face of the Dutch rulers. Never in their history, had the Dutch capitalists experienced this. Before they were finally killed in battle, the crew were for two days the masters of the cruiser.

(The blood which our people shed on the battlefield for freedom bears fruit on the soil of our country). The Dutch colonialists claim in their propaganda to the outside world that there is "quiet" everywhere in Indonesia. The frequent uprisings among the peasants, during this period, are facts which the Dutch rulers cannot deny. No amount of censorship, terror, etc., against our masses and national movements from the Dutch side can bring our people to their knees. We will not bow to the Dutch who are trying to deceive general opinion abroad with their slanderous propaganda, concerning our people, national movements and country.

The cowardly and treacherous policy of imperialism was demonstrated again when the autocratic Dutch government in Indonesia collapsed without resistance in the year 1942 at the time of the Japanese invasion. They fled with their entire belongings. These gentlemen left our people and country helpless and defenceless against the Japanese invader. Our people however despite lack of armaments and under the most difficult circumstances defended our country against the Japanese invader. The struggle for national independence went on during this period.

Not less than three millions were killed by the Japanese and four millions more were crippled during our resistance movement against foreign invasion.

Immediately after the surrender of the Japanese our people disarmed the Japanese invaders and proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia in August, 1945.

III. THE PERIOD OF 1945-TILL PRESENT DATE

After the proclamation of our Republic a new danger is threatening our people and country. The former Dutch

rulers with the help of their British and American friends have been able to despatch to Indonesia well-equipped troops to fight our Republic and people. Readers are informed by our *Merdeka* news of what has been going on during the existence of our Republic. The Dutch colonialists wish to regain their power of pre-war days and launch a colonial war against our Republic.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations between our Republic and the Dutch one thing is certain, that our people will defend our Republic and country with their lives against the Dutch colonialists to achieve full national independence, democracy, peace and prosperity. In building up a happy and prosperous Indonesia, let our people and leaders take lessons from the past and present.



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Women's Awakening in Indonesia

Dr. Mrs. Soekanto writes in *Merdeka*, May, 1948 :

With the birth of the National Movement in Indonesia 40 years ago, the necessity of giving better education to Indonesian girls was also felt. Hitherto, the task of Indonesian women had been to take care of the household and their children. In spite of the fact that women were often treated by their husbands as mere servants, getting married was then considered to be a great privilege. R. A. Kartini, a daughter of the Regent of Japara, was the first Indonesian woman who realised that better education must be given to Indonesian girls in order to improve the position of Indonesian women. She started a model institution for Indonesian girls, thus paving the way for the Indonesian women's awakening.

After her demise in 1905, several local Indonesian Women's Organisations came into being. Though they were only housewifery organisations, yet, at that time, it was a remarkable progress towards women's emancipation.

Now Indonesian women could hold their own meetings, speak in public as did the men. Then, several women organisations aiming at improving the position of Indonesian women grew gradually. In 1912, several national elementary schools for girls, known as 'Kartini Schools' were established. Though most of them did not go beyond the elementary schools, more and more girls went to school.

After the first great war, gradually more and more girls attended secondary schools. But it was still uncommon for a girl to go to college.

An American lady, who was in Indonesia in 1925 and returned to Indonesia 10 years later, could hardly believe the great change that had taken place during the intervening period. It was not strange any more for a girl to go to college. Now they were as keen as boys in studying law, medicine, teaching, etc. They even went abroad for higher studies—all alone. The lady would even be more surprised if she could see the present Indonesian women.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesian women have become much more advanced. This can be attributed to the favourable conditions created by the Republic and the change that has taken place in the minds of the parents who used to object to their

daughters going out freely. Now, the parents allow their daughters to go everywhere to help the villagers, teaching the people to read and write and about hygiene, and supplying them information on important current events. During the fighting against the Dutch, the nurses risked their lives at the front in order to lessen the pain and the burdens of wounded soldiers. As in the new constitution of the Republic of Indonesia it is already provided that women have the same rights as men, women's organisations are no more at present fighting for the right of equality with men, but for making women conscious of their task as good citizens of the new Republic.

Now, there is no more objection to women taking to any profession. It depends entirely upon their ability. There have been women ministers in the Republic. There are women representatives in the Republican Provisional Parliament and local Councils, though the number of educated women is much smaller than that of educated men.

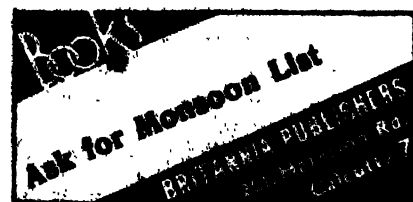
It is a common thing now to see girls, even married women working in offices. They are happy doing work for the Republic. The young Republic with a high percentage of illiteracy cannot afford to let educated citizens do nothing. At least educated women can utilize their knowledge in teaching others who have been deprived of the opportunity of acquiring the arts of writing and reading. For this purpose they collect neighbouring women three times a week for an hour's course each time. This course is called the 'A.B.C. Course' and usually takes three months to complete. This course enables women to acquire the elements of reading and writing. Of course, much depends upon their practice in order to be able to read simple books and newspapers, and thus inform themselves of the outside world. The more advanced the women are, the lower is the rate of polygamy. Polygamy has not yet been abolished in Indonesia because its abolition goes against the Islamic religion. Some women organisations have fought for it, though without good success. But it is proved now that by educating the people, women will achieve what they want. Indonesian women are helping to build up the country. They have fought for a better position and are fighting for the benefit of all, towards a happy and prosperous, independent and sovereign Republic of Indonesia.

THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: Sophia Wadia

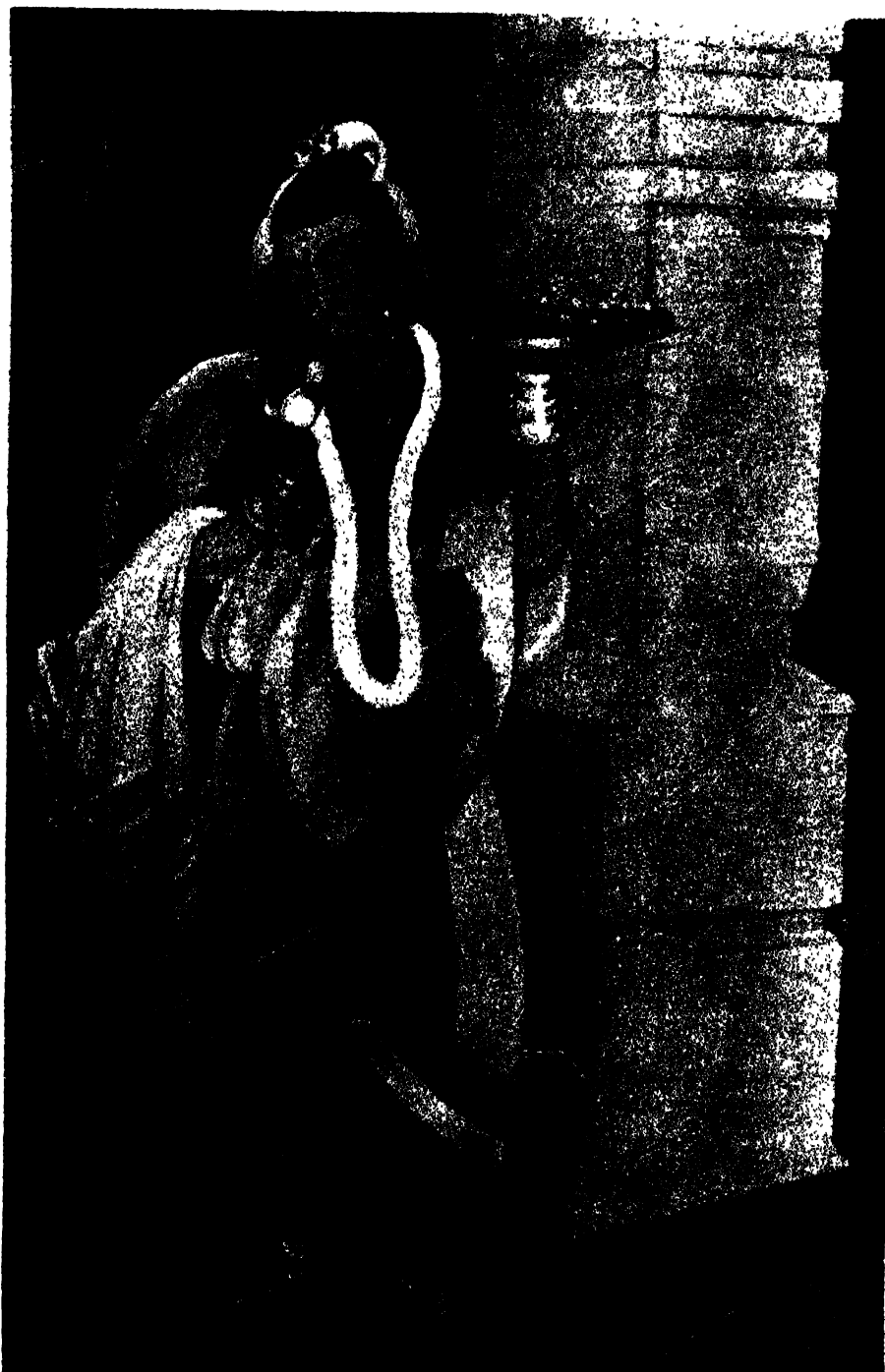
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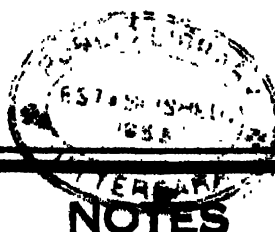
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WHOLE No. 501



The First Year of Freedom

The year has passed and it is time now for taking stock as to where we stand. The position to-day is more perilous than any of us imagined that it would be a year ago. There is no need to indulge in useless recriminations. But we have to understand the nature of the dangers that are before us first and then to survey the year in retrospect.

Our foreign relations to-day are as indeterminate as it was a year ago. This is due in the main to the rapid deterioration in World Politics, especially in Europe, and partially due to our own inexperience. Our Ambassadors and plenipotentiaries abroad have not yet been able to make any impress in the highly technical sphere of diplomacy, and on the few occasions where there has been any definite pronouncement of policy by our diplomats abroad, the effects have not been to our advantage. It is plain that as yet the novices that have been sent out, have not acquired the skill and judgment necessary.

Kashmir and Hyderabad are now major sources of danger to the State. The public is puzzled at the turn of affairs and there is considerable uneasiness about the way the problems of the defence of the Indian Union is being tackled. It is plain to all that tension is mounting between the two dominions and also that, as before, the initiative lies with Pakistan, whether it be due to our own errors of omission and commission, or to superiority in tactics on their part. Our intelligence departments do not seem to be functioning effectively where Pakistan is concerned. In Hyderabad apprehension about foreign intrigue and the imponderables in the inter-party relationships in the Congress seem to have brought all action to a halt.

Inside the Union inflation is still going up in a steep spiral. Unless some means are found soon to

combat the forces that are inducing it, the economic collapse of the State may compel it to bow down before foreign dictation. Corruption and inefficiency in the government departments, accentuated by the money-bags of the black-marketeer and the tax-evader, have made it exceedingly difficult for the Government to take any action. Further the disastrous experiments in decontrol have brought the smuggler into the game of economic destruction.

The Union stands to-day between the Devil and the Deep-sea. On one hand is Big-Business, totally devoid of any conscience or scruple, intent on filling its bags with illicit money, though the State may be destroyed thereby or its people brought into destitution. On the other hand is the fifth-column of the foreigner whose hands are being strengthened by the corrupt official and the complacent minister with his pets of the black-market. The common-man's hands are itching to put a rope round the neck of the black-marketeering millionaire and it is quite on the cards that the reactionary and the disruptionist might let loose mighty forces of lawlessness under the plea of forcing the government's hands. The internal situation in the Indian Union is much worse to-day, thanks, to inefficiency, single-track thinking and self-opinionedness of those who have been placed in power by us. The bogey of communalism deranged the minds of the "High-command" to a totally unconscionable degree, vitiating appointments, orders and administration, both at the centre and in the provinces.

The complacency and a long-holiday mentality at the centre, that prevailed for a long period before the lotus-eaters of Delhi were rudely awakened by one cataclysmic shock after another, was responsible for most of our woes. We have to face reality now, else there would be disaster.

A Year in Retrospect

Students of affairs, Indian and foreign, have come to the definite opinion that the consequences of the division of India into two States might have been worse than what these have been. They have been witnesses to the madness of popular frenzy to the uprooting of millions from their ancestral homes. These two factors have coloured the life and conduct of four hundred million human beings, left scars on their hearts. The *New York Times* represented this feeling when it wrote its editorial entitled "Year of Independence."

"From the blood, terror and bitterness of those early months, India and Pakistan have rebounded to an extent not thought possible a year ago when Britain relinquished her centuries-old hold on her greatest possession."

Nursed under *Pax Britannica* we have not been prepared for the "harder way" in which freedom's lessons have to be learnt. Though the "architect" of this freedom of ours has been trying to discipline us to this, we have failed to rise up to his minimum expectations and in the result have demonstrated that under the veneer of an ancient culture what beastliness and fanaticism can lurk.

But there is something in human nature that has refused to accept defeat at the hands of this destructive impulse in us implanted there by Nature. And we are as sure as we believe in salvation that human nature in India will re-build out of the wrecks some values that will contribute to the enrichment of life in the modern world. That process has already started, and out of the many crudities and immaturities in the plans in this behalf, out of many failures in human spirit, there have been emerging signs and marks that something of enduring worth is being attempted. Success or failure is in the hands of an Intelligence that is not amenable to our control and direction. This has been the lesson of the ancient wisdom that the seers and prophets of our race have been trying to inculcate in us, and this lesson in detachment has, it has been asserted, seen us through the many crises of our people's life. It will help us during the present age also.

Forces, conscious and unconscious, influences, personal and impersonal, dictates of an alien State and national policy, have been trying to mould men and women of India into fit instruments for giving shape to modern values. The education that the British had introduced into our country created ideas that were condemnatory, implied or expressed, of India's social polity. This education helped to create a new "basic race", recruited from every stratum of social life, that came in the fulness of time, after a discipleship of a hundred years, to challenge and threaten British hegemony over India. From Ram Mohun Roy to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi generations of men and women have been striving to re-create conditions in India that would recapture the initiative for moulding the India of the Free, assured of her dignity as one of

the standard-bearers of modern civilisation. Indeed Nationalism since the days of Paine has consciously and unconsciously worked through Mir Kasim and Nanda Kumar, through the failure of the Marathas and the 1857 Revolt through Hindu and Muslim revivalism, through the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission, to prepare the ground on which to plant and establish what happened on August 15, 1947.

The last twenty-seven years of this period, since Gandhiji emerged into leadership of our National Movement, have been characterized by a new spirit of "do and dare," of a conscious attempt to sow the seed-plots of a healthier, simpler and humaner national life—self-reliant but unaggressive, rooted in honest labour but disdaining to exploit the labour of others. Through successes and failures, our people has responded to Gandhiji's call for this new pattern of human thought and conduct, and his successors in the leadership of the Indian people would have to justify themselves by the way they make the attempt to give trial to his programmes of reform and re-construction under the auspices of the National Government which they control. In the appraisal of their activities in this behalf during these twelve months, there is the danger that we may minimise the conditions of disruption that were created by the technique of division of an undivided integrity into the State of the Indian Union and the State of Pakistan. This operation imparted a shock that unbalanced human nature in India which expressed itself in the carnage that has upset the social economy of the country; ten millions of "refugees" took "every ounce of the energy" of States which had hardly any spare moment to collect themselves for a long-range attempt to give concrete shape to Gandhiji's plans and Pakistani dreams. It is, therefore, that we find them erecting tents instead of building houses. This one fact high-lights the stupendousness of the task.

The frustration created thereby had a disastrous effect on the morality of Pakistan; it was driven to launch an attack on Kashmir with a view to divert the fury of their nationals, unready, body and mind, to shoulder the new responsibilities of a free State, on their neighbours. We do not propose to discuss the contribution of the British imperialist towards poisoning relations between the two States. Human nature being what it is, allowance may be conceded if in their frustration created by the British Government's policy of evacuation from irresponsible authority over the State in India, they were tempted to nurse and encourage the designs of Pakistani fanatics on the territories of the Indian Union. But in the ultimate analysis, it will be found that the campaign of hatred which the Muslim League had been preaching since 1937 could not have worked its way logically except through the bloody path of the Punjab and the Kashmir adventures. The recognition of this factor in Indo-Pakistan relations will enable us to understand the genesis and progress of the Hyderabad imbroglio as well.

Tax-Dodging

During the year under review, tax-dodging has remained as acute a problem as ever. The latest development in this matter has been that the very same Finance Minister, Mr. S. Chetty, who had condemned this mal-practice in severe terms in his Budget Speech, had to relinquish his office because of mishandling the cases involving the greatest of the tax-dodgers. The Income Tax Investigation Commission has, properly speaking, not yet started work. After the Chetty incident, it has been revealed that a group of 158 cases of suspected tax-dodging have been handed over to the Commission for investigation. The existing Income-tax law requires amendment in many matters in order to tighten up the loopholes through which the tax-dodgers make good their escape. Fortunately, this has been done and the Income Tax and Business Profits Tax (Amendment) Bill and the Income Tax Investigation Commission (Amendment) Bill have been passed by the Indian Parliament. The Income Tax and Business Profits (Amendment) Bill incorporates the amendments suggested by the Income Tax Investigation Commission. The Investigation Commission, appointed about the end of 1947, was asked to investigate and report to the Central Government on all matters relating to the taxation of income, with particular reference to the extent to which the existing law relating to procedure for the assessment and collection of such taxes was adequate to prevent evasion. Soon after their appointment, the Commission addressed themselves to the task of examining the state of the law in so far as it acted as an encouragement to the tax-evader. During the debate on the Bill in the Parliament, the Acting Finance Minister said that it was anticipated—as a matter of fact it was suggested by the Commission—that the measure should be passed into law during the last session. When the measure came up, the previous Finance Minister was expected to make a motion for taking the Bill into consideration straight away, but as a result of an amendment moved, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee. When the Report of the Select Committee was ready, it was found that so far as the main provisions of the Bill were concerned, the Select Committee had approved them and if they had made any amendments anywhere they had not touched the underlying principles of the provisions to which the mover of the amendment had referred. Therefore the delay was unnecessary as the matter was of urgency. But, of course, such moves were only to be expected.

When the present Bill came up for debate on August 30 last, opposition came from those capitalist groups which were most concerned in the prevention of the passage of such active measures. It was stated that "the Bill gave wide powers to the Department which had not been recommended even by the Income Tax Investigation Commission." The Finance Minister contradicted this and said, "This Bill has the full approval of the

Commission." The honourable member opposing the Bill invoked an assurance given by Sir James Craig several years ago to the effect that junior officers would not be given the power to reopen cases of assessment. The member seemed to be very much alarmed about this feature in the Bill which the whole country considers as vitally necessary and important. An investigation would certainly reveal that assessments in many cases have been closed on considerations other than that of the welfare of the State and a reopening of them would make futile, costly efforts made in the past for closing them. It is a fact that assesses resorted to all kinds of underhand practices for evading taxation, and the bigger the assessee the more the mal-practice. Referring to the Indian States, the Finance Minister stated that they had been the paradise for black-marketeers and tax-dodgers in the past. In the new order, however, he hoped there would be a better degree of co-operation in respect of income-tax and that shameful chapter would be closed. The Bill even now remains defective inasmuch as it has not taken all the malpractices resorted to by Managing Agents into consideration. The practice of spiriting away production figures by not entering transactions in the Company Accounts under Managing Agencies has become widespread and a menace equally to the shareholder and the State. A drastic amendment of the Indian Companies Act should immediately be undertaken. It is necessary for tightening up the maintenance of Company Accounts specially under Managing Agents. The present Companies Act does not protect the rights of the State and the shareholder to a sufficient extent. The British Companies Act have been drastically amended and the new law has come into force since July last. The maintenance of branch accounts, production figures and accounts and their audit should be made as rigorous as under the British law. The present practice of indulging in speculation by public companies, dealing in transactions of millions of rupees by companies whose share capital amounts to a few thousands and liquidation of companies with a view to tax-dodging should be prevented.

Development Projects

The first year of freedom has been a year of preparations and perfecting of development schemes in the Works, Mines and Power Ministry of the Government of India. The projects of the Ministry being long-term ones, the results of its work cannot be judged within a year. It can be said, however, that in respect of its major activities, namely, the great river valley projects, the rationalisation of the production and distribution of electricity, the promotion of a positive mineral policy, the expansion of the Indian Geological Survey and the vast building and town-planning schemes, the stage has been set for what promises to be very useful work in the near future.

For the period proved to be also the seed-time of India's great river schemes. Never before had the country seen so multipurpose-project-oriented. Not

merely that Government had under contemplation and investigation a number of river development schemes, but they actually made a start by sanctioning two mammoth schemes, namely, Damodar and Hirakud Dam projects, estimated to cost in all Rs. 103 crores. After mature deliberation the Damodar Valley Corporation has been set up, the Tilaiya and the Konar Dam projects on the Damodar river being already ripe for execution. Work on the Hirakud Dam on the Mahanadi has started from April 12, when the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, laid the first concrete on the site at Sambalpur. Several other schemes of this nature are being investigated, the most important amongst them being the development of the Kosi, Narbada and Assam rivers.

When India was partitioned the bulk of the magnificent irrigation works of the country were found to lie in Pakistan territory. Out of the total of 400,000 cubic feet per second of water carried by the canals of undivided India, nearly one-half is now carried by the canals of Pakistan. Of the total of 70 million acres irrigated by the State-controlled canals, about one-third lies in Pakistan. Still India is found to be better placed than ever in respect of overall water resources and power potential. It is meanwhile realised that while a project conceived for a single purpose like irrigation or flood control might not be an economic proposition, it might become a financially feasible and productive scheme if it included other purposes like power generation, navigation, etc. This constitutes the rationale of a multipurpose scheme.

The Damodar Valley project, originally estimated to cost about Rs. 55 crores, is a typical example of the multi-purpose scheme. The original and most important object of the proposal is to find some means of saving the lower reaches of the river valley in West Bengal from the ravages of floods. There is an urgent need to control the floods of the Damodar which have caused great damage to the rice-fields of Burdwan and threatened even the safety of Calcutta. Mere flood control would, however, be an uneconomic proposition. But the scheme, as it is planned, will, when completed, irrigate about 763,800 acres of land in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Hooghly and Howrah and supply power to the extent of 200,000 kw. in addition to 150,000 kw. of thermal power to be installed in the region as part of the project. As all this power is to be generated in a region containing rich mineral deposits and high industrial potential, it may be consumed by the industries rising in them (i.e., in South Bihar and South-West Bengal) and be also available for the inter-provincial electric grid which is contemplated. In addition, it is intended to lead a navigation canal from the Damodar near Durgapur to the Hooghly at Raghunathpur. This canal would serve as a useful diversion for goods traffic from the railway line in that area, and will, besides, be continually flushing the estuary and rendering the Hooghly navigable.

The Hirakud project, which is part of a vaster

scheme involving the training of the river at three different points, will consist of a three-mile long dam constructed across the river about 9 miles upstream of the town of Sambalpur with gravity and lift canals on either side and two hydro-electric installations. It is expected that the project, which is to have a flood absorption capacity of 5.3 million acre feet, will extend irrigation facilities to about 1.1 million acres of land in Sambalpur and Sonepur, yield a total installed capacity of 350,000 kw. and in addition render the Mahanadi a navigable waterway with possibilities of further development with the construction of a second dam either at Tikerpara or Naraj. In view of the immense possibilities of the Mahanadi Valley Scheme, Orissa has already come to be called the Ukraine of India, even as the Damodar Valley is described popularly as the Ruhr of this country.

Equally important to the future of this country are the twin projects in East Punjab, namely, the Nangal Barrage and Bhakra Dam schemes, which will depend to a great extent on financial aid from the Government of India. Work on these projects, temporarily suspended as a result of the emigration of the bulk of the workers to Pakistan, has recommenced and is in full swing.

A number of other river valley projects are also now in various stages of investigation. These include the Kosi Dam project in Nepal and Bihar, the Tikerpara and Naraj dam projects on the Mahanadi and the Muchkund project in Orissa, the Narbada-Tapti and Sabarmati Valley projects in C. P. and Bombay, the Indravati project in Bastar, the Chambal and Sone Valley in U. P. and Central India States, the Dochi scheme in Patiala, the Mor project in West Bengal, the Dihang, Manas and Baharuli and other tributary stream projects in the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam; the Rihand, the Narmada and the Ganga Barrage projects in the U. P., the Rampadsagar and Tungabhadra projects in Madras and the Koyana Valley scheme of Maharashtra. The total power generation on the projects already under investigation may come up to 4½ million k.w. and the area under irrigation about 20 million acres.

The enactment of the Electricity (Supply) Bill in the current session of the Constituent Assembly will bring to fruition the efforts of the Ministry to rationalise the production and supply of electricity and to evolve measures conducive to the electrical development of India. Taking the cue from the National Planning Committee which was set up in 1940 under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Electricity (Supply) Bill provides for the establishment of quasi-autonomous Boards with adequate powers to effect the rationalisation of electricity on the "grid" principle. These Boards will co-ordinate and stimulate electrical development and will effect a form of financial control over commercially owned undertakings which, while assuring the investor of an adequate return and industry of adequate capital, will, at that

same time, benefit the consumer by reducing the cost of generating electric power. The Central Electricity Authority which the Bill sets up, will tender expert advice on all questions dealing with development projects and will also exercise arbitral functions in technical disputes which may arise between a Board and a licensee.

The Ministry of Works, Mines and Power has also planned to expand the Geological Survey of India to more than 5 times its pre-war cadre. The purpose of the expansion is to conduct extensive as well as intensive survey for minerals with the help of modern instruments and methods.

The sections which have recently been created in the Geological Survey of India for the purpose are the Geophysical Section, the Drilling Section, the Mineral Development Section and the Rare Minerals Section.

A Year of High Prices

The economic picture, as revealed by the General Purpose Index Numbers in the price trends of commodities, has been disturbing in the extreme. The inflationary spiral has taken several more turns upwards. The chase behind the price-level has continued unabated. Steep upward trend in the Index Number of articles, specially of food and vital necessities, have taken place. The cost of living has gone beyond the family budget of not only the common man, but even of the upper middle class as well. Economic distress in the country has been widespread and deep. The rise in the general index has been as much as 80 points between August, 1947, and June, 1948. Food articles have risen from 207.8 in August, 1947 to 377 in June, 1948. Prices of manufactured articles have risen from 280.2 to 366.6 for the same period, thus registering an increase of 86.4 points.

The steep rise has been attributed to the decontrol policy of the Government. Public had been irritated through the vexatious restrictions due to control which was thoroughly unplanned, and was worked with an unnecessary rigour. Removal of controls was therefore the popular demand and was fully backed by Mahatma Gandhi. The Government adopted the policy of decontrol but did nothing to check the cornering propensity of the capitalists and war-profiteers who have amassed enormous quantities of liquid cash through profiteering and tax-dodging. The policy of decontrol, in order to be successful, should have been coupled with a liberal policy of import and a rigid and incorruptible machinery for tracing and preventing cornering operations at their sources. Again, the policy of decontrol was a half-hearted measure. In cloth, rationing was abolished but the inter-provincial movement of cloth and provincial imports, the two vicious sources for keeping the market tight, remained. Restrictions on waggon allotments further helped the profiteers in maintaining short supply in the markets of their choice. Smuggling of cloth through Bombay, East Punjab and West Bengal became rampant and

while the Indian people went half-naked for want of cloth, Indian cloth could find its way to China and Arabia through the ports of Pakistan. Government of India's policy of control failed because it was operated through a thoroughly inefficient and corrupt administrative machinery and decontrol failed because it was half-hearted, short-sighted and unplanned. While a small group of the blood-sucking multi-millionaires at the top equipped with two of the greatest engines of exploitation, viz., the Managing Agency and Group Banks control the nations finance and industry no liberal economic policy can in fact, ever succeed in this country.

An Industries Conference was held in December, 1947, at New Delhi, under the Chairmanship of Dr. B. P. Mookerjee, Minister of Industry and Supply, which considered the many problems that beset the Indian industry. An Economic Sub-Committee of the A.-I. C. C., had also been formed with Pandit Nehru as Chairman which formulated the Congress Economic policy and advocated the abolition of the Managing Agency system as soon as possible. The Industries Conference emphasized the need for regulation of raw materials in short supply, for solving transport by rigorous planning and ending labour unrest through conciliatory measures. An industrial truce was concluded during that session for eliminating labour unrest. The truce has been violated in some cases but as the country is no longer in a mood to encourage stoppage of work on production, strikes have been continually and steadily on the decrease. The industrialists sought a clear declaration of the industrial policy of the Government. In early April, the Government of India released their resolution on Industrial policy which was adopted by the Indian Parliament on April 8, 1948. The official Industrial policy was well-received by the industrial circles because it removed two of their most outstanding fears in declaring that no immediate nationalisation of industries would be made and remaining silent about the demand for the abolition of the Managing Agency system. The principal objective of this great concession has remained unfulfilled; increase in production has not taken place. The industrialists, on the contrary, have taken the liberalism of the Government as its weakness and have succeeded in frustrating the Government's main purpose in the resolution.

The present distress of the vast masses of our countrymen can be removed only through larger industrial and agricultural production. The Industries Department, unfortunately, has failed to demonstrate the amount of determination and drive that the Agricultural Department of the Government of India is showing. We admit that the task of the former is bigger and more complex, but what pains us most is that not even a planned beginning has been made. The Industries Department is still a helpless victim in the hands of the war-profiteers and black-marketeers.

Corruption

Corruption in the administrative machinery has been as rampant as ever before, rather, during the past

year, it shows definite signs of increase. Nepotism and favouritism in appointments and supercession on the above considerations in ordering promotion have become sources of grave danger for the nation. Maintenance of integrity and efficiency of our public administration, without which no State can be built up or run successfully, has become truly a Herculean task. There has been more than enough talk about corruption in administration but little has been done to eradicate this evil. Indeed, during very recent months, a tendency has developed for getting rid of "uncomfortable" elements in the administration who refuse to fall in line with their corrupt superiors and sometimes try to expose them. Corruption is a case of moral turpitude and when an employee's immediate superior is suspected of corrupt practice, the employee under him must be given opportunity to report to higher authorities or even to the police. Unless the employee is protected in this endeavour, it will be wellnigh impossible to root out corruption. Unfortunately cases have come to light where efforts of employees to stand against their corrupt superiors have not met with the requisite encouragement and even dismissals of such employees have taken place. The Civil Supply Employees of West Bengal, in a recent Press Conference, revealed the startling fact that their effort to root out corruption from this festering hotbed of corruption has roused great resentment against them higher up in the bureaucratic and Ministerial ladder, and more than a dozen employees have been discharged for the "crime of combating corruption."

A still more worse instance has come from the Shipping Office at Calcutta under the Commerce Department of the Government of India. This office is under the charge of a Shipping Master whose main functions are to look into the interests of the Indian seamen who come under the purview of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and to act as disbursing officer in the transactions taking place between the Indian seamen and the Masters or Agents of the different sea-going vessels who employ them. During the war, seamen engaged by Agents were sanctioned various allowances which amounted more or less to five times their wages. This huge sum was deposited, on account of those seamen engaged through the Calcutta Port, with the Shipping Master, Calcutta, by the various owners and agents of ships. The decision of the Government of India was that the amount so deposited with the Government would become payable to the respective seamen on the cessation of hostilities. The total amount thus deposited with the Shipping Master amounted to nearly Rs. 2 crores. After the official declaration made by the Government of India declaring cessation of war, disbursement of this money on claims by seamen has been going on. These deposits are known as post-war-credit deposits. Allegations appeared in the Calcutta daily *Bharat* to the effect that a group of officers have been misappropriating large sums of money out of these deposits on false and fictitious

vouchers. After partition, many of the seamen have left for Pakistan, some have died and some remain untraced. It is therefore not much difficult to draw money in their name on production of false vouchers. Mushroom trade unions have come into being and they are also drawing large amounts in league with the officials. It was alleged by the same newspaper that a Muslim office-bearer of some of the Seamen's Trade Unions was freely allowed to draw heavy sums through cheques issued in his favour by the Shipping Master without production of any legal authority in the form of power of attorney or other authority to receive payment. The disclosures were followed by a search of the Shipping Office by the Special Police of the Government of India posted in Calcutta. An Under-Secretary of the Commerce Department also came down for investigation but the said newspaper, in a later comment, pointed out that this was the same official who had made previous inspections of that office, while the alleged fraud was going on. The persons against whom the serious allegations had been made were all familiar with him and no better results could be expected out of an investigation made by this particular functionary. Somebody else, not familiar with that group, should have been sent down. The result was exactly as anticipated. Nothing has since been heard of, either about the police investigation or the starting of any legal proceedings; instead, two employees on the audit staff, possibly suspected of having let out the uncomfortable information, have been discharged without assigning any reason. We wonder, how the Government of India expect to stamp out corruption if things like this happen under their own nose. We draw the special attention of Mr. K. C. Neogy to this affair and request him to go personally into this case. We strongly believe that an impartial enquiry by a reliable officer will reveal startling instances of long-standing corrupt practices in the Calcutta Shipping Office.

The most curious obstacle on the way of the anti-corruption drive of the Government of India has been the legal fineries in some of the judgments of the Criminal Bench of the Calcutta High Court, where the Law has moved inscrutably. The latest judgments in two serious cases of corruption have infused a good deal of encouragement in the hearts of those who are out to make money by cheating the Government and the society. In many recent judgments, the fundamental doctrine that "justice should not only be done but it must appear to have been done"—has been sadly violated. The judgments have led the public to believe that the judges were more keen on the niceties of the law than on justice. Some of the judgments have also come in for trenchant criticism in the daily press. It appears that a judgment in corruption cases has become one of belief, and not an attempt to get at the truth by weighing evidence on the balance of judgment. We must not forget that the accused persons in the corruption cases are men

of great resources. They get expert advice and help of lawyers, police, accountants and auditors at the time of planning and committing the crime and obtain the services of the highest luminaries of the bar to defend them. If under such circumstances, through the vagaries or loopholes of law the "Benefit of Doubt" under the Criminal Procedure Code, which was devised for protecting an illiterate victim of police excess, is extended to the resourceful master criminals accused of corruption, trial of corruption cases is bound to degenerate into one of farce as has been actually happening. Unless terror is struck in the heart of hearts of those planning for crimes of corruption, this evil can never be rooted out. Drastic changes in the Criminal Procedure Code must be made and it is high time that the Government of India paid attention to it.

Communications

During the past one year communications have shown some signs of improvement but in many respects serious deficiencies have persisted. Postal services have definitely improved at least in the matter of reducing the inordinate length of time that was being required in delivering letters. Telegraphs have shown some improvement, now they occasionally reach the destination before letters. Telephones, however, still remain in a hopeless position. Delay in getting connections, frequency of wrong connections, disconnections in the midst of conversation, and discrepancy between calls made and calls registered in the Bill still persist. It appears that there is nobody to look after this section of Communications, which in the present day, is the most costly and the most important.

In land transport, timely running of trains has been restored to an appreciable extent. Number of trains in many sections have been increased and the attempt for improving the suburban railway service is appreciated. But congestion in third class accommodation still remains as severe as ever and little sign of improving the terrible travelling conditions in the third class, which is the main source of railway earnings, is visible. The Silver Arrow has been shown round the country only to placate the third class passengers. Whenever there is any agitation to improve the lot of third class passengers, promises of giving them luxurious coaches fitted with fans and other amenities are poured forth. This attempt to wipe out a real grievance with fictitious promises should now stop and real effort should be made to increase the number of coaches to remove third class congestion. Dangerous travel on footboards, bumpers and the roof can be eliminated only through an appreciable increase in the number of coaches. Shortage of wagons remains as acute as ever. India is now in a position to manufacture both wagons and passenger coaches; we wonder what prevents our Railway authorities from starting manufacture in right earnest here and now.

Corruption in railways is a menace which is clearly on the increase and practically no effort has been made to remove it. Seizure of smuggled goods from the roof of the lavatories or other portions of the carriage, which required removal of planks and their replacement and repainting, clearly proves that railway officials are closely implicated in the smuggling business. Stoppage of trains in out of the way places by the running staff for the loading or unloading of smuggled goods continues unchecked. The Railway Grain Shops, which cost the tax-payer about Rs. 25 crores a year, remain a great source of corruption and black-marketing. In the last session of the Indian Parliament, a Committee was appointed to investigate into the Grain Shop corruption but the findings of that Committee have not yet seen the light of the day. Priorities in wagon supply are still as great a scandal as ever.

Motor transport remains in the same old wartime confused position. The boggy of 'no juice' and the maldistribution of petrol has contributed to the maintenance of blackmarket of petrol. A cautious petrol policy could have transferred a large volume of congestion from railways to buses and lorries. With little chance of improvement in the petrol supply, lorries and suburban buses should have been ordered to run on charcoal-gas and the petrol thus saved, diverted to the removal of congestion in city traffic. Instead, we find large allotments of petrol being made to lorries, most of which are employed on the transport of smuggled goods across the frontier. West Bengal is now a frontier province and should have been more cautious. The West Bengal Government have sunk Rs. 50 lakhs on capital expenditure in running State Buses in Calcutta, with the evident object of improving congestion in the city traffic. As soon as State Buses have been on the road, private buses have decreased their number of trips. The West Bengal Government explained the position in a Press Note which stated that reduction in bus traffic was inevitable due to petrol shortage and thus indirectly supported the action of the private bus-owners. In one breath they say that insufficiency in the number of buses is the reason for congestion and therefore half a crore was sunk on purchase of buses, while on the other breath the very same administrators declare that plying of buses must be reduced because there was no petrol.

In shipping and air transport, India shows definite signs of improvement.

Agriculture

Food scarcity in India and our dependence on foreign countries for our food continued during the first year of our independence. The redeeming feature, however, has been that with the appointment of Shri Jai Ramdas Daulatram as Food Minister, Indian agriculture has just started showing signs of improvement. The "Grow More Food" campaign of the past has been a very costly failure. More than Rs. 30 crores have

been spent on it which seems to have been totally wasted. After passing through "wheatless" and "meatless" days, this costly campaign has landed India in the grip of an "eat less" campaign assisted by statutory rules and regulations. The new Food Minister took over his department from Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a bad condition, but through serious efforts he has succeeded in improving things to an appreciable extent. In an authoritative article published in the new monthly *Agricultural Situation in India* we are told by the Economic and Statistical Adviser of India that the country is just round the corner and notable improvement has come during the past few months. The *rabi* crop position has been fairly good.

In the rice-eating areas of the Eastern region, prices have started showing the usual seasonal increase but procurement has generally been good indicating that the over-all position is not bad. In West Bengal rice prices vary between Rs. 13-12 and Rs. 22 per maund and procurement continues to be fairly satisfactory. Total procurement of rice in West Bengal from January to May 22, 1948 has been appreciably better than the corresponding figure for last year. Rice prices continue to be comparatively low in Orissa and vary from Rs. 9-8 to Rs. 13-6 per maund. Procurement has been satisfactory. The position is somewhat different in Bihar. Here rice prices are much higher than anywhere in the Eastern region and vary from Rs. 16 to Rs. 24 per maund. All these references are to mid-July prices.

The C. P. is now the most important surplus province of India and this year it has had good crops. The average price of rice is Rs. 14-3 and the corresponding figures for jowar and wheat are Rs. 10-14-7 and Rs. 29-7-11 respectively. There has been a tendency to rise in prices due to low arrivals. Believing that the Central Government would lift restrictions on the movement of foodgrains outside the province, traders have started hoarding foodgrains. The producers also have been withholding stocks in the hope of getting better prices later on. This has resulted in low arrivals in markets in higher prices and some decline in procurement. To check these tendencies, the C. P. Government has made it clear to the public that restrictions on export of foodgrains outside the province will not be removed. The Provincial Government have also frozen stocks in excess of 2000 maunds in producing areas. To step up procurement the Provincial Government has extended to the Chhattisgarh States (which have recently merged with C. P.) its order requiring the traders to sell to Government 40 per cent of all the rice produced by them.

In the deficit areas of the west and the south, however, the food position has not shown any significant change during May, although the downward trend seems to have been arrested. In Bombay rice prices vary between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 and Bajra prices vary mostly from Rs. 15 and Rs. 21. In the

deficit districts of Madras rice prices lie generally between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30. In order to help these provinces with a view to checking the rise in prices, the Central Government has made available to them in the first half of the year the greater proportion of ceiling import quotas. Thus by the end of May, Madras received 60 per cent of its ceiling import quota. During the same period Bombay received 79 per cent of its ceiling import quota.

The Provincial Governments of the deficit areas have been trying to help the poorer sections of the consumers by opening "relief quota shops." These shops supply a fixed quota to non-producers and partial producers with liberty to supplement it with open market purchases. The restrictive character of rationing is thus avoided while a minimum subsistence quota is assured to the needy. These shops have been popular both in Bombay and Madras. A number of "relief quota shops" have also been opened in Saurashtra. The position of the Government stocks continues to be satisfactory in Madras and this has enabled the Madras Government to increase the over-all ration from 8 oz. to 10 oz. per day even under the present disquieting conditions of the province. The rice component of the ration has also been increased from 3 to 5 oss. since June last.

The improvement in the stock of the deficit provinces has been due to timely imports. The alertness of the present Food Minister has given a good shake-up to the department and thus saved the country from the danger of living from ship to mouth. Great attention has now been paid to improvement in production. The long overdue fertiliser factory, suggested by Dr. Gregory in 1942, is at last going to be established at Sindhri. The only factory that produces fertilisers on a large scale is at present the Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore. The Government of India factory at Sindhri, when completed, will have a productive capacity of seven times that of the Travancore factory. We have been depending too much on external supplies of fertilisers and have been paying exceedingly high prices for them. The quantity imported is not even one-tenth of our barest minimum requirements. The sooner the Sindhri factory begins to produce the better for our agriculture.

Although agriculture is looking up, there is yet room for improvement in the administration of agricultural departments. West Bengal is lagging much behind in this respect. This is probably the only province where an Executive Officer remains at the head of this department as Director of Agriculture. Other provinces have placed agricultural experts in this vital position while in West Bengal a Deputy Magistrate has recently been appointed to this post. We must mention here that the services of the Director of Agriculture of the United Provinces, who is on long furlough, is available for utilisation in Bengal. This Bengali gentleman has done yeoman's service in the improvement of agriculture in U. P. under the able

Agricultural Minister, Dr. Katju who is now the Governor of West Bengal. Dr. Katju will be doing a great service to West Bengal if he takes the initiative in securing the services of Mr. De. The Agricultural Department is at present run by people who know nothing of agriculture and it is imperative that an expert with wide experience should be placed at the top. An official machinery becomes effective only when a competent man is placed in charge of its direction.

Foreign Trade

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy, Commerce Minister, Government of India, warned the Export Advisory Council three days before the close of the first year of our independence that there was little room for complacency in spite of reasonable favourable balances. He said that "in order to achieve a higher standard of living for India's teeming millions and in order to pay for imports of capital goods and other machinery required for industrial expansion, we must be prepared to tighten our belts as and where necessary." His predecessor Mr. Bhabha, addressing the same Council on 8th November, 1947 pleaded for a vigorous export drive and wanted a target figure of Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 crores. Mr. Neogy also wants a target figure of Rs. 100 crores for expansion of exports during 1948.

It is apparent that both of our Commerce Ministers have fallen into the same error of looking only at the favourable balance of trade as such. The Special Delhi Correspondent of *Commerce* most pertinently points out that with millions of sterling locked up in the United Kingdom and with our inability to make use of the few millions of sterling balances released, there is undoubtedly no point in piling up more favourable balances, in the United Kingdom at any rate. Unfortunately, the export policy, as put forward by the Commerce Minister will lead only to this result. It is a well-known truism in economics that unless there are imports, there could be no export over any length of time. Unless a comprehensive policy embracing the whole question of both sides of the foreign trade and internal production be adopted, the present chaos in the economic sphere will continue. Question of increasing the standard of living apart, India is today desperately short of many basic consumer goods. This scarcity can be removed by following a liberal import policy in respect of essential commodities with yearly or half-yearly adjustments to suit increased internal production, if there be any. It is useless to talk of a high standard of living when the sufferings of the masses go on increasing with ever-increasing high prices due to scarcity. Fighting inflation will become easier only when basic necessities become available in the open market. Naturally we should give preference to plant and machinery and import them to whatever extent it is possible to do so and from whatever quarter it is possible to obtain them. It is no use, at this juncture,

to shut our eyes to the fact that with the rocketing inflationary spiral in the country and starvation in consumer goods, there is an imperative necessity for importing large quantities of consumer goods. It is only with this weapon that the Government of India can fight the present capitalist-strike that is going on in the money market and the sphere of production.

In order to expand our trade with the U.S.A. it is stated that, after a careful examination, the Government has selected a few dollar-earning items like woodworks, toys, brassware, enamelware, embroidery goods, coir-products, and lac products! One can only gasp at this "expert" advice that the Government of India has received. Even a tyro in economics could have informed the Government that the demand for these articles is not only limited but also elastic and they could never be relied upon to earn the bare minimum of hard currencies needed for import of plant and machinery, etc., from the United States. After partition tea has become the largest single item on our list of export items. Tea is still a British monopoly. The entire tea trade—its production, packing and sale—remains in British hands. Finland is the largest supplier of tea chests and India the biggest buyer; but India has not yet made any arrangement to purchase tea chests direct from Finland. Half a dozen export firms in Britain take over all the tea chests from Finland on monopoly contract and with a wide margin sell them to us. Our Commerce Department is not only oblivious of this fact, but has issued new quota rules which will further strengthen British Tea Trade in India, at the cost of the Indian Tea Trade, in the second year of our independence. This is only an illustration to show that so far as our foreign trade is concerned, genuine Indian producers are labouring under several handicaps, most of which the Indian Government can mitigate, if complete removal be not possible at the present moment.

The Year in Pakistan

The new Dominion of Pakistan has paid serious attention to the development of the country. Since its birth, it has entered into an undeclared war with India in Pakistan where its role is becoming increasingly clear. But at the same time it has not lagged much behind in pushing forward with this development project. A general summary of her attempts in the direction of constructive activities has been given by the Karachi correspondent of the *Commerce*. He writes:

One of the main problems Pakistan had to face immediately after its birth was the problem of food. The Food Ministry of the Dominion, even before it had taken shape, was faced with an acute shortage of rice in East Bengal and, a little later, with an equally acute shortage of wheat in West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. By sheer tactful handling and able co-ordination of resources, Pakistan was saved from having to face starvation deaths. Although the present and the future are not entirely free from food problems, it is noteworthy that the Ministry is fully alive to them and is determined

to solve them satisfactorily, as also to take full advantage of whatever surpluses there might be.

The decontrol of sugar in India created a serious problem, as this Dominion is almost entirely dependent on India for this commodity. Pakistan's production of sugar is limited to 24,000 tons, as against its annual requirement of 2,50,000 tons. The price of sugar in India shot up to Rs. 35-7 per maund and even at that price, sugar is not easily available. The Food Ministry has imported 20,000 tons and has placed orders for another 20,000 tons of Cuban and Brazilian sugar. Besides, arrangements for importing a small quantity, not exceeding 5,000 tons of sugar, from India have also been made.

The Statistical Directorate, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Health, made earnest efforts to organise the crop forecast work on a sound basis from its very inception. It now issues regular forecasts for the benefit of commercial interests in respect of as many as thirteen principal crops grown in Pakistan, such as rice, wheat, barley, gram, cotton, jute, etc. Statistics of the area and yield of the different principal crops have also been compiled on an all-Pakistan basis for the year 1941-42 to 1947-48.

The Directorate, it may be noted, has also arranged to collect information regularly regarding the prices of agricultural commodities prevailing in different units of Pakistan. A fortnightly statement containing over 100 questions relating to as many as 26 commodities is being prepared and circulated to all the Pakistan Ministries, Provincial Governments, and Pakistan Embassies in foreign countries. In addition to this, the preparation of a fortnightly *All Pakistan Agricultural Index* of the wholesale prices of principal food and agricultural commodities is proceeding apace.

The refugee problem, as it affected this Dominion, was perhaps even more serious in its incidence than that which confronted India, as Pakistan had none of the resources India had for tackling it. But, through an all-out effort by the Government and the people, the problem has been tackled to a considerable extent, while concerted efforts are even now being made to rehabilitate the refugees and retain them in the State as useful citizens. It is estimated that Muslim refugees from the three East Punjab districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, and Hoshiarpur alone are some 7.6 lakhs, while the overall figure is about four millions. In the second week of September, 1947, a Refugees Ministry was established for directly tackling this enormous problem and, by the end of the month, it became clear that something even more was necessary. As a result, a Pakistan Punjab Council was set up and one of the first results of this organisation was the planning of a joint military evacuation scheme in co-operation with the M.E.O.'s of both the Dominions. By April, 1948, the majority of the Muslims from East Punjab had been evacuated.

But more than evacuation, it is the work of rehabilitation that is important. As a result of concerted planning, the allocation of the assets left by Hindu evacuees is nearing completion, but the census returns have shown that it has been very difficult to persuade refugees to take up non-agricultural openings west of the Chenab,

where there was very little land belonging to Hindus. Planning is in hand to provide financial and other aid for enabling the refugees to avail themselves of business openings in these areas. The West Punjab Government has set up five committees to explore the possibilities of creating new industries and openings in business, and report to the Refugees Council.

A Central Refugees Advisory Committee for Sind has also been constituted with the Pakistan Minister of Refugees as its Chairman. This Council is a non-official body which is to advise the Central and the Provincial authorities on matters concerning the welfare and rehabilitation of refugees in the Province. Out of a total grant of rupees one crore and fifty lakhs allotted in the Pakistan Budget of 1948-49 for resettlement of refugees, ten lakhs of rupees have been earmarked for Sind.

Of all the communication systems in the Dominion, the railways are the worst hit by the partition. However, the initial hurdles were got over with determined efforts, but the fuel situation remained acute for many months. On account of this, the percentage of train services on the N.W. Railway had to be reduced to 12 per cent. of the pre-partition services. Various other methods were adopted to combat coal shortage, the most important being the conversion of locomotives from coal to oil-burning. It may be noted in this connection that attempts to import coal from foreign countries have proved successful, and, so far 26,950 tons of American coal and 17,544 tons of U.K. coal have been imported. In addition, arrangements have also been made to import 15,000 tons coal from the U. K. per month to supplement the month's supply of 1,00,000 tons of coal from India.

Schemes of railway expansion are also presently being considered. The Railway Department has already started the survey work in connection with the construction of a new railway line to link Khulna with the East Bengal Railway and the work is expected to be taken in hand soon. The Department has also sanctioned 26 new broad-gauge passenger steam locomotives for the East Bengal Railway, and plans have been prepared for obtaining a few broad-gauge main line passenger-cum-goods diesel electric locomotives for experimental purposes of the Karachi-Lahore section of the North-Western Railway.

Development of ports is also receiving the serious attention of the new State. Ever since the establishment of Pakistan, the development of Chittagong Port, one of the best natural harbours of the world, was a main concern of the Government and, therefore, in order to examine the possibilities of its development on the spot, the Minister for Communications visited Chittagong early this year. After close observations, a three-phase development programme has been prepared. It provides mainly for the extension of jetties, erection of sheds, and the provision of training walls. The capacity of the port will thus be considerably increased with the completion of this programme by the end of 1948-49.

Finally, a brief reference to forestry development in Pakistan here will be found interesting. Plans are now under consideration of the Government for starting a

Forest Research Institute which would carry on wood and fibre research. As a result of a survey of the Dominion's forest resources, it has been discovered that Eastern Pakistan has sufficient raw material to feed two big paper factories. Plans have also been prepared to plant species of trees required for the match industry in the irrigated plantation areas. In addition, schemes have also been prepared for the exploitation of forests in the Chittagong hill tracts.

Press Laws

The Press Laws Inquiry Committee has submitted its report. Before the Inquiry Committee "generally speaking the witnesses . . . were divided into two camps; one the official group and the other the journalistic group. The former is generally in favour of retention of all the Press Laws." The recent executive tendency has not only been in favour of retention of the very press laws so long cried down as "Black Acts" but they have favoured a further increase in the rigorous provisions of the press law.

Despite, however, official objection, one major reform has been proposed, viz., the repeal of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1933. If this recommendation is accepted, the Government will lose the power of demanding securities from a newspaper and the press that prints it. The Committee rightly says that this Act is one which "does not exist in the laws of progressive countries." Another important consequence of the repeal of this Emergency Powers Act will be loss of governmental power to order forfeiture of a press. The majority of the Committee, however, considers that a Court should have power to close a press temporarily if the law is repeatedly violated. The following is a summary of the other features of the Report as appeared in the *Statesman*:

The Indian States Protection Acts, 1922 and 1934, have now lost their function, and repeal is recommended; the law of sedition would be amended to cover States which have acceded. The Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, has been stream-lined, mainly at the instance of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference. Despite serious misgivings in some quarters about recent use of the powers of censorship in the Indian Telegraph and Post Office Acts, no change is recommended by the majority; the Committee is content with an exhortation to moderation and proper procedure. Similarly with the Official Secrets Act, 1923. Objection that its application should be confined, as recommended at the Geneva Conference, only to matters which must remain secret in the interests of the State is met by pointing out the impracticability of definition; only one prosecution was launched from 1931 to 1946, and the Committee hopes a popular Government will be equally tolerant. The scope of the Foreign Relations Act, 1932, on the other hand, is proposed to be considerably extended "on a reciprocal basis to protect heads of Foreign States, Foreign Governments and their diplomatic representatives from defamatory attacks and to prevent the circulation of false or distorted reports likely to injure India's friendly relations with foreign States."

Under the Codes, the Committee finds the present law of sedition, as defined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, too wide and agrees with proposals recently made to Government that it should be redrafted, to approximate to British law. Section 153A, I.P.C., should, it thinks, be amended to permit advocacy of social or economic change if not intended or likely to lead to violence. Section 144 Cr. P. C. should not be applied to the Press.

The present Report is a step forward in freeing the Indian press from the chain that kept it bound for more than a century.

Nationalisation of Imperial Bank

Presiding over a general meeting of shareholders of the Imperial Bank of India, Sir Badridas Goenka, Vice-President of the Calcutta Board of the Bank, stated on Monday that the nationalisation of the bank was under consideration of the Government, whose decision would be communicated to the bank in due course. The Board was carefully watching the position and would apprise shareholders of developments as and when necessary.

The Chairman said that since the Finance Minister's statement of the 4th February, 1948, the question had been fully considered by the Central Board of the bank at its meeting held on the 6th April. It was then resolved that (1) the Government be informed that their proposal to nationalise the bank, while leaving other commercial banks untouched, was regarded as being totally unjustified and unnecessary and representing a dangerous experiment which would only result in the loss of the bank's present business, which must in turn react to the detriment of the economy of the entire country; (2) that the Board failed to understand why the Imperial Bank of India, which was essentially a commercial bank, should be singled out for nationalisation and what material benefit was expected to accrue to Government, the country and the shareholders from such action; and (3) that the importance of the bank's branches in Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon in ensuring a free flow of trade and in promoting good relations between the Dominion of India and those countries be brought to the notice of the Government. A memorandum prepared under the Board's authority setting forth the considerations which had influenced the Board in arriving at their decision was forwarded to the Finance Minister, Government of India.

On the question of Indianisation, Sir Badridas said that the Central Board of the Bank (which consisted of a majority of Indian directors) and the management had the question well before them and considerable progress had been made in this direction. The latest position was that the Bank had 94 Indian officers and 72 European officers. The Government had been requested to arrange for the amendment of the Imperial Bank of India Act to provide for the appointment of an Additional Deputy Managing Director, of which post the first incumbent would be an Indian.

The Chairman said that the situation following

partition had been energetically tackled and remarkable success had been achieved in restoring law and order in the affected areas and in dealing with displaced persons and various other problems. In so far as the Banks were concerned, their most immediate concern had been the resuscitation of the Bank's business in Western Pakistan where, owing to the migration of their Hindu staff of India, their business in the West Punjab and the N.-W. F. P. was almost completely paralysed, necessitating the closure of 10 branches and 53 pay officers. Their efforts to re-staff the affected branches and to put their affairs in order, by the transfer of volunteers from various parts of India and a large-scale recruitment of Muslim staff, had met with partial success.

The Chairman continued that the management of the currency and other central banking functions in Pakistan were taken over by the State Bank of Pakistan from the Reserve Bank of India on the 1st July, 1948, on which date the latter bank ceased to operate in that Dominion. At the request of the State Bank, the Imperial Bank of India had entered into an agreement with them for a period of one year from the 1st July, to act as their agents and conduct Government business in Pakistan in the same manner as they were acting for the Reserve Bank of India there. The question of their future relationship with the State Bank would be considered at the end of the year in the light of the conditions then prevailing. "Meanwhile," continued Sir Badridas, "a monetary agreement has been concluded between the two dominions to ensure a smooth flow of funds for inter-Dominion trade. Whatever differences exist between India and Pakistan, there is no gain saying that each country is vitally dependent on the other where trade is concerned."

We consider nationalisation of the Imperial Bank desirable from a different angle. This Bank has been a bulwark of British vested interests in India. With its extensive organisation in Pakistan, it has now assumed a double role of financing Pakistan's Indian wars and consolidating British vested interests in that new Dominion. The deposits of Indian money in the Imperial Bank will certainly be used to a large extent in the fulfilment of the Bank's abovementioned projects. Pakistan has severed her connections with the Indian Reserve Bank with the establishment of the Pakistan State Bank, but it depends for its finance on Indian deposits through the Imperial Bank by accepting the latter as its business. In India, again, the Imperial Bank enjoys a far more advantageous position than the commercial banks of the country because here also it acts as the Agent of our State Bank where the Reserve Bank has no branches.

Demand for a Purbachala Pradesh

The demand for a Purbachala Pradesh is gaining in momentum and it is high time that this just claim was pressed in the Parliament and Constituent Assembly. The following statement, in this connection, has been issued by Sri Ananga Mohan Das, ex-M.L.A.:

I have always held the opinion that "Assam" is a misnomer for the North-East Frontier Province of India. The area which is considered to be the seat of Ashamiya culture, does not cover the whole of the geographical region, now called Assam. Recently there has been an ugly demonstration of anti-Bengali (and for the matter of that anti-Indian) feeling sponsored and developed by the leaders of Ashamiya culture.

The creation of an administrative unit based on culture affinity has therefore been a historical necessity. What is Ashamiya culture, pray? The Assamese language is 95 per cent Bengalee. Their script is cent per cent Bengalee and what they called Ashamiya culture, is nothing but the part and parcel of the great Hindu culture which rules Assam, Bengal and the rest of India.

A section of the people of Sylhet (Indian Union) and Cachar thinks of a 'Purbachala Pradesh' consisting of the present district of Cachar, Manipur State, Tripura State and Lushai Hills. I think, it will be wise and strategically important to have a 'Purbachala Pradesh', consisting, in addition to the above areas, of Cooch Behar State, Goalpara, Garo Hills and Khasi Hills. The Khasi people being more enlightened will like to be in the company of this culture group. This will cover an area of 39,972 sq. miles with a population of 41,51,344, consisting of 29,39,000 non-Muslims and 12,12,344 Muslims.

This administrative unit will be broad-based on cultural and linguistic homogeneity, which is the main factor in the ideal of human unity.

Considering specially the recent attitude of the Assamese people and Government to the non-Assamese people who constitute more than twice their number in the province, and the recent tendency of the Assamese people to join hands even with Pakistanis in order to evade the just claims of the non-Assamese population, we think the creation of a 'Purbachala Pradesh' as essential for maintaining peace and tranquillity on India's eastern frontier.

Jute in Partitioned India

Partition of India has placed the jute industry of this country in a very peculiar position. The major sources of raw jute have been divorced and segregated from the manufacturing centre. As long as Bengal remained a single unit under one administration, there was little difficulty in procuring raw jute either for manufacture or for export. As a result of the partition, however, the Indian Union has been left with all the mills but little raw jute, while Pakistan obtained the major jute-growing areas but no mills whatever.

Statistically speaking, Pakistan has obtained through partition, about 71 per cent of the total jute-growing acreage of all India. The Indian Union has been left with barely 29 per cent of the total all-India acreage under jute. But all the jute mills, numbering 104, and baling presses, being situated in and around Calcutta, have remained with the Indian Union. Thus the partition gave rise to a new situation in the jute industry, something like severing the head from the

trunk, and all through the season efforts had to be made persistently by one or the other Dominion to enable the industry, both on the growing and on the manufacturing side, to run its normal course till November 1947. In that month Pakistan violated the Standstill Agreement with the Indian Dominion, according to which it had been agreed that during the period August 1947 and March 1948, the two Dominions were not to instal any trade or customs barrier as between themselves. Pakistan levied an export duty on jute transported across her land frontier. This unilateral action of the Pakistan Government was naturally construed by the Indian Government as a hostile act, and for some time, there was a serious talk of some retaliatory measure from the Indian side. Fortunately, for Pakistan, the Government of India finally stayed its hands. It only declared the Dominion of Pakistan to be foreign territory for the purpose of levying customs duty on exports of raw jute and jute manufactures from India to Pakistan and stopped at that. In the last week of May, however, as a result of the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement signed at Karachi, Pakistan has agreed to supply 50 lakhs of bales of raw jute to the Indian Union annually. In consequence, the prevailing uncertainty about raw jute supply, for the time being at least, has been eliminated. It remains to be seen, however, if Pakistan will be in a position to honour its commitment in regard to India, while at the same time, maintaining its jute exports to earn dollars. During this season, low stocks of jute in Pakistan have been reported, but in view of the great productivity of jute in East Bengal and the need of Pakistan to earn both rupees and dollars, it is expected that Pakistan will adjust and regulate its production to meet both the demands. But it will have to meet a formidable difficulty in the continual expansion of acreage under jute in the Indian Union. If Pakistan fails to maintain friendly relations with her neighbour, a proper adjustment of jute in her own dominion may become problematic. It is only natural for the Indian Union to attempt self-sufficiency in respect of jute, and to augment her supply even by means of the introduction of substitutes. A good substitute has been suggested by Shri Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, of which an account is given below :

For several years past we have been growing *Chukai* in our Ashram gardens. It is an elegant shrub which sometimes grows as high as eight feet and above that. The crimson-coloured juicy sepals of the fruit are being cooked as an acid preparation and served in the meals. The peculiar behaviour of this acid preparation is that its beautiful crimson colour at once vanishes when it is mixed with *dal*. Its fresh leaves are eaten as salad and also cooked as *bhaji* or *sag*.

It was simply by chance that in trying to twist and break away the stem of a plant in our kitchen garden, I found its green bark to be very strong and unbreakable. It occurred to me that this malvaceous plant possesses a fibre which may be equal to jute.

I retted two plants when they were in flower and found the fibre to be much more glossy and stronger than jute. The two plants with their branches yielded eight ounces of fibre about five feet in length. Some time back I submitted a sample through a friend for test, and I have since learnt that the fibre may be regarded as a "jute substitute" according to the laboratory test of the Research Institute of the Indian Jute Mills Association.

This *Chukai* plant is common in Bengal. It is called *Mesta*. It is also called *Chukoir*. In some parts of Bengal, particularly in Midnapur and 24-Parganas, the vegetable-growers and the local seed-sellers call it *Tak-Dhanrash*. In Orissa it is known as *Kaunria*, and in Telugu it is called *Gargaihu*. In Bihar it is known as *Kudrum* or *Kudrum* and *Puttua*. In winter, the crimson-coloured fruits are sold in the Bojhakkhana Bazar, the Bow Bazar, the College Street Market and the other markets of Calcutta.

It is grown as a hedge-plant in Madras, Central Provinces, Bombay and also to some extent in the United Provinces and the Punjab. It is also called Indian Rozelle or Red Sorrel. Its botanical name is *Hibiscus Sabdariga*. The flowers are like that of the ordinary *Kapas*. The flowers are of very light yellow colour with a dark crimson eye. Its sepals are soft and juicy which are largely eaten in the form of jellies and *chutnies*. The seeds yield oil which has medicinal properties and is used particularly in frosted feet.

For the purpose of cultivation the seeds may be sown in March-April. The plant is very hardy. On account of excessive heat and loss of moisture in the soil, its leaves may wither away but the first shower of rain brings life to the plant. It successfully resists both drought and water-logging. It seems that the areas that are not considered suitable for growing jute may be well utilized in growing this substitute. It is to be noted that *Chukai*-fibre is extracted more easily than jute-fibre.

We have this season under cultivation a small patch of land measuring 45 feet in length and 20 feet in width so that a quantitative test may be made both as regards its yield as also its actual spinning and weaving quality. The plants in our Ashram are now about four feet high.

As a potherb, the plants are sown about four feet apart and they branch out. It is to be seen how the plants fare under close sowing conditions like jute. Our experimental plants are branching out although closely sown. It seems that this behaviour of the plant has got to be controlled.

The peculiar feature of the plant is that it can grow on the high lands of West Bengal and is definitely harder than jute. It is for the Agricultural Department of the West Bengal Government to follow up this matter. The attention of the Central Government is also drawn to this. The plants may be seen at the Sodepur Ashram of Khadi Pratisthan, and the fibre may be seen at the Khadi Pratisthan office, situated at 15 College Square, Calcutta, and at Sodepur (24-Parganas, West Bengal).

Innocents in Our Central Government

The External Department of the Government of the Indian Union in charge of the Prime Minister issued on the 6th of August last a laboured apology for the way in which they utilized their knowledge of a top secret of Pakistan's participation in the raid on Kashmir. It appears that the *Blits* of Bombay featured

a front-page article telling the world that Sir George Cunningham, Governor of N.-W. Frontier Province under the Jinnah regime, had written to General Rob Lockhart, the then Commander-in-Chief of Indian Union, a letter, "a private communication," telling him that

"Tribesmen from the frontier were going to infiltrate into Kashmir and that members of the N.-W. Frontier Province Government were actively helping in this; he doubted whether he could stop this."

The charge of the *Blitz* was that Sir Rob Lockhart had "deliberately withheld" the information from the Indian Cabinet. The External Departments' communique exonerates Sir Rob by saying that he had "actually" communicated it to other chiefs of the staff. For instance, the then Chief of the General Staff, Major-General Kalwant Singh and the then Director of Military Intelligence, Major-General Thapar, were "perfectly aware of the receipt of the letter and of its general contents;" the communique has further told the world that "it is understood mention was made of it at a meeting of the Defence Committee." The communique also pleads that "it is quite possible that in those anxious early days when the fate of Kashmir hung in the balance this fact was not remembered;" that "in retrospect one might regret that the letter was not preserved"—that the importance of "the first authoritative intimation of impending trouble in Kashmir" was not realized either by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Department or Sardar Baldev Singh's. We are also told that the latter utilized the information only to the extent that it expedited arrangements for the dispatch of arms asked for by the Maharaja's Government.

This episode illustrates again that we are innocents in politics, and that there would be many a tumble and plenty of hard knocks before we find our feet. We hope Kashmir and Hyderabad have driven some sense into the smug mentality of our rulers.

Bihar's Dilemma

We discussed in our August number the shift to which Babu Rajendra Prasad had been driven to justify his tacit approval of the tactics of the Bihar Government in opposing the transfer of Bengali-speaking areas transferred to Bihar in 1912 so that the "baby" province could be nursed into youth. The leaders of Bihar of those days recognized that this could be a temporary measure of help only, and in a statement issued in January, 1912, they took meticulous care to indicate the boundaries of the areas which will return to Bengal when the need for this help was no longer necessary. The present generations of Biharee leaders, Babu Rajendra Prasad not excepting, have forgotten that pledge. They have been doing something more. By acts of administrative discrimination, they have been estranging the feelings of Bengalis in Bihar. These acts were adopted in the name of securing to

Biharees their legitimate share in the economic arrangements of the province. The field of Bengali recruitment to Bihar's administrative services is being progressively narrowed; now has come the turn of industries, factories and mines. In course of an editorial in *Harijan* (June 27), Shri Kishorelal Mushruwala published a circular letter said to have been issued by the Revenue Department of Bihar to mining concerns in the district of Singhbhum inviting their attention to the necessity of appointing Biharees in non-manual posts; the threat was held that failure to follow this policy would entail the discontinuance of leases. Since then, Kishorelalji has been informed that the circular was not "by the Bihar Government or an authorised body, but by a so-called Joint Committee of officials and non-officials;" Shri Krishnaballav Sahay, Revenue Minister, wrote to him that "according to the information of the Government, no such body, as a matter of fact, exists." Kishorelalji made his "amends" in the issue of the *Harijan*, dated August 8, 1948. And on the 19th of August appeared a letter over the signature of Shri Akshaya Kumar Das in the daily *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta. The letter is significant for the fact that it contained a circular making enquiries about appointments in industrial or mining concerns. We print it below :

Office of the Inspector of Mica Accounts, Kodarma.
Memo No. 936.

Dated Jhumri-Telalya, 15th July, 1948.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Provincial Government to request you to furnish the following information in the form detailed below at the latest by 25.7.48. The matter may be treated as most urgent.

1. Name of the industrial or mining concern or its location.
2. What the concern deals in.
3. Number of persons appointed to manual posts.
4. Number of persons appointed to non-manual posts under each section.
5. Number of Biharees employed—manual.
6. Number of Biharees employed—non-manual.
7. Percentage of Biharees as compared to the total number of non-Biharees as employed under head—non-manual.

Yours faithfully,

Sd. Illegible

Inspector of Mica Accounts, Kodarma.

The purpose of this Circular is plainly to squeeze Biharees into posts that had been hitherto held by non-Biharees or non-Hindi-speaking Biharees. This Circular is not different from what has been denied by Shri Krishnaballav Sahay as having been issued by his Department. It is regarded a new weapon forged by the Bihar Government in its anti-Bengali campaign which has poisoned relations between the two peoples. And the Central Government appears to be unwilling to remedy this state of things.

The irritation would not have been so intense if Babu Rajendra Prasad and his followers had the honest desire to do the decent thing by the people of the Bengali-speaking areas which were transferred to

Bihar in 1912 and which have been inhabited by Bengalis for the last six hundred years at least. An article published in the *Bihar Herald* of June 12, 1948, brought out this fact. The writer, Shri Manindra Chandra Ghosh of Bhagalpur, put the matter in true perspective when he wrote :

But the tragedy of the whole affair is that a person—carrying a "Bengali" surname as "Ghosh," "Dutta," "Bandopadhyaya," etc.—must produce the certificate of "domicile" though he is a "native" of the province, whereas a 'Sahai,' a 'Tiwary,' a 'Sinha,' a 'Mishra' coming yesterday from C.P., U.P., or Rajputana would pass for a genuine "Bihari" with impunity. Is an inhabitant of the Manbhoom District or other border tracts which were given to the present province of Bihar after the annulment of the partition of Bengal, "native" of the province or has he become a "stranger" to his homeland overnight by creation of a new province ?

The Editor of the *Harijan* will be able to appreciate the point of the present agitation with the help of the quotation above. And he should not take at face-value the brazen statement of Bihar's Education Minister, Shri Badri Nath Varma, that "not less than 70 or 80 per cent of the population of Manbhoom is either Hindi-speaking or speaks one or other of the tribal languages, mostly Santal." Babu Badri Nath Varma forgets that his leader, Babu Rajendra Prasad, had sponsored a resolution as President of the Manbhoom District Conference in 1931 wherein it had been stated that "89 per cent of the people of Manbhoom speak the Bengali language." We would ask Shri Kishorelal Mushruwala to enquire into the genesis of this latter-day miracle that has been able to transform in course of 17 years a Bengali-speaking area into a Hindi-speaking one. In reality this attempt by Babu Badri-nath Varma is on a par with that of those agile gentlemen who change number-plates and file off chassis numbers of illicitly acquired automobiles. A correct analysis may help Bihar's ruling class to regain sanity through informed criticism of their conduct, and thus help them get out of their dilemma.

Linguistic Provinces

The Provincial Congress Committee of Bombay, representative of the island and its immediate neighbourhood, has suggested in a resolution that the question of the re-constitution of the Provinces on the principle of linguistic kinship should be postponed for ten years. The reason for this appears to be that the outburst of bitterness between people speaking different languages in India is regarded as a great stumbling block in the solution of this problem in an atmosphere of peace and sweet reasonableness. From our own experience in eastern India, in Bihar and Assam, where compact and continuous areas are inhabited by Bengalis who desire to have these returned to West Bengal or to be constituted into a separate province to be known as *Purnvahal Pradesh*, the fear appears to be justified. In the case of Bombay, the claim by the

Marhatta-speaking people that the city and port of Bombay should be included in their province appears to have been at the back of the suggestion advanced by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. When it is further analysed, the fact emerges that the Gujaratis who play the dominant part in Bombay's financial and commercial life are opposed to the Marhatta claim; they are afraid that under Marhatta regime there would ensue various discriminatory measures directed towards consolidating exclusive Marhatta domination over the city's life.

Further north, there has appeared an angry controversy round the claim for a Punjabi-speaking province. The Sikhs have been sponsoring the idea as a partial compensation of the loss sustained in course of their forceful evacuation from Pakistan-Punjab. In the undivided Punjab they were a small minority, but in East Punjab they are in strength, and with the Sikh States to back them up, they have been insisting on their special interests in words that were made familiar to our eyes by Muslim Leaguers. But remembering that for a few generations at least, the Muslims have alienated the Sikhs by their barbarisms of 1947, we may count on a Sikh-dominated province as the keeper of the north-western marches of the Indian Union.

"Story of a Great Betrayal"

Under this heading appeared an article in our August number describing the way in which the Assam Administration has been breaking all the conditions that were implicit in the "option clause" embodied in the Circular of the Special Committee of the Partition Office, Government of Assam. By it, every Government servant, Indian or European, high or low, was given the opportunity to elect the Government he wished to serve—the "rest of India" or "Pakistan." The writer appears to think that the Assam Administration has sinned the most against the spirit and letter of this Circular. But we are afraid that the Central Government of India cannot escape the verdict that it has failed to the same degree. Sardar Patel's reply to Pandit Kunsru's Question 905 on March 19, 1948, exposed this ugly disposition when he said that the Circular was not intended as a "guarantee" to employees of the Provincial Government. If the question be further pressed, the fact would come out that in those anxious days the Home Minister of the Central Government of "the rest of India" had his eyes closed to the stampede of all Government servants—high or low, from the I.C.S.-men to the post-men or Civil Court peon or the constable—for the Dominion of their choice. It would be disingenuous to plead today that the "option" was limited to a few only. And it is arguable that the Assam Administration was encouraged to play the dirty game by this failure of spirit on the part of the Central Government of the Indian Union. And we are not surprised that they would better in

course of their betrayal the melancholy example set by New Delhi.

The questions and answers exchanged in the Central Legislature will indicate certain of the elements that make up the problem in Assam. On August 12 last Shri Arun Chandra Guha asked whether the Government of Assam had asked for Central direction authorizing them to prohibit the entrance into the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam of Bengali emigrants, Hindu or Muslim. Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Minister without portfolio, replied that the Assam Administration had asked for an Ordinance, but the Central Government did not think it "advisable to promulgate an Ordinance for this purpose before an inter-Dominion Conference was held"; instead they were told that it is "within the rights of the Assam Government to regulate or check the influx for the purpose of ensuring security and avoiding prejudice to internal economy." Thereafter ensued the following argument :

Sjta. Renuka Ray : With regard to the non-Muslim refugees, is it intended by the Government that their entry into Assam from East Bengal should be stopped ?

Sj. Ayyangar : The Assam Government has strongly objected to the influx of both Hindus and Muslims from East Bengal into Assam. What powers could be applied to check this influx are being considered.

Sjta. Renuka Ray : With regard to non-Muslim refugees is there any direction as to whether the Assam Government should receive them or not?

Sj. Ayyangar : I am not aware of existence of any such specific direction.

Sj. Mihirlal Chatterjee : If the Assam Government is not in a mood to receive any more refugees from Eastern Pakistan and if Coochbehar and Tripura are also unwilling, does the Government of India consider the desirability of finding some space where the East Bengal refugees could go?

Sj. Ayyangar : The idea, at present, is to prevent the refugees coming from East Bengal to Assam as far as possible. If in spite of attempts in this direction refugees do come, arrangements will have to be made for their settlement in other areas.

Sj. Mihirlal Chatterjee : Owing to the situation developing in Hyderabad and Kashmir and the introduction of permit system for refugees from the Western Pakistan, there has been lately a large influx of people coming from Eastern Pakistan to Indian Union.

Sj. Ayyangar : We have no information on that.

Sj. Kuladhar Chaliha : Is it not a fact that from East Bengal there has been continuous flow of people into Assam?

Sj. Ayyangar : The Government of India are aware of that.

Sj. Sures Chandra Majumdar : Will the Government of India enquire whether the Government of Assam has not had the capacity to entertain refugees from East Bengal?

Sj. Ayyangar : The Government of Assam has definitely stated that they could not afford to receive any more refugees from East Bengal.

Sj. Mihirlal Chatterjee : Have the Government of India placed any money at the disposal of the Assam Government for the refugees?

The attitude of the Assam Administration, if persisted in or encouraged, would lead to a situation that circumscribed the citizenship of the Indian Union, that would enable Provinces to raise a wall in front of Indian citizens, to impose conditions of citizenship apart from and in addition to those that are being framed by the Indian Constituent Assembly. Whether this development would serve the abiding interests of India's unity and integrity, disrupted by Muslim League fanaticism, the future will show. But railing at "provincialism" is not the remedy; something more positive will have to be done so that Indian citizenship may not be halted by a Bishnu Ram Medhi or a Krishnaballav Sahay.

Orissa on the March

The people of Orissa have been relieved of their anxiety with regard to the activities of certain of the rulers of her 23 States who were trying to sabotage their surrender of authority finalized on December 15, 1947. It has been announced that the rulers have given up their idea of working for a Union of Eastern States in direct relation with the Central Government of the Indian Union. With this diversion out of the way, Orissa can go ahead with her plans for a brighter future. It is not of the new capital rising near Bhubaneswar that we look forward to, nor to the other institutions of autonomous development as a unit in the Indian Federation. We think of the Hirakund Dam the foundation stone of which has been laid down by Pandit Nehru testifying to Orissa's importance in the new set-up. The following description of its potentialities summarized in *Progress*, Orissa's weekly will be found inspiring:

The *Hirakund Dam* will be nearly 3 miles in length and 150 feet high, and will cost nearly Rs. 48 crores. It will help to irrigate 11 lakh acres of land in Sambalpur district and Sonapur State and greatly mitigate the severity of the floods which have been devastating large areas of Cuttack and Puri Districts. It will generate 3,50,000 K. W. of hydro-electric power by means of which it will be possible to set up an industrial town in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur. Since the final report on the Project of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission was published in 1947, much work has been done in making preliminary drill holes and trial pits, in erecting buildings for staff, stores and workshop, and in accumulating equipments and machinery. The Project is expected to be completed in 1953.

Indian States Under the British Plan

It was on May 12, 1946, that the Cabinet Delegation handed over to the Secretariat of the Narendra Mandal, the organization of the Princely Order set up to mediate between them and the Paramount Power, a secret Memorandum intimating that with the retirement of British power from India, Paramountcy would lapse. Neither the Congress nor the Muslim League were told of this declaration of policy.

before May 22nd, 1946, six days after the publication of their plan for the solution of the constitutional difficulties in India. And in the innumerable reports of interviews between representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League with the Cabinet Delegation we did not have any indication that these organizations had any opinion to offer in support of or in opposition to this secret Memorandum. Individual members of the Congress Executive appear to have suspected a trick in this Memorandum, but they did share their opinion with the public. Dr. Pattabhi Sèetaramiyya is one of the exceptions, but even his criticism or denunciation was not timely voiced to be effective in deciding the attitude towards the Cabinet Delegation's approach to the problem of India's freedom. Since then, others have been more vocal. The latest in the field is the first Indian Governor-General of India, Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. In course of a speech on the occasion of the installation of the new Maharaja of Cochin Sri Raja Ravi Varma, he expressed himself in plain language, hard to the ears of the members of the Cabinet Delegation two of whom are even now members of the Attlee Cabinet. We do not know their reactions to this criticism from the head of the Indian Administration. But it is good that they should be told what India has been feeling about this jugglery about Paramountcy. We append below the rather long extract from this speech delivered on August 22 last:

With a legal detachment bordering on recklessness, a theory was propounded that history could be reversed and that with the withdrawal of British power, Indian States comprising a third of the land must revert back to a state of unorganised political isolation. The constructive work of a hundred years was undone at one stroke and the gift of freedom was associated with potential chaos as a result of lapse of Central authority over a third of India. Imagine British railway engineers propounding a theory that when the British retired from India, the railway and telegraph systems should be sabotaged because they had been built by the British. Whether it ran in the name of the Crown or that of the Government, what was part and parcel of the machinery of Central authority in India was no less an asset than the railway or telegraph wires, and could not be rightly dissociated from all that had to be transferred. The doctrine of lapse of Paramountcy over Indian States was propounded perhaps by British legal acumen for the laudable purpose of conserving the authority and prestige of Maharajas, in a context wherein the complete withdrawal of British power had not been fully envisaged as a real possibility. But it was persisted in when it was clear it would lead to unadulterated chaos. A great lawyer Viceroy had, a little over twenty years ago, firmly and clearly negatived the possibility of reversing history or of whittling down the Central authority of India on the basis of a fictitious sovereignty which had no relation to reality. But this was forgotten or treated as irrelevant. With the greatest difficulty and the help of God we have done something to sterilise this most reckless theory of lapse of Central authority. The people of India are

grateful to the Princes who, by their noble co-operation, made this task possible, and gave a lead in this direction.

The States Ministry under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been rightly congratulated for success in straightening out the knots tied by British policy. But a very heavy price has had to be paid to the Princely Order for their "patriotic surrender" to democracy in India. We have seen an estimate which says that an annual subsidy or pension of rupees ten crores have been secured to the 500 and odd Princes, Princeslings and Sardars, that about Rupees two thousand to two thousand five hundred crores worth of jewellery and properties and palaces has had to be handed over to these remnants of an expiring order. Perhaps, the price was worth paying. For it defeated the British plan the consequences of which was described by "a very senior officer of the Police Department" who had told the Secretary of the States Ministry "just before the transfer of power that he was wasting his time over accession and Stand-Still Agreement and that not one State would accept the accession as proposed by the newly-formed Ministry of State." Sardar Patel's comment on this alien anxiety, as published in the Independence Number of *Indian Information*, may be quoted here: "These officers are still alive and must be wondering how the changes that occurred since they left have really been brought about."

Department of Scientific Research

All the visions for better life in India are in the stage of plans and schemes. Both in the Central Government and in the Provincial Governments, committees and boards whose number is legion are being set up, and in the multiplicity of advice tendered by these, the Government and the people appear to be getting confused. We very much wish that there would be a body of men and women who will be set up to work beyond the heat and dust of controversies, and who will be competent by their aloofness from the market-place of affairs to co-ordinate the various plans and schemes that infest our life to-day. As long as Gandhiji was in our midst, the majority of us used to depend upon him to do the thinking for us and to indicate the lines on which this thinking should move towards concrete shape and form in social institutions. While he lived even our Planning Committees could not run on their own lines; they had to be watchful so that all their plans and schemes could pass the searching scrutiny of the master planner of Indian reform. With him gone beyond, our leaders are being thrown more increasingly on their own resources. Such is the cause of the foundation of the Department of Scientific Research set up on June 1, 1948 by the Prime Minister of the Indian Union. The Department appears to have adopted the *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research* as its organ, and in its July (1948) number we have a

bird's-eye view of certain of the plans that have for their purpose the building of a fuller material life for our people. Reports of research on various subjects of immediate interest to our development have been summarised in the present number. Appropriately enough the problem of expanding our food production is given pride of place in which the new Department can, no doubt, play a significantly helpful part.

United Provinces' Rural Areas

The "revitalization" of the United Provinces' rural areas has been given a start, we are told in a "write-up" dated August 13 last published in the *Louder of Allahabad*. About 900 "development blocks" covering 15,000 villages—one-sixth of U. P. rural population—have been humming with activity as a result of the "drive" launched by the Government in July last with the co-ordinated effort of the public and the administrative machinery to re-construct U. P.'s rural areas. About another 900 "blocks" covering about 14,000 villages will be formed by the end of next year.

The main achievements of the development drive are:

About nine lakh tons of village compost has been prepared which will yield about nine lakh maunds of additional agricultural production. The target is to manufacture 30 lakh tons of compost. During three drives in the current year, about 50,000 tons of compost under the Town Refugee compost scheme has ripened and about one lakh tons of compost is under the ripening process.

About 800 tanks have been deepened. According to reports received so far, this will irrigate an area of about 17,000 acres of land. The Government expenditure on it was Rs. 30,000. If it be done without any public effort it would have cost the provincial exchequer about Rs. 3 lakhs.

The Government also propose to set up 85 pumping plants which are expected to irrigate about 20,000 acres of land. Only 50 per cent of the working expenses will be charged to the farmers. This might cost the cultivator about Rs. 6 per acre.

The Government also paid so far Rs. 10,000 as grants for establishing nurseries in twelve districts of the province. The horticultural service brought 1,000 acres of land under new orchards and rejuvenated about 15,000 acres of land of the old orchards.

Up to March, 1948, about 24 tube-wells and 1,000 wells were completed and boring was done in 12,000 wells. The target for the current year is 100 tube-wells, Four thousand Persian wheels and 4,000 masonry wells.

About 7,000 Co-operative Societies have been formed in the development blocks.

The other Provinces in India will watch with interest the course of this development "drive." Divided Bengal has special reasons to be watchful of this experiment in better living; what she has lost in area to East Bengal, should be made up by special exertion of her man-power. The Damodar Valley Project is a pointer to what is possible. But without the use of the brawn and brain of her people, nothing

worth while can be built up. The days of service-hunting should be forgotten.

Utilization of Sewage

The Public Health Engineering Department of the United Provinces Government are reported to have worked out a scheme for the production of methane gas from sewage which at present pollutes the water courses and adversely affects public health. The scheme is proposed to be given its first trial at Benares, the oldest city of the Province of immemorial history. Bombay has installed a pilot plant for the production of gasoline out of sewage and is reported to be satisfied with the result. In Calcutta the sale of gas brings about 3½ lakhs of rupees to the coffers of the Corporation. The Benares trial is being looked forward to as a measure for the safety of public health and for the utilization of a waste product. In the U. P. scheme for Benares it is estimated that the "digestion" of 3,00,000 cubic feet of gas will produce 1,200 gallons of petrol. The 10 million gallons of sewage that runs down the Ganges and the Varuna will, it is expected, produce gas sufficient for the fuel supply of 2,000 families, and the affluent will be able to fertilize 4,000 acres of land near the city providing "compost" for the "grow more food" campaign. As Benares does not happen to have a sufficient number of motor vehicles within its city limits, it has been proposed to make this part of the scheme available for Lucknow. About 70 per cent of methane gas evolved from sewage has been used in Germany and other countries for running cars within towns. We are sure that as time passes more will be heard of this; more extensive use of sewage converted into manure is a worth-while experiment.

Ceylon Citizenship for Indians

There are about 10 lakh Indians in Ceylon, most of them labourers from Tamil Nad and Malabar. They went to the island, or their ancestors did, as indentured labour to help open the tea and rubber estates of the island during the sixties of the last century. By the sweat of their brow they created wealth for the proprietors of these estates, the majority of them British. They also helped build up the port of Colombo, the railways of Ceylon and establish many modern amenities of life. The natives of the island, nursed in their old traditions with their simple wants, did not feel tempted to share this labour; they were satisfied with the economic arrangements of their society. But with the progress of time, they have been driven to revise their attitude as these old arrangements have failed to meet their growing needs. And when they turned to the bubbling labour market of their island, they found the South Indians in possession, apparently shutting all the doors to avenues of employment. This was a cruel situation, and the only way that the intelligentsia of Ceylon could think

of in getting out of it was to get the Indians out of their jobs in Ceylon. This in a nut-shell is the genesis of the Indo-Ceylonese problem of which we hear so much. It is of the same pattern as those in Burma, in South Africa, in East Africa, where Indians have laboured to help create wealth, and the natives either directly or indirectly claim the heritage of their labour. Ceylon's mind was reflected in the speech of Mr. Bandaranaike, leader of the Lower House of Ceylon Legislature delivered on August 20 last, in course of the debate on Indian Citizenship Bill which has since been passed into law. Mr. Bandaranaike was at least frank. He said:

"We now feel, on economic grounds, that the continuance of the services of a major section of the Indian working population would affect the problem of employment which this country is faced with. We now wish to send back these Indians not needed. It may be this will be an unfriendly attitude to India. But we are fully prepared to face any situation that may arise in our efforts to solve the economic ills of our land."

It is not easy for Indians to reconcile themselves to this loss of opportunities for earning a livelihood. In our neighbourhood, in Burma and Ceylon alone, they number about 20 lakhs. Their loss will affect India's internal economy. We have not witnessed gratitude or generosity to characterize the solution of problems like this.

"Pacific" India, "War-like" Pakistan

While the public of India have been assured that their Government was fully prepared to meet all eventualities, they appear to be growing restive in reaction to the stream of malice of Pakistan. Even foreign observers appear to be doubting whether India's proverbial patience can be long maintained in view of the bellicose attitude of the Muslims League's Qaid-e-Azam. The latest demonstration of this has been noticed and commented upon by British correspondents in connection with the "Independence Day" celebrations.

The London *Daily Telegraph's* Karachi correspondent described the "war-like mood" of the Pakistan festivities; he contrasted with it the "pacific tone" of the Indian celebrations, and specially noted the broadcast of Pandit Nehru infused by the "Gandhian tradition." The London *Times* Delhi correspondent also harps on the same theme. He describes it as "noteworthy" that while the Indian leaders referred to the tragic events of last autumn more in sorrow than in anger, the statements from Pakistan have been "less conciliatory." These utterances have been described as "hardly conducive to the good relations between the sister countries."

We have known for the last ten years at least that the propaganda of the Muslim League boded no good to anybody in India. And even when they have been helped to their Pakistan by British policy, the evil tendency continues. For a remedy, we can hardly think

of a peaceful method. Hoping for the best, our leaders, we believe, should actively prepare themselves for the worst.

"Deceit and Falsehood"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's opposite number in Pakistan, Janab Liaquat Ali Khan, was found foaming in the mouth when the former hurled these words as constituting the basis of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's diplomacy. Since then even Pakistani papers have been constrained to come out with facts that substantiate Panditjee's charge-sheet. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, an upholder of the Kipling traditions of British imperialism, featured a seven-column story in its front page, flaunting Pakistan's participation in the Kashmir war. Janab Liaquat Ali Khan's Department has not questioned the authenticity of this report. This has been known all along since October, 1947, though representatives of the British Government to the U.N.O. has tried to slur over this fact; the British Press generally have co-operated in this game of suppression of truth and suggestion of falsehood. And their protegee, Pakistan has flourished under this protection. But now, even they have been forced to take the cover off, and let the truth, Pakistan's participation in the unprovoked attack on Kashmir, see the light of day.

The Socialist weekly of London, *Nation and New Statesman*, appears to be specially bitter. The writer shows sensitiveness with regard to his country's position; if the U.N.O. Commission fails to settle the Kashmir dispute, and "a full-scale war" ensued between these two member-States of their Commonwealth, Britain should declare her attitude "unequivocally"; it would be "totally impossible" for her to do nothing and continue sitting on the fence. He suggests, however, a heroic remedy—exclude Pakistan from the Commonwealth—though he does not yet recognise that there is really a war between India and Pakistan. But of Pakistan's guilt he is sure.

"To us the manner of Pakistan's intervention in the whole affair seems to make her the guilty party. Disavowing the raiders she was all the time supporting them and inserting her own army. Placing no reliance on the possibility of a democratic solution, she deliberately resorted to force."

This disavowal constituted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's charge-sheet that Pakistan's policy was built on "deceit and falsehood."

Limit to Which S. Africa Will Go

The Government headed by Dr. Daniel Malan has been contemplating to move the U. N. O. General Assembly to authorize the repatriation of Indians resident in South Africa. This repatriation cannot but be forceful; for, the majority of these two lakhs fifty thousand people—men, women and children—have been born in that country and have but sentimental

relations with the land of their ancestors. Their life and labour have created the wealth of Natal where they form about a quarter of the population. The whites of this province of the South African Union have forgotten this history; the Boer and the Briton are *ek dil* in the pursuit of their anti-Indian policy. This forms part of the philosophy of their life which was indicated in the Charter of the Transvaal Church laid down 70 years back that "in Church and State there cannot be equality between the white and non-white." In this conceit there is nothing to choose between a Smuts or a Malan; both are racialists of the deepest dye; the former, perhaps, a little less blatant in the assertion of their inner feelings. Both of them desire to continue the supremacy of the white minority of 25 lakhs over the State where the non-whites, Bantus—original inhabitants of the country—are more than 75 lakhs. Successive generations of white usurpers have been working towards increasing the white population in South Africa by immigration from Europe. This policy has been a sheet anchor of their State. Field-Marshal Smuts, now leader of the Opposition, indicated in a speech on August 16 last in the Assembly:

The Government did it for industrial purposes in the first instance, but they always had the idea at the back of their minds that it was a great service nationally for South Africa and to European society in South Africa.

You talk about the future of White South Africa. You talk about the security of future White generations. These reinforcements have come forward in the battle for White supremacy for South Africa. Are you going to jeopardise this?—he asked the Nationalists.

This is a call to war to the majority in the world; to the majority even of South Africa who happen to be non-whites—black, brown and yellow. It is almost a challenge to the principles of modern democracy, to the ideals which the United Nations Organization has accepted as the law of its being. It is quite possible that South African Government will make an attempt to throw out the two and a half lakh Indians, and the U. N. O. may be a helpless witness to this outrage. But we should like to see how they tackle the 75 lakhs Bantus whom they have dispossessed and who have been rising to a consciousness of their dignity as human beings. There are any number of causes of a new world war. The impudence of South African whites will precipitate a new war that may end modern civilization. Field-Marshal Smuts talks of "white supremacy." He has lived through two world wars which have not enhanced the white man's prestige; he may yet live to lament the decline and eclipse of that "supremacy" if, with all his experience of men and things, he cannot advise a retreat from a position which will lead to a war between races.

The Germans

News from Germany tell the world of the conflicts and competitions between the two groups that divide the victorious powers of Europe today. A non-European power, the United States of America, is the leader of one group, the Soviet Union of the other. Between them they have been trying to draw as much of Germany into their own parlour as is possible. In this tussle the Germans do not receive as much attention and consideration as would indicate that human beings are concerned in the matter. There are individuals among the victorious people, however, who cannot ignore the human element in this drama of the rise and fall of a great people. Devcre Allen, editor of the *Worldover Press*, a News Agency that interprets news, is one of these. His writings show that behind the controversies live a people who are down and out with "political leadership" that is "appallingly old and tired . . . practically all in their sixties;" the ranks of the young have been "more than decimated." And what of the people who are to build Germany anew? An American "top official of the finer type" describes them thus:

The people are just enervated. They have gone too long without enough to eat, too long without hope. They have actually gone downhill, where it was believed there might be a steady, if slow, recuperation. Absenteeism is still bad, and why not, when a workingman can do more for his family by going out to the country, laboring a few hours for a farmer, and coming back with a sack of potatoes? We've been trying to induce women to go into the factories, but they have responded poorly. After all, it is a literal fact that a woman can sometimes make more for her household by hunting all day for cigarette butts than by laboring at a machine.

And what of the surroundings amidst which they live?

You can look at the pictures of the devastation from afar, but it can never convey a fraction of the terrible consequences felt by the German masses from the war. Nuremberg was 93 per cent destroyed, Munich 70 per cent, and other great cities are more or less the same sprawling, hideous ruins. One of the reasons why so many of the United States troops fail to sense more sympathetically the paralyzing emotional shock to the residents is because they have never seen these towns in their original proud beauty. As the people pick their way through the narrowed, rubble-bound streets, they know—certainly if they are of middle age or over—that never again in their life-times will they inhabit anything but ruins. The German city administrations have worked out time schedules for reconstruction; it is estimated, probably with undue optimism, that Frankfurt can be rebuilt in 40 years. In other places it will at best take longer.

And people so circumstanced have become like a foot-ball between two competing groups who have been making bids for their bodies and souls. The world can only look with pity on this scene.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN STATES

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AUGUST 15, 1947, marked the end of British rule in India. Since that day, many problems—some unsuspected—have brought India to the focus of world attention. One of the most difficult problems facing the new Dominion was that of the Indian States, numbering about 560. The States Ministry in the Government of India, under the leadership of Sardar Patel, the "Iron Man," has, within a remarkably short time, brought about the integration of the Indian States which has revolutionized both the external and internal set-up of those principalities. The solution adopted by the States Ministry of fitting the Indian States into the constitutional structure of India was the accession of the States to the Dominion. The process of integration has worked smoothly with the majority of States. It is reported that only about a dozen remain outside the orbit, and of the remaining few the sore points are Kashmir and Hyderabad.

In Kashmir, one of the largest States, whose Maharaja has joined the Indian Dominion, an undeclared war is being fought between the two newly-created Dominions of India and Pakistan. Hyderabad, whose ruler the Nizam is reputed to be the richest man in the world, is in turmoil. The Nizam—a Muslim Prince, ruling autocratically over an overwhelming majority of Hindu subjects—has shown an inclination to declare his principality a Sovereign State. The Government of India does not view the intentions of the Nizam with favour, and considers that a Sovereign independent Hyderabad would be a danger to the safety of India both internally and externally. Apart from the questions of security and defence, this raises an important constitutional problem. The question is—does Hyderabad have the right to be a Sovereign State?

The position of the Indian States in Indian polity is very peculiar; it is responsible to a considerable extent for the estrangement of feelings between India and Pakistan. The complex problem created by these Princely States, due to their peculiar position and to the contention of the Nizam of his legal right to declare himself an independent Sovereign, can be comprehensible only with a retrospective glance at developments to their present state.

II

As already alluded to above, the Indian States occupied a unique position in Indian polity. Their position and their relations with the British Government which came to an end when India became an independent Dominion on August 15, 1947, afford no parallel or analogy to any institution so far known in

history. The political system they represented was neither feudal nor federal, though in some respects it showed similarity to both. This aspect often made it possible for even a student of Political Science to have distorted views about their political system, and not infrequently it misguided the statesmen. The States were not subject to international law; they were bound to the British Government by solemn treaties and were spoken of in official documents as "Allies" like other independent Sovereign States. It would be wrong to consider the whole system a political confederacy in which the major partner had assumed especial rights, particularly in foreign affairs and defence, and where the parties had admitted that the Constituent States had no rights of secession.

There was no unanimity of opinion among writers on the Indian States. One set, who were mostly British Government officials and who put forward the Government's point of view, maintained the Roman analogy and pushed it to the length of claiming for the paramount power unlimited rights of authority over the States. They held that the rights and privileges of the States were derived directly or indirectly from the paramount power and were not inherent. Their position was amply strengthened by Lord Curzon, the Governor-General of India, who expounded and confirmed this position in his public speeches. The efforts of the exponents of this point of view centered on justifying the claim of paramountcy. Some had endeavoured to establish the feudal theory, maintaining that if the fiefs under the feudal system were isolated, so were the native States, and if the holders of the fiefs enjoyed immunity from the laws of any external power, so in general did the chiefs, exercising various degrees of internal sovereignty.¹ Nor did these writers fail to discern in the method by which the system of protectorate had been gradually formed, a likeness to the process of feudalism. Whatever other interpretations of the relationship between the Indian States and the British Government might have been, it is quite obvious that they had no analogy to feudalism. Nor had the Government of India ever sought to put forward this view.

The apologists of the Indian States, on the other hand, put forward a different interpretation. They held the view that the States occupied an almost sovereign

1. *Our Indian Protectorate* by Sir Chas. Tupper, quoted in "The British Crown and the Indian States" by the Directorate of the Chamber's Special Organisation; London, P. S. King & Sons Ltd., 1939, p. 200-201.

status.² They maintained that the principal States, which in population and area were bigger than most of the sovereign independent States of Europe, were bound to the British Government by solemn treaties and were spoken of in official documents as "Allies." That they had an independent existence was borne out by the fact that they had many attributes which appertained to full-powered Sovereign States. They had their own flag, though subordinate to the Union Jack; they maintained their own army, police system; judicial system and revenue system, quite independent of those in the British Indian Provinces. The Prince was the highest judicial authority in the State, with rights of pardon and mercy. No appeal from the decision of the States Courts, like the appeals from the British Indian Provinces, lay to the Privy Council. The Acts of British Parliament were not operative in the States. The treaties of alliance which subsisted between the principal States and the British Government were with the British Crown as allies. That the States were forbidden to declare war, enter into peace treaties or have any independent international relations with the independent States did not preclude them from enjoying some of the aspects of the Sovereign independent States.³ Such deep-seated sentiments which have gained ground in the mind of the Nizam of Hyderabad, have prompted him to put forward—against heavy odds—his claim to Sovereign status.

III

The Indian States number about 560 and vary greatly in area, population and revenue. The biggest States are as large as France, Germany or Spain, with populations almost as great; the smallest, on the other hand, are not more than a few square miles in size with populations counted in the hundreds. The popular conception held until very recently even by the Political Department of the Government of India, put all these heterogeneous units in the same category. This made their study more difficult and complex and resulted in the formation of various theories and notions with respect to their relations with the British Government, causing utter confusion in understanding their problems. Nor was the classification of the States into various groups an easy matter, as the political practices of the Government of India and consequently their relations with the States and their original character had so considerably changed during the last one hundred and fifty years that it was difficult to categorise them on any scientific basis without examining the secret archives of the Political Department of the Government of India. The difficulty came to the forefront during the time of Lord Chelmsford's Governor-Generalship after the first World War, when a classification of the States was required as a preliminary to the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes. The only

available way out of the difficulty was the resort to salute list. The States were classified according to the number of guns fired by the Indian Government in honour of the Princes visiting British Indian territory. The biggest States, like Hyderabad and Kashmir, enjoyed 21 gun salutes and some 19, while others ranged from 7 or 9 onwards, according to their status. Hundreds of them did not have the honour of being greeted in that manner.

IV

The problems of the Indian States in their present form are entirely a result of the British occupation of India and her growth in the subcontinent. The mighty edifice of the Mogul Empire began to crumble in the 18th century after the death of King Aurangzeb in 1707, and with the decline of Mogul power, distant Viceroy and Governors began to assert and maintain their independence of the central authority. Advantage of the situation was taken by the East India Company, by dealing with the Viceroy and Governors directly, who found them *de facto* sovereigns in their dominions though rendering nominal allegiance to the throne at Delhi.

Slowly and steadily, by various means oftentimes questionable, the British gained ascendancy in India. The rise of the British in India corresponded with the decline of the Moguls. In the early part of her struggle with the French, who were also in the field for carving out an Empire, the Company depended to a considerable extent upon the co-operation and support of the Indian States. Some of the treaties with the Indian Princes which date from that time were entered into on terms of equality. But with the rise of British power, the States came to occupy a position of subordination. The rapid change in the fortunes of the Company in the first half of the 19th century, which resulted in the domination of the entire subcontinent of India, led to a system of complicated and complex relationship with the Princely States. The different phases of the treaty relationship with the Indian States can be explained by the condition of the Company's fortunes at the time the treaty was concluded. Thus the treaties of mutual friendship and reciprocal obligation, by a rapid process turned into those of subordinate co-operation, allegiance and loyalty.

V

After the extinction of French power in India at the end of the 18th century, the only danger to the Company's domination lay from some of the powerful Indian States. The policy adopted by the British from this period on until the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was to weaken these States and to increase British dominion at their cost. The policy of annexing the territories of the Indian Princes was shown in its ugly reality in the conflagration of 1857, though some of the far-sighted statesmen of the Company had realised this fact much earlier.

The timely help of some of the Princes in the Mutiny of 1857 helped to prevent the extinction of the

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

3. See, *Indian States and the Government of India* by K. M. Panikkar, pp. 125-126. London: Martin Hopkinson & Co., Ltd., 1937.

British domination of India. The States from that time onward began to occupy an important position in the scheme of British administration in India. The British owed their existence to them. But what if they had chosen to act differently? Could the British Government rely on their co-operation if the tragedy of 1857 should repeat itself? The British Government did not want to leave the choice with the Princes, and from that time onwards the Government maintained territorial integrity of the Princely States which found expression in the sentiments shown by Queen Victoria when she assumed the title of Empress of India.

The great Mutiny of 1857 and the subsequent assumption of the direct sovereignty of the vast Empire by the Crown, changed entirely the constitutional position of the States. From independent allies, the big States found themselves transformed into protected feudatories of the Crown. The Governor-Generals of India subsequent to 1857 gave frequent expression to the irresistible military strength and unquestioned authority of the paramount power. On the assumption of direct sovereignty of India by the Crown, the Indian rulers were especially assured that their treaty rights and obligations were in no way affected, and the Government of India Act of 1858 had a clause to this effect, that "all treaties made by the Company shall be binding on Her Majesty."

From this time onwards, the attitude of the Government of India manifests itself in the practice of veiled intervention, an effective reduction of the constitutional position of the Princes and the conversion of their principalities into dependent States. The policy was given a legal expression that the rights of the Muslim rule after 1857 when the Crown assumed Sovereignty, as a result of the displacement of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi following the Mutiny, had accented to the British Crown. The British Crown not only stepped into the shoes of the East India Company with whom many of the States had treaties on the basis of equality, but put on the decayed mantle of the Mogul Empire and claimed the rights of sovereignty which once were enforced by the Mogul Emperors.

By the close of the 19th century, relations of the States with the British Government underwent a subtle change. With the passage of time the paramount power became more paramount and the position and power of the Princes declined. Lord Curzon, who was Governor-General of India at the beginning of the present century, raised the theory of paramountcy to a zenith when he declared in a speech :

"The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative."

The theory, in a word, maintained that as against the paramount power the Princes had no rights and all their privileges, status, rank, dignities and jurisdictions were dependent on the good-will of the British Crown.

"This attitude of considering the rulers of Indian States as servants of the Government of India, bound to take orders from Simla and Calcutta and having no rights of their own, was best illustrated in the circular issued by Lord Curzon's Government, stating that before an Indian ruler left India the permission of the Viceroy should be obtained."

Lord Reading further amplified the status of the Indian States as early as March 27, 1926, when in a letter he wrote to the Nizam :

"The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them . . . The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequence necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown . . . I will merely add that the title Faithful Ally which Your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting your Government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountcy of the British Crown."

VI

Once again, during the first World War, the Indian Princes took up the cause of the British by wholeheartedly supporting the cause of the allies. All the resources of the States were put at the disposal of the British Government. After the war, the relations of the British Government with the Princes underwent another change. They were no longer looked upon with suspicion as after the Mutiny of 1857 ; now the danger to the British came from another source—the political awakening of the Indian people. The Indian States, being themselves reactionary, were wont to help the British in their difficulty, and consequently the Government made a common cause with them to check the growing tide of nationalism. As an appreciation of their services rendered during the war and to consolidate their effective strength as a bulwark against the growing strength of the Nationalist movement in the country, the Princes were allowed to constitute themselves into a body known as the Chamber of Princes, a sort of Trade Union of the Princes. As an organised body, they could be more effective for the common cause of subverting Nationalist force in the country. The Duke of Connaught himself came all the way from England to inaugurate that august body in 1921. Previous to the World War of 1914, the Princes were kept in isolation, and the Political Department of the Government of India dealt with them individually. Direct intercourse of one State with another was entirely forbidden. Now, however, they were allowed to deliberate on matters of common concern—with the

3. *The British Crown and the Indian States* by the Directorate of the Chamber's Special Organisation, p. 92. London, P. S. King and Son Ltd., 1929.

4. Printed in Appendix II of the Butler Report.

5. *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, Vol. III, p. 212.

Political Department of the Government of India keeping a vigilant eye on their proceedings.

The Government of India Act of 1935 which attempted to change the unitary State of India to a federation, brought into the orbit of the scheme the Princes as well. They were given the option to join the proposed federation, and many of them did subscribe to the scheme with varying degrees of reservation. Before the full scheme could be put into operation, the British Government was engaged once again in a life-and-death struggle against Hitlerite Germany. The Princes, true to their tradition, threw in their might with the cause of the British. The war had a far-reaching effect. The world of 1945 was entirely different from the world of 1939. The victory of the allies not only destroyed the reactionary forces of fascism in Europe, but in the East the foundations of British Imperialism were blasted once and for all.

India was declared independent on August 15, 1947, and joined the British Commonwealth as a Dominion with the option of seceding from the Commonwealth after a specified period of one year. The position of the States had once again undergone a change, more significant than ever before. They were given the choice of joining either of the Dominions—India or Pakistan—into which the country had been divided. The majority of the Princes have put in their lot with one Dominion or the other.

VII

The Nizam of Hyderabad, contrary to the course adopted by the majority of the States as already referred to in the beginning, has announced his intention to declare his dominion a Sovereign independent State.

The position of the Indian Government is analogous to the British in 1857 when the Crown assumed the sovereignty of India as a result of the displacement of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi following the Mutiny. If the British Crown could claim the rights of sovereignty which once were enforced by the Mogul Emperors—rights which were not challenged by any Indian State—it stands to reason that the Indian Government can claim the same rights of sovereignty which were once enforced by the British. Apart from the point of view of defence and security of the territories of the Dominion of India, if the majority of the Indian States have followed a certain course of action there is no reason why an exception should be made in one case—an exception which is likely to have a very unhealthy effect on the future growth and integrity of the subcontinent of India. The growth and the acquisition of the paramountcy of the British

Government—an aspect of sovereignty of the British Crown—over the Indian States was necessitated by historical circumstance, and it is historical circumstance again which necessitates the assumption and continuation of the power appertaining to it by the Indian Dominion. The rights appertaining to paramountcy would, of course, lapse after the States become an integral part of the Dominion.

The States formed one pattern at constitutional and at international law, and Hyderabad could not be an exception. It not only stands to reason but is a political necessity that the Nizam should fall in line with his brother Princes. The contention that paramountcy has lapsed with the withdrawal of the British is not tenable. The Indian Government has inherited all the assets and liabilities. What if all the States followed the line intended to be pursued by the Nizam? There would be more than 500 independent States—a situation which would make the Balkan problem seem a simple one. India, in that case, would be a hot-bed of intrigue and warfare among the native sovereigns, and a situation similar to that in the 17th and 18th centuries would be created. Therefore, any line of policy adopted by the Indian States which would Balkanize India would be a negation of the freedom of the Indian people. Any terms of agreement between the British and the Indian Dominion, or any pronouncements made by the British Government before or after the partition which would nullify the very object of agreement, *e.g.*, the freedom of the people, are null and void to that extent. Therefore, in the nature of things, nothing can affect the right of the Indian Dominion to inherit the functions appertaining to paramountcy. The Indian Dominion, consequently, exercises all the rights of paramountcy and as such no State has a right to declare itself a Sovereign State.

7. By the Standstill Agreement of November 29, 1947, negotiated between the Government of India and Hyderabad by Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, it was agreed that the Government of India would not exercise paramountcy over Hyderabad, while the Nizam agreed that the Government of India will continue to control Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications as was done by the British Government of India till August 15, 1947. The Nizam also promised, by an exchange of letters, to the effect that Hyderabad would not accede to Pakistan. This agreement was to last for a year, thus the Nizam's effort to present his case to be independent of India, to U. N. is regarded, as violation of this agreement, by the Government of India.

For the full text of the Agreement and letter exchanged between Lord Mountbatten and the Nizam, see *India Information*, Vol. 21, No. 220—Dec. 15, 1947. (Government of India Information Service, New Delhi and Washington, D. C.), pp. 556-58.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

III

ANOTHER unique feature of the Draft Constitution is the enunciation of a number of "Directive Principles of State Policy" in the body of the text. The importance attached to the subject is indicated by the fact that an entire Section, viz., Part IV, is devoted to it. These are, as their title suggests, merely directive principles of policy, that is, the State will be expected to be guided by these in determining and pursuing its policies in regard to certain matters. Although these resemble fundamental rights in so far as these also set limits to the powers of the Executive and Legislative authorities of the State and are also fundamental principles of policy they are less rigid and more flexible inasmuch as they are not enforceable in courts of Law. Section 29 distinctly states that

These provisions "shall not be enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws." (Italics our own).

In other words, there will be no legal remedy available to citizens in case of their infringement as in the case of fundamental rights, but all the same the State authorities would be under a moral obligation to apply them in framing State policies in certain matters and in their implementation through legislation. Now a number of questions may occur to our mind here, such as—there any necessity and justification for incorporating these principles in the text of the Constitution, does it not constitute an unwarranted curtailment of the discretionary powers of the authorities of the State to deal with the matters in question as seem best to them in changing circumstances, is it quite politic to put those at the helm of affairs into a strait jacket in the matter of steering the ship of the State. These are highly controversial issues and there is bound to be difference of opinion on these matters as there has always been on the fundamental issue of the limits of state interference and individual liberty. On the one hand, it may be contended that they constitute an unwarranted encroachment on the powers of the Governmental authorities to whose discretion such matters should be left with greater advantage and that we should not make things unnecessarily rigid. On the other hand, it may be said that the principles laid down in this Section reflect the minimum measure of social justice which is universally accepted today by public opinion all over the world as being the *sine qua non* of civilised

existence. As such no exception can be taken to their incorporation in the fundamental law of the country. Apart from serving as a constant reminder of their importance in determining a social structure based on elementary principles of justice and equity they would keep the legislative and executive authorities of the State from transgressing the minimum requirements of social justice. Much can be said in favour of both these points of view. We do not see at least any harm in a declaration of such guiding principles of State policy in the body of the Constitutional text, so long as they are couched in general terms and not made too rigid. They have, however, got to be revised from time to time keeping pace with changing conditions. Many of them would seem to be quite superfluous for statement in the Constitution. For instance the provision that

"The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life" (Section 30).

This would appear to be so universally accepted a principle as hardly to require a formal affirmation, but the authors of the provision may perhaps contend that such fundamental truths bear repetition and restatement lest people should forget them. Sections 31 to 33 make provision for guaranteeing to citizens a measure of social security that is accepted by civilised public opinion all over the world today as indispensable for giving every human being reasonable opportunities for the fullest development of his personality which is regarded as being the end of modern state, but that is actually realised in the lives of citizens in very few countries. Here in India we are lacking in the minimum requirements of social security and are in particular need of fixing a target of social security measures. So we cannot dismiss these provisions as being needless and superfluous. The items in the provisions have been quite well chosen. These are :

(i) "That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood." The mention of women along with men in this clause has been very appropriate in the peculiar conditions of our country where many a woman is condemned to the ignoble life of domestic drudges and hangers-on on unkindly relatives.

(ii) "That the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."

(iii) "That the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment."

The above two clauses are calculated so to change the existing productive relations as to prevent glaring economic inequality and promote as far as possible equal distribution of the national dividend and thus to maximise economic welfare in the community.

(iv) "That there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women."

(v) "That the strength and health of workers, men and women and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength."

(vi) "That childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

The above clauses are intended to prevent as far as possible exploitation of the economically weak by those who are economically stronger—which is a crying need not only in our country but even in more advanced countries. If realised, it would bring about a healthy equalisation of economic conditions of people. Section (32) provides:

"The state shall, *within the limits of its economic capacity and development*, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement, and other cases of undeserved want." (Italics our own).

This has perhaps been borrowed from the new Soviet Constitution, but does not on that account lose in any way in its value and supreme importance. A Clause like this ought to find a place in the constitution of every country that claims to be progressive. We may even go further and suggest its inclusion in the list of fundamental rights. Every civilized state ought to be under an obligation to secure to every citizen these rights. In the existing conditions of India however the qualifying clause (in italics) viz. "within the limits of its economic capacity and development" is quite understandable. The war-shattered and undeveloped economy of the country cannot immediately be expected to meet the cost involved in giving full effect to these provisions.

Section 33 provides for "securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief." This section seems to us to be quite superfluous. It may be assumed that the popularly elected legislature of any state would attend to these things and it is not desirable that the constitution should go into such minute details.

Sections 34—38 relate to the raising of the living conditions of citizens. Freedom from want has been accepted as one of the "Four Freedoms" enunciated in the much talked of Atlantic Charter and hailed all over the world as one of the fundamental conditions of ensuring peace and prosperity of mankind. It is an

ideal to be striven for in every country, but if it is to be real and effective it is not merely to be a negative ideal consisting in mere staving off indigence but something positive ensuring each individual a decent and comfortable standard of existence making for a fuller and richer life. It is in that context that the value of these provisions is to be judged. In this respect India may perhaps be regarded as a pioneer and may give the lead to other peoples drafting their constitutions in future. Section 34 makes it obligatory (the word "shall" has been used and is significant) on the State "to secure, by *suitable legislation, or economic organisation, or in any other way*, to all workers, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities," that is, everything that makes a man's life worth living. Ignorance and illiteracy are the greatest scourges in India today—a legacy of foreign rule which we must put an end to at the earliest opportunity if our hard-earned "independence" is to have any meaning. Section 36 places an obligation on the State "to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." Section 37 purports to further the educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes in particular and the weaker sections of the people in general and to protect them from all forms of exploitation and social injustice. This is necessitated by the peculiar conditions of our country. Section 38 imposes the obligation on State to provide for the raising of the general level of nutrition and public health and also the general standard of living. In view of the previous sections we do not see very great necessity for insertion of this section. The obligation imposed here is too obvious to require a statement in the constitution. The same thing may be said of the next section providing for the protection, preservation and maintenance of monuments, places and objects of national importance. As we have said before it is not desirable that the constitution should go into such details. Section 40 is very important as proclaiming to the world the underlying principle of foreign policy of India based on a determination of the Indian nation to promote international peace and security by just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the guiding rule of conduct among governments and by the maintenance of justice and respect for treaty obligations in the dealings of peoples with one another. The importance and urgency of an announcement like this cannot be overstated in the world situation of today. It would be well indeed if other peoples also imitated India in this respect and acted up to such declarations solemnly made.

PRINCIPLES OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

By U. S. NAVANI, B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

Ever since Britain emerged into a nation-state in the sixteenth century and started on her career of empire-building she has been at war with almost every country in the world. France had been the traditional enemy. With Spain and Portugal she fought for the American colonies. She went to war with Netherlands, Denmark and Norway for naval supremacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her armies were continually engaged in Russia, India, China, South Africa, Egypt, Canada, Afghanistan, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon and the Arab countries all through the nineteenth century. In the twentieth she was twice involved in mortal combat with Germany and also fought against Italy, Japan, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan countries. While most of her wars up to the nineteenth century were waged for naval supremacy and imperial conquest, towards the close of that century two clearly defined principles of her foreign policy emerged. One, in order to protect her own independence she had to ensure that no power could challenge her from across the Channel or the North Sea. After the defeat of Napoleon and the elimination of France as a first-rate power there was hardly any occasion for Britain to march her armies on the Continent until the beginning of the present century. Twice within a single generation Britain had to declare war on Germany, first when it attacked Holland in 1914 and next when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939. At present in the new set-up in Europe Britain stands precariously poised between the Russian Colossus swaying half Europe and the United States determined to halt the march of Communism in Western Europe. With a combination of state socialism and private enterprise, of Marshall Aid and trade pacts with Russia and Eastern Europe, Britain may hope to keep out of the next atomic war between these two giants, but in the event of war her chances of survival are meagre. In the new line-up of power-politics Britain knows that she must take a secondary place and has cast in her lot with the American bloc. But it will be an error to suppose that she has done so out of any ideological affinities with U.S.A. Her shattered war economy and what Prof. Robbins has called 'economic megalomania' have left Britain with no choice but to grasp the hand of American aid. She has no use for Communism or unbridled private capitalism and would very much rather keep out of the coming conflict. But in no case would she tolerate Russia so close to her shores as to threaten her existence and any further march of Communism in Europe would bring her into conflict with Russia even apart from American reaction.

The second cardinal principle of British foreign policy which has evolved through the trial of centuries

has been to guard her life-line to India, and to that end Britain would risk war with any power that threatened Gibraltar or Malta or Suez Canal. It was also in order to secure this that she has played the part she has in Egypt and the Middle East. In the changed circumstances of today when the Empire stands liquidated it may be legitimately asked if this principle of British foreign policy no longer applies. In order to understand the full implications of the new set-up it is necessary to realize the causes that led to the break-up of the Empire, particularly the events in India, as India has for obvious reasons occupied a pivotal position in the British Empire.

It is said that Britain conquered India in a fit of absent-mindedness. Can it be said that she quitted India in a fit of conscience? The British are essentially a hard-boiled business people. This is not to deny their eminently sympathetic and charitable views of other peoples' problems, but for them to expect that foreigners will gulp down the theory that they left India as a matter of moral duty would be a little too much. The British left India because it was no longer profitable to hold it in the form they had, *viz.*, direct political sway. The I. N. A. trials, the naval mutiny which spread to all ports, sympathetic strikes in the Police and the Air Force and above all, the highly disturbing facet of unity put up by the Indian people in 1945 and early 1946 convinced the Labour Government that they could only hold India at the point of the bayonet, and the cost of such an adventure would be more than the Indian revenues could bear. Add to it the spectre of recurring famine which always loomed in the background and the world opprobrium accompanying such events (the British are a highly sensitive people) finally decided Britain to quit and make the best of a bad job. For, relinquishing direct political sway over the subcontinent did not mean that all British interests in that area were to end. On the contrary, the creation of that political monstrosity, Pakistan, the fantastic freedom given to Indian States to proclaim their independence, the hasty division of the armed forces, during a highly inflammable communal situation, and above all the appointment of that charming diplomat Lord Mountbatten to sell the new British Plan to India were all designed to secure for Britain footholds and strangleholds within the country. The division of the country was of a piece with other British acts of *raje-tyage* in Ireland, Egypt and Palestine. While ostensibly Britain has relinquished the Empire (India, Burma and Ceylon have been freed) it would be misleading to suppose that the old Imperial game is at an end. The English will always be with us!

What are British interests in the liquidated empire and how does she mean to secure these? There are three main interests of Britain in the East: trade, oil and the life-line to the Commonwealth. Britain as a leading exporting country has to rely on overseas countries for buying her goods. At present a vigorous export drive is being carried out by the British Government. "Export or die" has become the slogan of Labour Britain. India, Burma and Ceylon with their teeming populations offer the best possibilities. By cutting their chords of political bondage Britain has created 'an abundance of goodwill' in these countries which she means to capitalise on the trade account. Particularly has she laid Indian Moslems under a deep sense of obligation, for the most wooden-headed among them will admit that but for the British, Pakistan would have remained an empty dream. Indeed its very survival is conditional on British or other foreign aid. With this abundance of goodwill and the vast purchasing power of the liquidated empire Britain may well congratulate herself on having performed an act of unparalleled political wisdom in liquidating the Empire. The other main interest of Britain is oil. After the decision of Burma to go out of the empire and its inability in any case to restore and work the pre-war oil wells Britain has to depend for her oil supply on the countries of the Middle East. With regard to other main interests of the Commonwealth, the proposed conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London points out clearly the necessity Britain feels of forging closer ties with it. Those continental observers who expect Britain to renounce the Commonwealth in order to fit in more closely with the European recovery programme underestimate the commonwealth sentiment and the innumerable ties Britain has with it, not the least of which is the readiness with which Commonwealth countries have come to the rescue of Britain twice within a generation and with which they may do so again in any future contingency. Commonwealth defence is therefore as prime an interest of Britain as ever. What was Britain's life-line to India is now her life-line to the Commonwealth. Egypt, Middle East, India, Burma and Ceylon are as vital to it as before. Therefore, a defence system which includes all these is of vital necessity to her now. Only now she

must ensure that not only all these liberated countries come within that system but failing that none of them is so strong as to challenge that life-line to the Australasian commonwealth. Super-imposed upon all this is the new power-politics of Russo-American rivalry and the part Britain is expected to play of smoothing the path of American participation in these countries particularly those of strategic importance such as Pakistan.

In order to safeguard these interests Britain has had to re-orientate her policy to the Moslem countries. Whereas before the war Britain kept Egypt under a virtual military occupation, and aimed to disrupt the unity of Arab countries by creating several Arab States and by encouraging Jewish immigration into Palestine her interests now demand a fairly stable unified and friendly Moslem bloc stretching from Palestine to Pakistan. In the first place such a bloc would act as a barrier against Russia, secondly, it would serve as a wholesome check upon the growing Indian might, and finally as a guarantee of undisturbed supply of oil. Whereas formerly she put up various Arab States headed by reactionary rulers quarrelling among themselves but relying on British support she is now openly championing the Arab cause and has abandoned the Jews. That such a Moslem bloc will be friendly to Britain cannot be doubted. Britain has created it and is maintaining it. This has apparently brought her into difficulties with America where Jewish influence is a factor to reckon with, but even the United States is being swayed more by other considerations than that of the justification of Jewish home in Palestine. Thus Truman abandoned the Partition plan originally sponsored by his government in the United Nations Assembly. U. S. A. may come to see eye to eye with Britain on this matter. For Britain, oil and for America, the necessity of keeping out Russian influence in the Middle East would lead to their strengthening of an Islamic bloc from Palestine to Pakistan ruled by reactionary and fanatic elements and leaning for constant support on Anglo-America.

It will thus be observed from the foregoing that although the pattern of British foreign policy has changed, the fundamental premises, *viz.*, securing herself against an attack from Europe and guarding her life-line to the east, remain unaltered.



THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE UNITED NATIONS

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

THERE are, in the main, two schools of thought regarding the position of the individual in any scheme of world-organisation, those who think that nothing short of federal union with the individual directly recognised as the unit of government would suffice and those who are content with an improved League of Nations, recognising the State, not the individual, as the unit.¹ An analysis of the different provisions of the Charter of the United Nations will show that those who drew it up belonged to the latter group. But the same analysis would also reveal that the framers of the Charter did not altogether forget the idea that we are moving, though slowly, painfully and hesitantly towards the former view of world political life.

The federalists want to emphasise the role of the individual, as against the State by suggesting that representatives in the international parliament should not be the nominees of their national government, but should be directly elected by the people², and that representation should be in proportion to the number of citizens in different states.³ But in view of the prevailing nationalist sentiment neither of these suggestions could be accepted by the framers of the Charter. The individual thus is not directly recognised so far as the composition of the various bodies within U.N.O. is concerned. It may, however, be argued that the relation between the individual and the structure of U. N. was not completely ignored. For in assigning seats on the Security Council to the five great powers, United Kingdom, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China and France on a permanent basis and the remaining six seats to other member nations on the basis of a principle of election, one of the reasons which appears to have carried some weight was that the Security Council as a whole represented the majority of the people of the world. But once we accept the federalist view of representation on the basis of population as correct for our political life, there is no escaping from the conclusion that great countries like India and China should be given wider representation in the General Assembly of the United Nations. And in fact there is no real reason for rejecting the federalist emphasis on the individual as the unit of government, for obviously a state or nation can have no end or purpose different from, or opposed to, the end or purpose of its citizens, and our duty to a state or nation separate from its citizens, and in which they

do not share, is surely inconceivable. It may be noted that Soviet Russia was clever enough to secure two additional votes in the General Assembly through the membership of Byelo-Russian S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R., though these two latter countries are no better than constituent units of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

If we look at U.N.O. from the point of view of its powers, we have to admit that the Charter takes the practical step of a compromise between recognising either states or individuals as units of international administration. If states were the units, they would claim complete sovereignty.⁴ Now even a glance at the Charter will show that for most states there is a definite renunciation of sovereignty, not in words, of course,—it still speaks of the 'sovereign equality' of all states—but in deed. For under the Charter "members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council",⁵ consisting only of eleven members of U.N. This loss of sovereignty on the part of the state may be interpreted as a gain for individual. For this would be a check on any totalitarian tendencies of the modern states and give the individual ampler opportunities of direct contact with international organisations and functions and thus open up before him a new future. But there is a fly in the ointment; the big five still retain their sovereignty through their veto⁶ in the Security Council.

In view of the fact that the individual is still not recognised as the unit of representation and that some states still do not renounce their sovereignty, it might be said that the importance of the individual is minimised and that of the state emphasised so far as the structure and powers of certain organs of U.N.O. are concerned. We may, however, still enthuse about the role of the individual, once we look to its purposes. One of the basic purposes of U.N.O. is to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."⁷ The Economic and Social Council with its various specialised agencies,⁸ commissions,⁹ international conferences,¹⁰ and non-governmental organisations¹¹ has already done much and is expected

1. Dr. A. C. Ewing, *The Individual, the State and World Government*, pp. 221.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 221, also *Bullet, United Nations*, pp. 1922.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 277 and 279.

5. *Charter*, articles 2 and 78.

6. *Ibid.*, article 25.

7. *Ibid.*, article 27.

8. *Ibid.*, article 1.

9. *Ibid.*, article 57.

10. *Ibid.*, article 62.

11. *Ibid.*, article 62.

12. *Ibid.*, article 71.

to do more in this respect. You may not think about U.N.O., but the mere mention of commissions like the Human Rights Commission, Economic and Employment Commission, Social Commission, Status of Women Commission and of specialised agencies like I.L.O., F.A.O., W.H.O., U.N.E.S.C.O. and of the Trusteeship Council sufficient to indicate that U.N.O. thinks rather seriously about us all.

No doubt here also there is a difficulty. For the Charter provides that U. N. shall have no right "to interfere in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State."¹³ On the basis of this provision South Africa has been attempting to prevent the General Assembly from taking any decisive action in regard to India's complaint of discriminating legislation against South African Indians. But it is difficult to believe that fundamental freedoms and human rights are 'essentially' within the jurisdiction of States, and not of U.N. whose very Charter in its preamble and in a number of articles speaks of the promotion of "fundamental human rights," "equal rights of men and women," "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development."¹⁴ The real remedy seems to lie in an acceptable definition of fundamental human rights and making them justiciable not only in the national courts but also in the International Court of Justice. This will bring the fundamental rights of citizens even within the protection of the Security Council. For the Charter provides that "each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party"¹⁵ and that "if any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment."¹⁶ But perhaps the main objection to this process of widening the powers of the Security Council is that its organisation and procedure are yet far from being democratic. If, therefore, fundamental rights of human beings are to be realised through international action, it is necessary that we attempt to democratise the Security Council; and this will surely involve abolition of both permanent representation and veto power of the big five in the Security Council. But this is to call upon the great states to humble themselves, an appeal to

the rich to sacrifice. Will they do it? Unless they do it, we cannot believe that U. N. O. will have a bright future before it. Let us remember that the more we can develop the understanding that the individual is the person for whom U. N. O. exist, the more ample will be its binding force upon him.

We need not be disappointed because a higher status was not given to the individual under the Charter. International government in any systematic fashion can hardly be dated earlier than the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. It is, therefore, not surprising that every attempt at emphasising the role of the individual in international affairs is met, to use a phrase of Professor Laski, by "the ghost of the sovereign state still seeking feverishly to retain in its hands the ruins of its empire." But surely in these days of wide and rapid communications, the days cannot be far off when the state which was once a 'Leviathan' will "take amiably to the hook,"¹⁷ and give the individual his due.

The individual, however, cannot expect to get his due, his rights, unless he does his duties. Here we can emphasise certain duties of the individual in relation to U. N. Individuals can work for the recommendations of the General Assembly by urging their governments to carry them out. Through their non-governmental organisations, like the World Federation of United Nations Associations, they can secure consultative status" with the Economic and Social Council, and give it their advice. In respect of certain recommendations of the General Assembly individuals have special responsibilities. For instance, without initiative from ordinary individuals, the resolution passed by the General Assembly on November 3, 1947 asking governments to promote by all means of publicity and propaganda friendly relations amongst nations would be meaningless. Individuals can play an active role in forming an international public opinion for peace and against war. They could declare that they would not fight any war against U. N. Through their franchise they could change the very character of their national parliament by sending there men who would work for U. N. They could demand from their state a system of education that is based on an international outlook. Is it too much to expect that individuals all over the world will realise their proper role in U. N., and while claiming rights from it, never forget to do their duties towards it, and thus contribute their share to the growing concept of world-citizenship?

13. *Ibid.*, article 2.

14. *Ibid.*, preamble, articles 1, 13, 55, 62, 68 and 76.

15. *Ibid.*, article 94.

16. *Ibid.*, article 94.

17. *Introduction to Politics*, p. 96.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

19. *Charter*, article 71.



THE PRESS IN CHINA

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As everywhere else, newspapers were unknown in ancient China. The 'Celestial Kingdom' had no privately owned and managed newspaper even as late as the first half of the 19th century. Today also, in the middle of the 20th century, the Chinese press is undeveloped, unprogressive and backward. So far as the collection of news, serving the news collected, display of news-items and editing are concerned, they can stand no comparison with their English and American contemporaries. But, even at this undeveloped stage Chinese papers and periodicals have caught the infection of corruption like many of the papers and periodicals in other countries. A newspaper to justify its existence, nay, to be worth its name, must set before itself the ideals of forming a balanced public opinion and of giving expression to the same. Bribe by the rich and bullied by the mighty, Chinese papers in general have receded farther and farther away from these ideals.

Newspapers in the modern sense, of recent origin in China as they are, official newspapers are known to have been in existence as early as the second century of the Christian era when the Han Emperors were the arbiters of China's destiny. An official 'gazette' began to be regularly published from the days of Tang Emperor Minghuang in the 8th century A.D. Its circulation however was confined in the main to Government circles till the beginning of the Manchu period in the middle of the 17th century. The popularity of this 'gazette' among the intelligentsia continued till the days of the Ming and the Ching Emperors. It can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a newspaper in the accepted sense of the term today. A medium of the expression of public opinion it was certainly not. Nor was there any such medium at the time. Criticism of Government policy and actions was not however altogether unknown. This criticism however was confined to the educated gentry. The masses were inarticulate as yet.

Criticism of Government activities had been galvanized into activity in the later Han period. This criticism, in the last analysis, was a crusade of intellectual China against the corruption, jobbery, nepotism and various other malpractices rampant at court and among the bureaucracy. Followed the student movement, which may be regarded as a direct outcome of the campaign launched by China's intellectuals. During the Sung and the Ming Dynasties later on Chinese students played a leading role in all the progressive movements of the country. Students of China have, through generations, held aloft the banner handed down to them by their predecessors. The later Han Emperors sought to put down the student movement by executing hundreds of scholars and incarcerating thousands and thousands of students of different universities. The student community was whipped into activity in the 12th and 13th centuries by the cor-

ruption, weakness and inefficiency of the Government of the day.

The first Chinese newspaper saw the light of the day in the 19th century. Like many things else China owes her earliest papers and periodicals to Christian missionaries, who have contributed not a little to the development of the Chinese press. There is a striking similarity in this respect between India and China. The missionaries were wide awake to the importance, nay, the indispensability, of newspapers as the media of propaganda. They had besides the advantage of having at their disposal press and other paraphernalia essential for the publication of newspapers and magazines. Missionaries like Morrison, Medhurst, Young J. Allen, Timothy Richard and others believed that it was a part of their duty to popularise scientific thoughts in China and to stimulate mass consciousness in that vast sub-continent. It would be ignoring a great historical truth if we forget that it is the ideas disseminated by these missionaries which have precipitated the dawn of the modern age in China.

The missionaries turned their attention in the first instance to monthlies and fortnightlies. The first Chinese daily came into existence in the middle of the 19th century. Dailies do not seem to have been very popular at first and before 1895 China had only seven dailies. The increase in their number has been very quick since then. The following table will give the readers an idea of the growth of the Chinese press :

Year	Number of Dailies
1895	19
1903	65
1907	123
1910	250
1912	500
1921	550
1926	628
1935	910

The statistics for the post-1935 period are not available. Yet it may be safely averred that Chinese dailies today number 1,000 at the humblest computation. The number, in all probability, is much higher. The number of their readers too is not negligible. In the year 1936-37 5% of China's teeming millions were in the habit of reading papers.

The history of the press in China may be divided into three periods :

1. Beginning of the modern newspaper .. 1815-95
2. Pre-Revolutionary Epoch .. 1895-1911
3. Post-Revolutionary Epoch .. 1912-

Sinologues like William Milne, Robert Morrison, Friedrich August Gutzlaff, James Legge and Walter Henry Medhurst played an important part in the development of Chinese journalism in the first half of the 19th century. Charles Batten Hillier, Alexander Wylie, Joseph Edkins, Timothy Richard and last but

not least Young J. Allen played an equally important role in the evolution of the Chinese press in the latter half of the century. Some of them had the good luck of obtaining the assistance of Chinese collaborators. Of these latter mentioned may be made of Wang Tao, Tsai Erh-K'ang and Liang A-fa, who were associated with Legge, Allen and Morrison, respectively.

Wang Tao may be regarded as the pioneer of Chinese journalists. Endowed by nature with an original genius, Wang had the added advantage of being a profound scholar. During the years 1860-80 a number of papers were published through the efforts and under the management of students like Wu Ting-fang, Yung Wing and others who had their education abroad. Lin Tshih-hsu was the first Chinese official to turn his attention to Western periodicals. He and his subordinate Wei Yuan suggested the translation of foreign periodicals into Chinese with a view to liberalising the outlook and broadening the angle of vision of the intelligentsia. The well-known Chinese daily *Shun Pao* came into existence in 1872. The *Sin Wan Pao*, another leading daily of China and a rival of the *Shun Pao*, was started 21 years later in 1893. China's discomfiture at the hands of Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) was the signal, so to say, of the former's re-awakening from the age-old slumber in all spheres of national life. A number of Chinese periodicals sprang into existence at this crisis in the nation's life. Each and everyone of them was an ardent champion of radical reforms in the prevailing socio-political set-up of China.

The First Sino-Japanese War may thus be said to have marked the beginning of a new phase in the evolution of the Chinese press. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 which liquidated the decrepit Manchu monarchy was in the main an outcome of the ceaseless campaign conducted through years by the daily and periodical press of China. Gaggling orders, fines, imprisonment, expulsion from the country and the like notwithstanding, Chinese journalists of the day were undaunted and did not deviate from the path which they had chalked out for themselves.

The period, 1895-1911 may be rightly regarded as the golden age in the history of the Chinese journalism. Under the Republic there have been no doubt an all-round improvement and by no means inconsiderable increase in the circulation of the Chinese papers; yet the Chinese papers today cannot stand comparison with those of the pre-Republican epoch. The modern press is a stranger to the idealistic fire and fervour of its pre-Revolutionary predecessor. The development of the Chinese press has been moreover very slow. The re-actionary regime of Yuan Shi-kai and the ordeal China and her people have been passing through since 1927 are responsible for this tardiness of progress.

The Chinese Monthly Magazine, the first Chinese-language periodical first came out on August 6, 1915. It was brought out from Malacca by William Milne.

Robert Morrison and Liang A-fa were his associates in the matter. China's first foreign-language periodical had however come into existence in 1833. It was published from Canton. She had her first daily a quarter of a century later in 1858 through the encouragement of Wu Tin-fang. This first Chinese daily was but a Chinese-language edition of the *China Mail*, an English daily.

The first Chinese periodicals had very few subscribers. The Chinese Monthly Magazine could not boast of more than 2,000 subscribers even in the heyday of its popularity and prosperity. Judged by contemporary standards, the 2,000-mark was by no means unsatisfactory. The circulation of the Magazine was confined to South China and to the Chinese settlers in Siam, Annam and Malay. Quite a number of the Christian Fathers, who had made the publication and improvement of Chinese papers and periodicals the mission of their life, were deep students of the country's history and its hoary culture. Of these James Legge deserves a special mention. Walter Henry Medhurst has carved out a niche for himself in the history of the evolution of Chinese periodical literature. Young J. Allen worked Trojan-like from 1864 to 1904 for the propagation of modern scientific knowledge among the Chinese. He had realised it full well that the aid of periodicals was an essential pre-condition of modernizing China's outlook of widening her angle of vision.

The Chinese dailies published between 1860 and 1869 were but Chinese translations of different foreign-language dailies. Two of the leading dailies of present-day China were started under foreign auspices and management. It was foreign missionaries and merchants in China who first took to the publication of newspapers out of pecuniary motives. The Chinese took their cue from them and began to follow their example from 1870 onwards. It was during this period that Wang Tao, the father of Chinese journalism, to whom we have already referred, started the *Tsun Wan Yat Pao*, which is still in existence. Like the Christian missionaries in the field of periodical journalism, students, who had been to foreign lands, and Government officials who looked abroad, were pioneers in the field of daily journalism. Yung Wing, the first Chinese student to have left his native shores for higher studies, started a daily on May 3, 1874. This paper—*Huei Pao*—was published from Shanghai. Wu Ting-fang was one of the first Chinese students to have gone abroad for higher education. Another Chinese student—Kwang Chichow—who had his education abroad, started a daily named *Kwang Pao* on May 23, 1866.

Needless to say, these earliest papers were immature and undeveloped. Journalists were looked down upon by the society. A Manchu Viceroy once described the Chinese journalists as "the literary loafers of Kiangsu and Chekiang." The public opinion was neither favourable nor respectful to the jour-

nalists. A change however was noticeable from the time of Liang Chi-chao, the prince of Chinese journalists, who began to use the periodical press as a vehicle of agitation for political reforms. The Fourth Estate in China began to have their share of social recognition and prestige.

No Chinese newspaper at this stage could claim a circulation exceeding a few hundreds. No issue had more than two sheets of paper. The management of a newspaper was in consequence not a tough job at all.

"The papers of those days contained chiefly tit-bits of social gossip of no real importance. Not only were they unable to report on the important affairs and plans of the nation, but they were afraid to publish them even if they had access to such reports. The result was that the news material was chiefly of the vaguest and trivial sort . . . there were reports about market prices, boat-sailings, theatre programmes, which were all advertisements, serving as a guide to amusements for travellers. . . . In one word, the newspapers of those days were published with the one aim of making money, while the editors tried to do as little as they could. The general reason was that Chinese society of those days, both high and low, did not possess a world outlook, nor did they take an intelligent interest in politics, but regarded the daily paper only as an enterprize of the foreign firms having little to do with ourselves."—*The Golden Jubilee Volume of the Shun Pao*.

The year 1894-95, which witnessed China's defeat at the hands of Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War, marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Chinese journalism. Journalists of this epoch were imbued with the loftiest ideals of selfless devotion to the country. This era, as noted above, may rightly be regarded as the golden age of journalism in China. In utter defiance of bans imposed by the Government, in total disregard of governmental persecution and without any profit-motive the papers and periodicals of the period started a nationwide campaign for building up a pro-reform public opinion. The efforts bore fruit and the effete Manchu monarchy was liquidated when Hsuan Tung, the last of the Chings, was persuaded to abdicate in 1912. The press was the principal, nay, the sole medium for the dissemination of modern ideas and the expression of contemporary public opinion. These ideas had four aspects. For one thing, there was an insistent demand for political reforms, an attempt to focus public attention on the corruption of the bureaucracy and an incessant propaganda for popularising the ideals of independence, democracy and constitutional reforms. Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi Chao were the arch-protagonists of these ideas. For another, the Manchus, who were foreigners, were vehemently attacked. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chang Tayen and other champions of this anti-Manchu crusade held to the view that the expulsion of the Manchus was absolutely necessary for national salvation. For yet a third, there was an earnest effort to propagate and popularise progressive modern ideas. Yen Fu was the undisputed

leader of this aspect of the campaign. Last but not least, an all-out effort was made to conserve the best elements of Chinese culture and to bring about a cultural regeneration of China. Of the leaders of this aspect of the campaign carried on by contemporary papers and periodicals Chang Tayen and Liu Shihpei deserve special mention. In the words of Lin Yutang.

"In the play and counter-play of these currents, literary China was awakened to a national and political consciousness and its enthusiasm kindled into a glowing flame that consumed the Manchu Empire."—*A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, P. 94.

A realisation of the necessity of mass education and the urgency and importance thereof had begun to dawn upon Government officials and prominent writers of contemporary China. Government officials, reformers and gifted persons with vision, such as Yuan Shi-kai, Chang Chi Tung, Sun Yat-sen, Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi Chao, Sun Chianai, Wen Tingxi, Chen Chunsuan, Chang Taiyu, Sai Yuan Pei, Wu Chi Hwei and the like, lent their energies towards the development of the press. They were closely associated with different dailies and periodicals.

The name of Liang Chi Chao will ever remain written in letters of gold in the annals of Chinese journalism. According to many the Revolution of 1911 was of his making in the main the ground for which was certainly prepared by the fiery articles from his pen. He had a deep regard for the social and political ideals and institutions of the West. The ideals of independence, democracy and constitutional reforms had cast a magic spell upon him. The Empress Tzu-hsi declared a reward for his arrest in 1908. Liang gave the slip to the Chinese police and made good his escape to Japan. He now brought out a magazine which was published thrice a month. This magazine—*The Pure Criticism Periodical*—was in existence for three years. Its entry into China was banned by the Manchu Government. An Imperial ukase of January 15, 1900, had banned the writings of Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi Chao all over the celestial kingdom. Liang was the founder of a number of periodicals. His was a tireless pen which he wielded till the last day of his life. He is undoubtedly one of the great writers of modern China. Yen Fu is another stalwart in the field of China's periodical literature. He rendered into Chinese the works of Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. He was associated with the *Knownen Pao*, an excellent, but short-lived periodical, published from Tientsin, first in 1897. Chinese papers and periodicals of the period were inspired with loftiest ideals of purest patriotism. 'Service to the motherland above self' was their motto. Frowns notwithstanding of powers that were, papers and periodicals of this epoch had a larger circulation than that of their predecessors in any previous period. They tried to bring about the social and cultural regeneration of China with the help of Western ideas. And their efforts have borne fruit. Of the Chinese language periodicals of this epoch the *Wu-shi Pao* and

Kuotai Hsueh Pao deserve special mention. The former was first published in 1898 under the management of Miss Chiu Yufang, China's first woman journalist, while the latter came into existence six years later in 1904.

These periodicals did much to prepare the ground for the establishment of the Chinese Republic by bringing about a revolutionary change in the mental firmament of young China. Dailies like the *Su Pao*, the *Fu Pao*, the *Min Pao*, the *Minshu Pao* and the *Minli Pao* conducted an overt anti-Manchu campaign. The *Su Pao* is the best known of these papers. A number of periodicals were published at this time from Japan by exiled Chinese patriots. Their popularity was ever on the increase. The Manchu Government took fright and had recourse to repression. Dailies, periodicals and bulletins were victimised. Bans were imposed on them. An order passed by the Manchu Government in 1900 laid down that no student should write for papers, work as an editor or as a correspondent and purchase or bring any revolutionary literature in a college or university compound. The order, it might be noted in passing, remained a dead letter.

The *Shih Pao* (Eastern Times) first published in 1904 by Ti Chuching may be regarded as the first modern Chinese newspaper.

The 16-year period 1895-1911, as noted above, constitutes a glorious epoch in the annals of Chinese journalism. As an impartial purveyor of news and as a medium of expression of public opinion there has been a marked deterioration of the Chinese press in subsequent years. The decade 1915-25 is however an exception. The deterioration in quality however has gone *pari passu* with improvement of printing and enhancement of circulation. The Chinese press during 1915-25 took its cue from the pre-revolutionary press. Its contribution towards paving the way for the second Chinese revolution of 1926-27 can by no means be over-emphasised.

China could boast of more than 500 newspapers in 1912, the year of the birth of the Chinese Republic. One hundred of these papers, i.e., about 20 per cent of the whole, were published from Peking. When Yuan Shikai tried to revive monarchy in China, the publication of almost all these papers was stopped. The plea of "undermining the safety of the state" came very handy to the authorities. This has been a favourite and formidable weapon in the armoury of re-action in all ages and all climes for silencing progressive public opinion. But truth dies hard. The day of reckoning comes at last—belated though—and re-action is swept out of existence.

The year 1917 marks the beginning of a great revolution in the literary sphere in China. The revolution, however, did not remain confined within the literary field alone. It produced momentous results in the political life of the country as well. This revolution persuaded young China to take an active part in politics. A large

number of periodicals made their appearance. Thoughts from the West and its literature infused new life into China's periodical literature and brought about an epoch-making change in the cultured sphere of the country. May 4th Movement, 1919, and May 30th Movement are two memorable events of this epoch.

In May, 1925, Ku Chenghung, the labour-leader of a Japanese spinning mill at Shanghai was shot dead by the Japanese Manager of the mill. There were demonstrations in the street of Shanghai in protest against this cold-blooded murder. Some of the demonstrators were shot dead by the British Settlement police. Chinese public opinion was never so well-organised as at this time. The news of the firing at Shanghai spread like wild fire. A country-wide campaign for the boycott of Japanese and English goods launched at this time gradually gained ground. The campaign culminated in the second Chinese Revolution of 1926-27. The press, the students, the merchants and the people all participated actively in this movement. The Kuomintang and the Communists were at this time working in collaboration with each other. Sun Yat-sen, the maker of modern China, the Father of the Chinese nation, had breathed his last on March 12, 1925. He had stated in no uncertain terms that an awakening of the Chinese masses is the condition precedent of China's salvation. This indeed is true, not of China alone, but of all countries in bondage, of all the exploited peoples of the earth, of the entire disinherited humanity struggling for the recovery of its lost heritage. But "this has been entirely forgotten by the people who today mumble these words ("awakening the masses") in their prayers and acknowledge verbal allegiance to the great deceased leader."—*History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* by Lin Yutang, p. 122.

A movement to substitute modern Chinese for the ancient as the language of literature had been already set afoot. In 1918-19, more than 400 periodicals in the current colloquial of China were published by the teachers and students of the country. Political as well as literary articles were published by them. Their contents included short stories written in imitation of western writers and poems and dramas in blank verse. It was about this time that the ancient glories of China, her philosophy, her ancient literature and ancient history began to be studied rationally and scientifically. The *Sinological Quarterly*, published by Peking National University and the special monthly issue of Dr. Hu Shi's weekly, *The Endeavour*, were the two most prominent exponents of this aspect of China's cultural regeneration.

May 4th Movement of 1919 was among the first fruits of this cultural upheaval. It was through this movement that the students of Republican China began to take for the first time an active part in the political life of the country.

Since the inauguration of the Chinese Republic in 1912, Chinese newspapers and magazines have increased in numbers as well as in circulation. China could boast

of a total of 1137 dailies and periodicals in 1921, nine years after the birth of the Republic. The Proceedings of the Second World Press Conference gives the following table :

Dailies	550
Published every alternate day ..	6
Published every 5 days ..	9
Published every 10 days	46
Bi-weeklies	9
Weeklies	154
Fortnightlies	54
Monthly	303
Quarterlies	4
Half-yearly	1
Annual	1

Total 1137

In 1886 China's papers and periodicals totalled less than 100—78 to be accurate. The number had then increased more than 14 times in 35 years. This is definitely much beyond the ordinary. 628 Chinese-language newspapers were published from China in 1926. In the same year the numbers of different foreign-language dailies published from China were as follows :

English	26
Japanese	16
Russian	6
French	3
Korean	1

Total 52

In this year the total number of dailies, weeklies, Government Bulletins, and the organs of different organisations was in the neighbourhood of 2,000.

Of the Chinese periodicals of the post-1911 period that made a deep impression on young China, the *Yung Yen*, the *Kuofengpao* and the *Tachunghua*, all edited by Liang Chi-chao, the *Pujen*, edited by Kang Yu-wei, the *Chiaun*, edited by Chung-Shing-yen, the Renaissance brought out by the students of the University of Peking, the *Kuomin* and the *Reconstruction* both under the editorship of Dr. Sun Yat-sen deserve special mention. Nor should we pass by the *Minbu* and the *La Jennesse*, two other influential periodicals of the period.

The establishment of Nanking National Government in 1927 was followed by momentous activities of a new type in the literary sphere of China. Marxist ideology and literature began to be propagated on a wide scale. Quite a number of pro-Communist periodicals sprang into existence. A large number of Russian works were translated into Chinese. Nanking at first attached no importance to the progress of Marxism, which stirred up young China. When, however, Marxist ideas made considerable headway, the Government took fright and became alert.

The policy of savage persecution launched by the National Government was responsible for the closing down of all these periodicals after a short term of life. Their names, by the way, were very significant—the *Hurricane*, the *Desert*, the *Buddy*, the *Masses*, the *Storm Power* and the like. Due to Government opposition

their popularity began to dwindle from 1932. A number of papers and periodicals subsidised by the Government made their appearance. They, needless it is to say, were wholly reactionary and observantist in policy and outlook.

Like all other countries China has both progressive and reactionary papers. At the time of the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July, 1937, the *L'Impartial* or the *Ta Kung Pao* was the foremost among the progressive papers of China. It was better-edited than all its Chinese contemporaries. The most important among the conservative and reactionary papers of contemporary China were the *Shun Pao* and the *Sin Wan Pao*. It might be noted in passing that both are very badly edited. Their subscribers nevertheless were more numerous than those of any other Chinese paper on the eve of the second Sino-Japanese War. Each of these had at this time more or less 100,000 subscribers. Lin Yutang remarks aptly :

"... Our most popular dailies are the worst-edited, being run with advertisements as the basis and news of secondary importance only to fill the broken spaces left over by advertisements, while the better-edited dailies reach a smaller public."—*A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, p. 131.

The remarks of another great scholar and literary celebrity of China, Ko Kung-chin also bear quotation in this context :

"The news recorded in our China newspapers only serves the purpose of filling up the space. In reporting an event, an account often appears without proper introduction or ending and sometimes conflicts with itself. Sometimes the same event appears in two or three places without any order or system. There is a lot of empty verbiage and the reader is not able to get at the salient points. The reason for the former is that the reporters have not learned their job but content themselves with copying releases, while the latter defect is due to the fact that the editors do not think for their readers and only want to save troubles. So, we often find a score of pages with a lot of words and nothing interesting in it that is worth reading. This is indeed a great pity."—*History of Chinese Journalism*, p. 218.

Chinese papers have made considerable headway during the last 20 years. Many are the papers which publish special weekly editions today. Many of the progressive papers have thoroughly mastered the arts of displaying news and of using attractive headlines. Economic and literary topics and also arts, sports and games, cinema, women's problems and the like form regular features of quite a large number of them. But when everything has been said, the fact remains that as purveyors of news Chinese papers are still immature. There is an acute shortage of correspondents with requisite qualifications. It is why the news served by Chinese papers are, more often than not, ill-written. To make a general remark, the style in which the correspondents write is cramped. The papers moreover serve political news in the main. So the average reader does not find much interest in them nor is much inclined to read the news.

The periodical literature of a country is a reliable criterion of its cultural progress. It is at the same time an effective agency of public education. Chinese periodicals may be said to have attained maturity in certain respects. Periodicals devoted to particular topics are not unknown in present-day China. The *China Year Book* of 1935 gives a list of 450 Chinese periodicals. Besides the dailies and periodicals there is a class of small-sized papers in China known as 'Mosquito papers.' Many of the 'Mosquitoes' are bi-weeklies. They publish minor news-items passed over by the dailies. China had upwards of 200 'Mosquito papers' in 1935.

Chinese periodicals too are as badly edited as the dailies. The rates of honoraria paid to the contributors being very low, good writers as a general rule do not

feel inclined to write for the periodicals. The American weeklies and monthlies generally pay an honorarium ranging between 100 and 2,000 dollars for a published article. Whereas till a few years back a Chinese periodical generally did not pay more than 3 or 4 dollars for a thousand-word article. Matters may have since improved.

The contribution of Chinese periodicals towards the national awakening should by no means be disregarded. Their influence has been felt in all walks of life. Periodicals like the *Hsinmin Tsung Pao*, the *Yung Yen* and the *Tachunghua*, all edited by Liang Chi Chao, the *Fu Pao*, the *Min Pao* and the *Kuomin*, all edited by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the *Pujen* of Kang Yu Wei by bringing about revolutionary changes in the national mind have laid the foundations of modern China.

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STOCK EXCHANGE REFORM

Stock Exchange Legislation Should Be Unitary

BY PRINCIPAL K. L. GARG, M.A., PH.D.,

ONE of the most important pieces of reform that is long overdue is that of the Stock Exchanges. At times, it has been admitted by various economists, writers and politicians that speculation is an evil and must be checked or controlled, so much so that two Indian Finance Ministers, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Shanmukham Chetty have referred to it in their budget speeches and have promised to formulate necessary legislation in this direction. But nothing tangible has yet come out. This shows the importance of the subject and its difficult nature. I have in my two articles which appeared in *Commerce* on 28th June, 1947 and 5th July, 1947 drawn the attention of the Government to the lines of Stock Exchange Reforms and much water has flown since then on the point.

Speculation, it must be understood, is a necessary evil and thus cannot be checked with advantage. It can be regulated so as to free it from its inherent weaknesses without in any way disturbing the financial structure. The main function of speculation is to promote the establishment of equilibrium of demand and supply in the market and thus to help in the smooth course of consumption, production and exchange, and that of a Stock Market to provide a ready and easy convertibility of securities and thus enable the industries to obtain the necessary finance. The Stock Exchange has thus served a useful purpose as it provides necessary mobility to capital and directs the flow of capital into profitable and successful industrial enterprises. But it is not free from its shortcomings and of late have been responsible for much hectic speculation and over-trading. It was much due to the circumstances of war which brought about prolific fortunes to the Indian merchants through black-marketing, profiteering and hoarding as also through the immense increase in currency notes in circulation. But at the same time there are certain inherent defects of the present Security Markets in our country because of the non-existence of a rigid and rigorous piece of legislation like that of

National Security Act of U.S.A., which might be applicable to all Stock Markets in our country. The practices of our Stock Exchanges widely differ from each other and they need a thorough overhauling.

It is more often suggested that speculation should be checked in all possible ways. To my mind this is not a feasible solution and would be just like killing a patient with a view to cure him. The patient needs proper diagnosis and medication so that he may exist and render necessary service. Stock Exchange practices similarly should be guarded and regulated on sounder lines so that the speculators may not be able to take undue advantage of the situation and the market may be free from all manipulations of the stock brokers and that the speculation may be carried on with all the ability and foresight and may ensure the interest of the investors.

As pointed out in my previous writings healthy speculation that is based on scientific knowledge of business conditions is always advantageous and must be fostered, while on the other hand, unhealthy speculation which leads to gambling is a social evil and brings about much injury and waste. There should be a fine line of demarcation between the two. When speculation is carried on the basis of unfounded rumours and imperfect knowledge of business conditions, it brings about economic degeneration and is responsible for much waste. It simply enables the individuals to fulfil their selfish motives and is injurious not only economically but socially and morally as well.

Regulation of speculation and exchanges is therefore an urgent necessity and if our country is to be industrialized and the industries are allowed to develop on sounder and modern lines, it is highly necessary that Stock Exchange Reforms should not lag behind. Not only speculation on Stock Markets is to be controlled directly by introducing a rigid All-India Legislation with a provision of a Controller of Stock Exchanges vested with wide powers and having jurisdiction over

all the Stock Markets of the country assisted by certain office assistants, watching the daily progress and development of these markets, but also by adopting all such measures which will restrict the scope of speculation, in other words by minimising the facilities of speculation as well. With the introduction of Stock Exchange Legislation, it may be necessary to reform the Company and the Banking Laws as well. The Directors and the Managing Agents who take advantage of their position and have, at many times, been responsible for the leakage of certain information much in advance to their relatives and friends, who in turn take undue advantage at the Stock Market at the expense of the investing public, should be liable to severe punishment and the provisions should be so modified that the necessary information may be available to the public at the proper time. It may also need a control of corporation dividends as also a control of investment for which an establishment of an Investment Board may be necessary. The bye-laws of all exchanges should be subject to approval of the Controller of Exchanges and a uniform policy should be formulated regarding the methods of business. In brief, every bit of details should be supervised, controlled and regulated by the Controller and the Investment Board.

It must, however, be noted that this piece of legislation, which may be in the process of preparation at the Finance Minister's table should not unduly restrict the business, as, if it so happens, the business shall be diverted from the floor of the exchange to uncertified brokers and to "Gutter Markets." In no way the freedom of the market which is so essential for the investor and the speculator should be curtailed. The main object of legislation ought to be to see that speculation is not allowed to go beyond reasonable bounds.

In this connection, it shall also be necessary that the brokers are provided proper training regarding Stock Exchange technique and practice. The work can conveniently be taken up by the Investment Board and the Government should set up a Stock Exchange Research Organisation to carry on the necessary research with a view to reform the investors and the market alike.

While framing the legislation, we cannot afford to neglect the conditions prevailing in other advanced countries like U.S.A., England, etc. As pointed out above we cannot run completely on the lines of socialistic economy under the present circumstances and close the Forward Trading at all. Forward Trading must continue under proper control and for the purpose it will be necessary that Ready and Forward Deliveries should be unambiguously defined. The Forward business, when suspended during the last war, was carried on under the disguise of Ready Delivery which was restricted to eight days. It is too long a period and provides opportunities for manipulations. The period of currency of forward contracts should be precisely defined and should not be a long one. The introduction of the system of margins is of immediate necessity with

a view to check the speculators from trading beyond their means, and with a view to carry on Forward Contracts on sound lines as also to restrict the magnitude of speculation. A provision to this effect has been made in the recent legislation on Stock Exchange in South Africa, under which the client is required to deposit with the broker such securities as will provide a minimum cover. This provision of margin or minimum cover should not apply to the investors only, but to the brokers as well and may safely be kept deposited with Stock Exchange Clearing House. Provisions to restrict the activities of speculators beyond their means should also be made, for example, loans against the securities of shares by brokers should be prohibited as also the loan advanced on the security of other assets should not also exceed beyond a certain sum. At the same time the interest of the investors should also be safeguarded and in no way the brokers be allowed to take undue advantage of their position over the investor, e.g., a broker should be prohibited from selling his own holdings to a client or from acquiring himself the clients' holdings without the clients' permission and a disclosure to this effect must be made on the Brokers' Note. Provision should also be made for the Audit of Brokers' Accounts and any infringement of rules and regulations framed under the law should be severely punished. This would reduce the magnitude of the Tarawani business at the Bombay Stock Exchange, which mostly goes against the interest of the investors.

Control of business on Blank Transfers is also necessary and must be provided for. In the early stages it will neither be feasible nor advisable to provide for the abolition of Blank Transfers but a start may be made by limiting the period of their currency. Necessary changes must also be made in the constitution of the Stock Exchanges and provision be made for the representation of various commercial bodies and the Government on their Governing Boards with a view to provide an opportunity for these bodies to put their points of view; as also to keep an eye on their working. The Act should also lay down the minimum qualification of a member. Stock Exchange business is full of intricacies and responsibilities, and it is, therefore, necessary that before a man enters this business, he must possess the required knowledge, experience and training. Sound monetary position should not be the only consideration of membership, though of course, it should be one of the primary considerations. The membership fee should be sufficiently high and the licence at one time should be granted for one year only and may be renewed from year to year.

Provision should also be made for the protection of the investors from investing in unsound companies through listing regulations of the Stock Exchange which should call for such information as would enable the listing Committee to judge the soundness of the company and provide for closer scrutiny of securities before they are actually listed and shares are allowed of a market on the Stock Exchange.

IRON INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By PROF. AMIYA KUMAR DATTA, M.Sc.

India excelled in iron industry in a very remote period but the dating of this particular branch of Indian industry is a debatable question. Scattered and fragmentary references in ancient literature are rather insufficient for a knowledge of the systematic development of this industry in India from the earliest time. Still the perusal of these scanty records together with the remnants of the industrial concerns has brought to light the dominant position of India in the world in ancient time with respect to iron industry.

First, we get reference of iron implements in the Rigveda. The age of the Rigveda is between 2500 and 2000 B.C. This shows that the use of iron was known to the Indian people at that time. It is said that no iron implements have been found in the remains of Mahenjodaro civilisation which was excavated in Sind. It is stated that the people of the place fell before the invaders as they did not know the use of iron implements and the horse.

The written account of war implements which are described in the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata* boggars description. It is really amazing to find that the ancient Indians knew the art of making and use of these highly developed technical instruments especially when many of their modern equivalents are yet to be made, though some of them have already made their appearance proving the possibility of the existence of others. In the Ayurvedic days delicate surgical instruments were used for complex operation. Many of them are mentioned in the *Sushruta Samhita* and other Ayurvedic works. Many of these are made of iron. The construction of them requires experience and research in handling iron and its ores proving thereby the still more antiquity of the iron industry in India. Unfortunately we can not get these instruments now. This may be due to the ravage of time by rusting of these instruments.

India has produced iron and steel from earliest times. The famous Damascus blades, which were so much in demand in Europe, were prepared from Indian steel called Wootz. Traders from Middle East countries came to India for this famous material Wootz disregarding the fatigue and the dangers of such long journeys. That is a point of credit to the ancient Indian iron industry. India was carrying on this trade nearly 2000 years ago.

A brief account of the process of manufacturing Wootz steel would not be out of place here. A mixture of magnetic sand and laterite (a product of sub-aerial weathering of rocks in tropical countries; principally a mixture of aluminium and ferric hydroxides) in the proportion of 3:2 was heated in crucibles made of refractory clay derived from decomposed granite for twenty-four hours by means of bellows. No charcoal was used but some fragments of old glass slag used instead. After heating the charge was allowed to cool when steel of great hardness was

produced. It was further annealed in furnaces made of refractory clay until the requisite malleability was obtained. The Tellinga name of this steel is Wootz.

The manufacturing process of steel as practised in ancient India was in many ways superior to that of foreign imported steel. The furnaces and bellows here were of many shapes and designs, and charcoal made from different types of timber was used giving the variable amount of carbon and hydrocarbon. Even now in some parts in India village blacksmiths rear this ancient process of manufacturing steel and extracting iron from ores. But they are hardly paid for the labour and earn somehow a poor livelihood. Competition from imported products as well as scarcity of fuel had gone to deprive them of their ancestral practice.

The relics of the use of iron in India are to be found from the archaeological finds in different parts of India, such as Tinnevely district in Madras, Dharpillar in Malwa (Gujarat), Konarak temple in Orissa and remains of slags of iron from the neolithic site at Bellary, Seraikela, Ghatsila but the iron pillar near Delhi which, according to Fergusson, was built before 400 A.D., stands as a glorious testimony to the iron industry of India. This huge pillar is wholly made of wrought iron and has a length of 23 ft. 8 inches, a diameter of 16.4 inches at the base and a weight of nearly 6 tons. The manipulation of such a huge mass of wrought iron speaks in itself of Indian efficiency in iron industry. It is totally rustless but contains no chromium or titanium. On analysis it yielded 99.72 per cent of iron and 0.28 percent of carbon, sulphur, silica and phosphorus. It baffles our imagination when we try to conceive how such a huge structure of rustless wrought iron was made into a pillar. It is said that it has been constructed by welding pieces of wrought iron, but has been so adjusted that no traces of welding are to be seen.

Thus we see that the iron industry in India is very ancient. In fact, it can be reasonably stated that the iron and steel industry probably originated from here. This industry which was kept alive during the Mogul period practically died out in recent years due to hard competition from imported products, shortage of fuel, lack of protection by the Government and often due to the oppression of the *jaigirdars* (landlords) and their people. It is really lamentable that India had in recent years to depend on foreign countries in steel products although she possesses a vast and perhaps the richest and largest reserve of high-grade iron-ores and a good quantity of coal suitable for metallurgical purposes. It is gratifying that the Tata Iron and Steel Company and other Indian concerns in this industry have met a fraction of our demand though a good amount of progress is yet to be made. We hope that with the help of the Government our industrialists, true to the ancient tradition, would come up to meet the whole of the demand of India in iron and steel products.

SOME EARLY ANTIQUITIES FROM LOWER BENGAL

By BIMALKUMAR DATTA, M.A.

THE extensive low-lying plain on the south of the present district of 24-Parganas in Bengal is known as West-Sundarban. It forms the western part of the Sundarban and extends along the sea-face of the Bay of Bengal from the estuary of the river Hooghly on the west to that of the river Kalindi on the east. Many tidal rivers intersect this area with a network of their branches and give it the appearance of a tangled region of estuaries, rivers and water-courses, enclosing a large number of islets of various shapes and sizes.

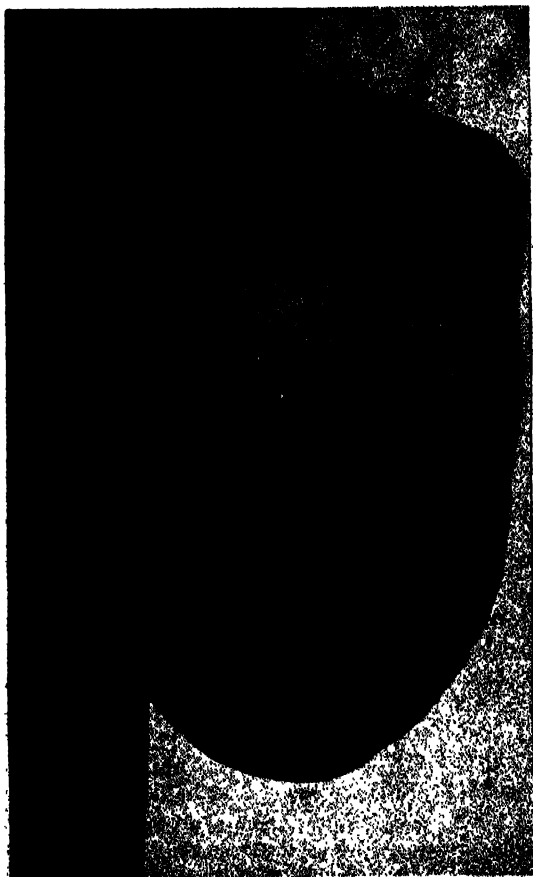
Formerly this region was covered with dense jungles abounding in tigers, rhinoceroses and other wild animals; and many scholars held the view that it was not of ancient origin and had no past history. But the numerous antiquarian remains which this desolate tract and its bordering areas yielded, after the gradual reclamation of the jungles, clearly testify to its inhabited character and prosperity in remote days.

These antiquarian remains include numerous ruins of temples and other buildings, stone, bronze and terracotta images, copper-plate inscriptions, potteries, coins and seals, etc.¹

No mention has yet been found of any early town or village of this region in any Indian literary records. But Ptolemy's map of India within the Ganges (2nd century A.D.) shows a town here "Palaura" by name, between two rivers, named as Kambyson and Mega, near the coast of the Bay of Bengal.²

From the ancient epigraphic³ and old Bengali literary⁴ sources, as well as from the maps by De Barros (1540 A.D.), Vanden Broucke (1660 A.D.) and James

Rennel (1764-1777 A.D.), it is evidently clear that this tract was traversed by the main channels of the Ganges (now known as Adi-Ganga) which was the highway for the sea-borne trade of the rich Ganges valley. This circumstance must have conducted to its prosperity in the past. But how this prosperity was swept away and the region became depopulated and overgrown with jungles is unknown. Natural cataclysm like earthquakes, submergence of land and gradual choking up of the Adi-Ganga, had been, most probably, some of its causes.



An earthen jar with basket marks

Evidences of the submergence of the old lands of this region were found in many places.

Colonel Gastrel says in his Revenue Survey Report of the Faridpore, Jessore and Buckergunge Districts:

"What maximum height the Sundarbans may have formerly attained is utterly unknown . . . But that a general submergence has operated over the whole of Sundarbans, if not of the entire delta, is, I think, quite clear from the results of the surveys—

1. (a) Varendra Research Society's Monographs Nos. 3, 4 and 5.
(b) *Catalogue of Gupta Coins* (Kalighat). British Museum, Allan, p. XI.

(c) *Annual Report, Varendra Research Society* (Rajshahi), 1928-29 (Kushan coin, Jatar Doul), pages 21-22.

(d) *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, (Punch-marked coins, Jakra), page 245.

(e) *Descriptive List of Sculptures and Coins in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, R. D. Banerjee (Punch-marked coins, Boma-champ), page 40, Nos. 179-184, and seal of the 2nd and 3rd century B.C. (Chandraketu Garh), page 16.

(f) Kushan terra-cotta head from Sagardwip. Now in the Ashutosh Museum.

(g) *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, 1933, pages 202-207 and Vol. X, No. 2, 1934, pages 321-331.

2. See Ptolemy's Map of India within the Ganges, F. J. Mouhan's, *Early History of Bengal* (Oxford University Press).

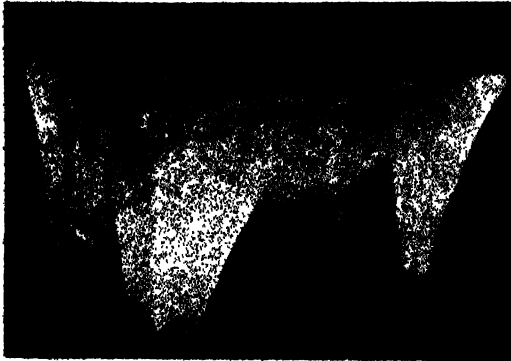
3. *Dakshin Govindapur Copper-plate of Maharaja Lakshman Sena* (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, page 94, by N. G. Majumdar).

4. (a) Bipradas Chakravarti's *Manasa Bhawan*. *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, 1943 B.S., Vol. II.

(b) Mahanda Ram Chakravarty's *Chandi Kavya*. Indian Press Edition, pages 201-202 and page 237.

(c) Extract from the *Rays-Margal of Krishnarana* in *Singapore*. Published by Panch. Chandra Banerjee, pp. 15-16.

tions of cuttings or sections made in various parts where tanks were being excavated. At Khulna, about 12 miles to the nearest Sundarban lot, at a depth from eighteen feet below the present surface of the ground and parallel to it, remains of an old forest were found consisting entirely of Sundri trees of various sizes with their roots and lower portions of the trunk exactly as they must have been existent in former days, when all was fresh and green above them."



A stone stand

R. D. Oldham writes:

"The peat-bed is found in all excavations in Calcutta at a depth varying from about twenty to about thirty feet and the same stratum appears to extend over a large area in the neighbouring country. A peaty layer has been noticed at Port Canning, thirty-five miles to the south-east and at Khulna, eighty miles east by north, always at such a depth below the present surface as to be some feet beneath the present mean tide level. In many of the cases noticed, roots of the Sundri trees were found in the peaty stratum. This tree grows a little above high watermark in grounds liable to flooding, so that in many instances roots occurring below the mean tide level, there is conclusive evidence of depression."

From these evidences of submergence and other geological features Mr. Oldham thinks that in the remote days probably this area of the Sundarban was not a part of the alluvial region of the Gangetic delta but a detached portion of a dry land that existed in the present Bay of Bengal. About this he says as follows in his book *The Manual of Geology of India*:

"The evidence (of depression) is confirmed by the occurrence of pebbles, for it is extremely improbable that coarse gravel should have been deposited in water eighty fathoms deep and large fragments could not have been brought to their present position unless the streams which now traverse the country had a greater fall or unless which is more probable rocky hills existed which have been covered up by alluvial deposits. The coarse gravel and sands which form so considerable proportion of the beds traversed can scarcely be detritic accumulation, and it is therefore probable, that when they were formed, the present site of Calcutta was near the alluvial plain, and it is quite

possible that a portion of Bay of Bengal was dry land."

Besides these, there are other evidences of depression of lands in this area, which show that due to it many ancient buildings had also been submerged under ground in the past. The river Raidighi Gang, which flows along the western side of lot No. 26 (Kankandighi) is also studded with ruins on its east bank. Foundations of buildings, built of large-size bricks exposed due to river erosions, are still visible there during ebb tide, about 8 feet below the present bank of the Gang.

Recently I have seen in this tract some antiquities, which were unearthed from lower levels of ground bearing close affinity with some of the pre-historic finds discovered in India and abroad. I intend to describe them here. Discovery of these antiquities and the evidences of the submergence of land, referred to above, indicate that this part of lower-Bengal is of ancient origin and probably it has a pre-history shrouded in obscurity.

Of these finds the first one I want to notice here is a hand-made earthen jar with basket marks on its external surface. It is 5½ ins. × 4 ins. and was unearthed at Rupnagar (Lot No. 34, P.S. Jaynagar). It is not possible now to ascertain its age as there is no data for want of scientific excavation. But it closely resembles some of the early earthen jars used for funeral purposes in Egypt to keep wine for the dead.⁶ Recently such basket-marked potteries have come to light in the Arikamedu excavation from the pre-Arartine layer.⁷ All over the world hand-made basket-marked potteries were coming down from very remote times probably from Neolithic age⁸ and were in use in ancient China,⁹ in the Thames at Mortlake¹⁰ and in other ancient sites. Gradually with the march of time this kind of marks on potteries lost its purpose and style and began to be more and more conventionalised and decorative.

The second one is a terra-cotta figurine of a mother-goddess (2 inches in height), which was discovered from a depth of 20 feet at the time of digging a ditch on the dry bed of Nalua Gang, a branch of the Adi-Ganga river. The hands and nose of this figurine are pinched and the breasts and eyes are made of additional fixed clay dots. The dots showing eyes are missing but their marks are still visible.

In other parts of India this kind of clay images with various other types were found from the days of Harappa culture. It is now difficult to ascertain the age of this figurine from the Sundarban as "the chronology of the terra-cottas of India has given rise

6. *Vide* British Museum Post Cards. Series B. 56, No. B 556.

7. *Ancient India*, No. 2, July, 1946. Plate XXVII, figure (B).

8. *Anthropology*, E. B. Taylor, Vol. II, page 86. (Thatcher's Library Series).

9. *The Civilisation of the East* (China), Rene Grousset, page 5.

10. *The Outline of History*, H. G. Wells, Vol. I, page 51 (Figure 1).

5. *Manual of Geology of India*, 1902, by R. D. Oldham.

to much speculation and several conclusions have been drawn from the existence of various types. Primitive types have been assigned an early and sometimes pre-historic date." From the circumstantial evidences, it being extremely archaic and coming from a depth of 20 feet, it may be said without much hesitation that this figurine is of a very early age.

The third one is a four-legged rectangular stand made of sand-stone (size 15 ins. X 12 ins. X 9 ins.). It was unearthed during the re-excavation of the dry bed of an old tank at Kankandighi (Lot No. 26, P.S. Mathurapur) from a depth of 16 feet. It bears close similarity with a stone-stand found at Tinnevely (Travancore) in South India with pre-historic implements and a grinder.¹¹ This kind of stands were in use in India for grinding corn from pre-historic times. Such stands belonging to the Gupta period were smaller in size and ornamented. The practice of grinding corn on raised stones (without legs) had been in vogue in Egypt also 3,000 years back.¹²

Geologists say that Bengal is comparatively younger in age. But the pre-historic antiquities so far discovered as chance-finds in the different districts of this province, bordering the 24-Parganas district, indicate that it has a pre-history of her own from very remote days. Though not in plenty, still implements of Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages were found in Hooghly, Midnapur and Burdwan districts. In 1865, V. Ball discovered a small boucher, fashioned from a pebble of greenish quartzite, on the surface of the ground near the village of Kunkun, 11 miles south-west of Govindapur on the Grand Trunk Road, in association with a spread of pebbles derived from the conglomerates of the lower Damodar group of the Gondwana system.¹³ In Midnapur district near a village called Tama-juri within the pargana of Jhatibani a flat celt or battle-axe of copper was also unearthed by some villagers while digging a pit for domestic purpose.¹⁴ In the district of Burdwan near Durgapur relics of a very early civilisation also came to light. These are now under the inspection of the Archaeological Department.¹⁵

Besides the finds noted above the ancient scripts in *Sorash Matrika Chitrakipi* in the West Rarh and in the inscriptions on the hills of Biharinath in the district of Bankura, have got a striking resemblance with the scripts of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and prove beyond

doubt that scripts of Indus valley culture were once current in West Bengal.¹⁶ Some of the ritual folk drawings of Bengal are also important for more than one reason. In one of such *Alpana* drawings, found in the



Mother Goddess

village of Kujkura (District Bankura), distinct traces of some of the Indus valley scripts with many Brahmi and Kharosti letters have been traced.¹⁷

The chance-finds, described above, clearly indicate that Bengal with its lower regions, washed by numerous channels of the Ganges, is not of recent growth and archaeologically is of high importance. From the reference in the Vedic and Pauranic literature it also appears that this province was the home of primitive people for a long time. But its pre-history is now completely shrouded in darkness and only scientific excavations can throw light on it.

11. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1902-3*, page 139.

12. *Outline of History* (H. C. Wells), Vol. I, pictures in pages 132 and 141.

13. *Catalogue of Pre-Historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, T. C. Brown, page 67.

14. *Ibid.*, page 142.

15. Address of N. G. Mazumdar, a former Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, as President of the History Section of the Prebinit Banga Sahitya Sammelan. *The Hindustan Standard*, 31 December, 1937.

16. For detailed descriptions and pictures of these scripts and ritual folk drawings, see *Encyclopaedia Bengalensis*, Vol. I, Part 6, pages 210. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

17. *Ibid.*

ARANMULA METAL MIRROR

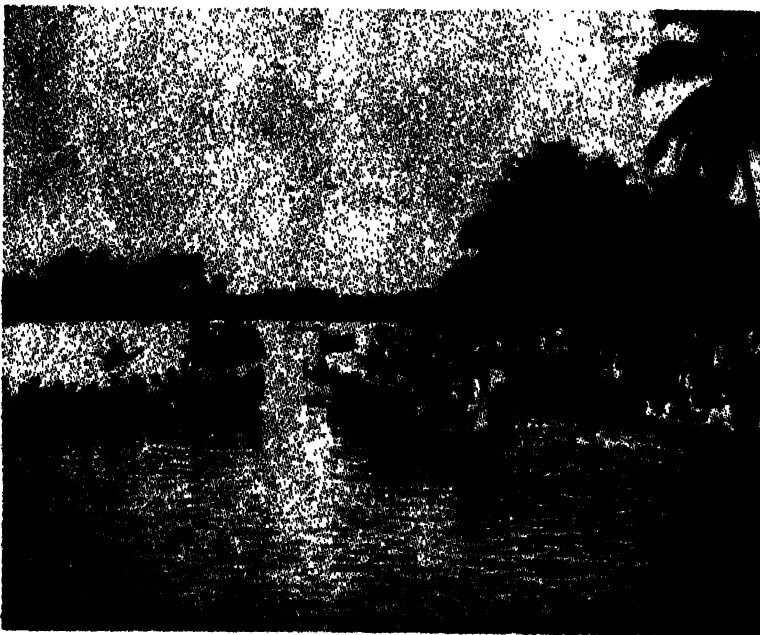
A Miracle of Metallurgy

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

ABOUT ninety-two miles to the north of Trivandrum is the ancient village of Aranmula, idyllically situated in the Thiruvalla taluk on the left bank of the river Pamba. Famous for its old temple consecrated to God Parthasarathi, and the spectacular annual snake-boat regattas, Aranmula is the home of the unique bell-metal industry carried on by a select band of hereditary master craftsmen who alone know the secret of casting bell-metal mirrors from an alloy of copper and tin.

monial utensils, decorative lamps, bells and such other articles required for daily use in the temple. He endowed the artisans with liberal grants of lands and special privileges. For some reason the craftsmen proved unsuccessful in their efforts to turn out the required articles to the satisfaction of the connoisseur chief. The indignant chief threatened the Kannans with eviction. The craftsmen who were at their wits' ends offered special sacrifices and prayers to the deity in the temple and decided to make a

unique crown for the image in the shrine. The womenfolk of the Kannans threw into the melting pot all their tin ornaments accompanied by prayers and entreaties to the God to save their husbands from disgrace. The crown, made out of the combination of copper and tin the exact proportion of which was at that time unknown to the casters, was a marvel of art and craft. Silver-like in colour and brittle like glass, it shone with rare brilliance, and when cleaned acquired the quality of reflection. The *mukulam* or crown known as *Kannadi Bimbam* (mirror image) is even now preserved in the Aranmula temple and worshipped.



Aranmula snake-boat regatta

Aranmula Kannadi (Aranmula mirror) which has gathered around it a tradition and sanctity and has been hailed as the finest and rarest example of bell-metal casting is considered to be one of the most treasured curios of the world. Inspired art and impeccable craftsmanship combine to render the manufacture of this mirror one of the most wonderful achievements of indigenous art-crafts, as remarkable as the mummification in ancient Egypt. The history of the origin of the industry is lost in obscurity. Tradition and legend aver that nearly four centuries ago, the chief of the principality of Aranmula, a patron of arts and crafts, brought down a few families of Kannans, professional casters in bronze, to settle down in his principality and make the cere-

This startling and fortuitous discovery was immediately put to use by the intrepid Chief and the talented craftsmen. The casters worked out the proper proportion of the different metals and manufactured mirrors. The Chief liberally patronised the craftsmen in developing the industry. He proclaimed that the metal mirror was a gift of God and laid down that it should form one of the eight auspicious articles used in all Hindu religious rites. By observing this rule himself, he gave the lead, and the prominent people in the village followed suit. The Aranmula Kannadi thus became an article of every-day use in the Hindu household and was invested with a halo of sanctity.

The metal mirror is cast from an alloy of copper and tin, the exact proportion of which is a closely

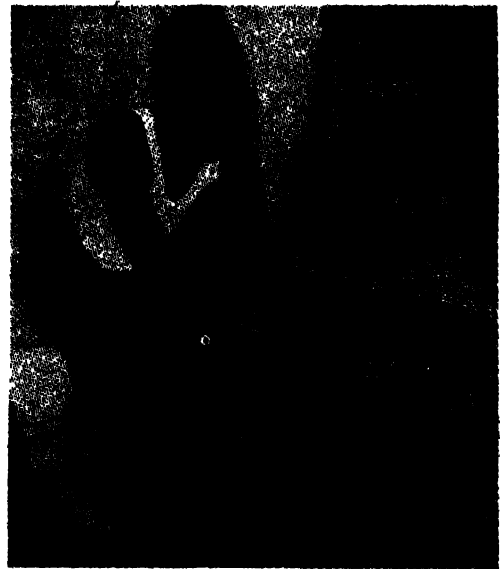
guarded secret of only two surviving families of Kannans at Aranmula. The metal mirror is usually oval in shape, six inches by four inches, and about one-fifth of an inch thick and has a bright and polished surface as that of cut-glass mirrors. The polishing of the surface of the mirror is a difficult and

admiration of modern metallurgists. The cost of materials required for casting these mirrors is small compared with the extent of highly skilled labour which the complicated process of manufacture demands. The different processes in the making of mirrors are attended to by the entire family of *Kannans*. The



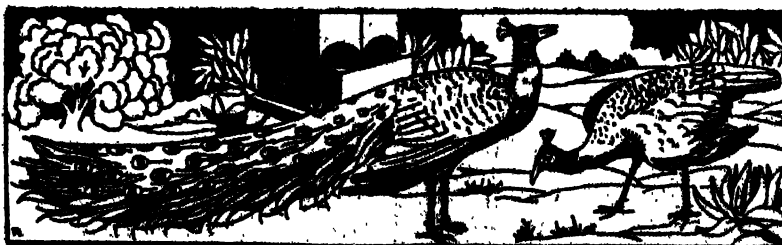
The master craftsman weighing the metals to form the proper alloy for manufacturing metal mirrors

delicate job demanding consummate technical skill and utmost patience. A paste of rice bran and laurel or *Maroti* (*Hydnocarpus Wightiana*) oil is used for this purpose. The polished plate is fixed with a mixture of lac and wax on an artistically engraved brass frame. Scientific skill and mastery of craftsmanship of the most advanced type, are required for casting these mirrors. The mirror elicits both the envy and



The master craftsman polishing metal mirrors

master craftsmen prepare the mould, the alloy and the wax, and attend to casting and polishing. The making of a mirror involves the strenuous efforts of a whole family for four days. The price of a mirror is about Rs. 15. Although Aranmula metal mirrors may not be able to compete with cheap glass mirrors, they are prized very much by collectors of curios, especially connoisseurs hailing from foreign countries. There is every scope for the manufacture of metal mirrors flourishing as a cottage craft in which inspired art and accomplished craftsmanship combine to produce one of the marvels of metallurgy attempted nowhere else in the world.



A TRIP TO TVA

By B. SAIKIA

It was in a hurry that I made the trip to the TVA—one of the wonders of modern America. It requires months possibly to learn and study the various aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is an institution all by itself and a marvel of modern engineering skill. Its achievements are numerous and multi-faced. Besides controlling floods and river navigation for which it was originally designed fifteen years ago it has contributed



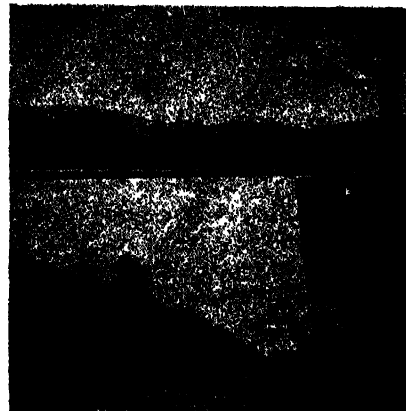
Wilson Dam

towards a higher standard of living of the people of the Tennessee Valley and of the United States at large, through the various industries developed in the valley and better methods of scientific agriculture. It has also given rise to the all-powerful mighty atom and its protege the atom bomb. Here in this valley in the famous Oak Ridge plant the first atom bomb was created and for this purpose alone there arose out of nothing a modern industrial town almost overnight, unbelievable it was like that of Aladin's days, booming with scientific activities employing the best brains available in the United States as well as from other countries.

The Tennessee Valley covers an approximate area of 40,000 sq. miles comprising the seven states of Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee itself. The whole of this area is spotted with blue mountains, wide lakes almost all artificially created through the river-controlling system of the TVA with a shore-line of nearly 10,000 miles with plenty of room for swimming, fishing, boating and other recreating activities. In fact the TVA lakes have already been known as "the Great Lakes of the South." The whole of this big valley, once haunted with malaria, low standard of living and frequently devastated by uncontrollable floods taking a huge toll in the form of human lives and properties, is today a favourite recreating center and attracts people not only from all over the United States but

also a few thousand foreigners every year, both laymen as well as technical experts from all over the world.

I am no technician in the sense the dams and other construction skills are involved. I went to see the TVA just as a layman. I was more interested as a chemical engineer in the chemical plants operated by the TVA at their Wilson Dam plant at Muscle Shoals in the State of Alabama. As the TVA by itself is an institution there is a place for every one to learn, look and wonder at this achievement of modern scientific skill calling for the services of engineers and technicians of all kinds and shades of opinion. One will see there the labourers toiling for their daily bread, the big boss responsible for everything, the construction engineer all the while busy with his blueprints and construction work, the geologist surveying the geological aspects of the dams and their sites (for on this geological report alone the dams are located and their construction details dependent on this geological findings), the chemical engineer busy with the work of various plants producing fertilisers for cheaper and easier farming and ever prepared to switch their top-level energy and activities for the production of ammunitions and other war materials in case of emergencies side by side with their activities

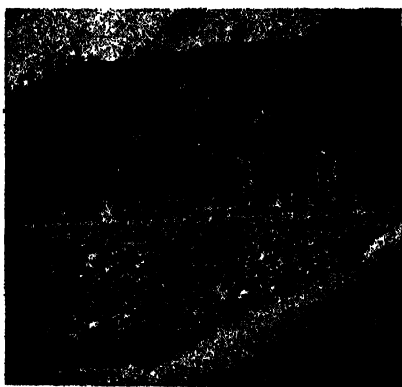


Fontana Dam with power-station below

in the atomic laboratories of the huge Oak Ridge plant, the agricultural engineer supervising the co-operative farms sponsored by the TVA and the bacteriologist looking for better and effective methods for the control of pests and mosquitoes with weapons like DDT and spraying planes at their command. In fact, the TVA is a contribution of every branch of knowledge known to men.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is a decentralised federal project involving seven states and four and a half million people. It was originally initiated during the period of the New Deal for the harnessing of the

most-feared-of river in the south and development of its valley. The TVA was set up in the days of the late President Roosevelt and it came into being on May 18, 1933, exactly fifteen years ago. "Running waters were made to walk." A river was put to work for the people. As somebody remarked, it was "one hell of a big job of work." It was not that the Act did not receive any opposition. But it was adopted and thank God, today politics do not play any part in the TVA. The Act called for the maximum amount



A hydro-electric sub-station

of water-control with the maximum development of the river for navigation purposes and maximum generation of water-power in the form of electricity consistent with flood-control and navigation. It called for reforestation and proper use of marginal lands and the development of new agricultural technique and the economic and social well-being of the people living in the basin and provided for the agricultural and industrial development of the valley. It was a big order. "The job having been defined," said David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, "and the broad policies having been laid down, Congress in the TVA Act did what is new in our history." It fixed upon one agency the responsibility for results in resource development in a region. The development of the river, not flood-control alone or navigation or power, but also all the water used, were to be the responsibilities of one public agency.

Organization of the Administrative Department of the TVA is somewhat elaborate and complicated. The Chief Engineer in charge of construction, including the water-control planning and construction department, develops and executes an integrated plan of water-control in the Tennessee river and its tributaries; plans, designs and constructs dams, reservoirs and locks, hydro-electric and steam-generating facilities and other constructions required for the TVA's water-control program; directs the unified control of water operations of the river reservoir system for all purposes; and provides other engineering and construction services as required. These include a score of divisions like those of water-control, hydraulics,

electricity, geology, design, survey, architectural, civil and mechanical design services, etc.

The whole trip was arranged and planned through the office of the TVA at Knoxville, which is its headquarters. I could not see all of the twenty-nine dams at the time except visiting some of the more important and bigger ones like the Fontana dam in North Carolina, the Norris dam near Knoxville, the Wilson dam in Alabama and a few others. It is not that the rest of the dams are not worth visiting but that I did not have time enough for them. The two big dams still under construction are the one damming the Watauga stream and the other on the South Holston river, a tributary of the Tennessee. Dams under construction are really instructive and give an idea as to the tremendous work and materials involved in their construction. Diverting the whole stream, as is being done in the above two cases, through another artificial channel and clearing the site for the dam and its subsequent construction is by itself a tremendous job. The neat and clean finished dams do not usually give an idea as to the huge amount of labour and materials involved.

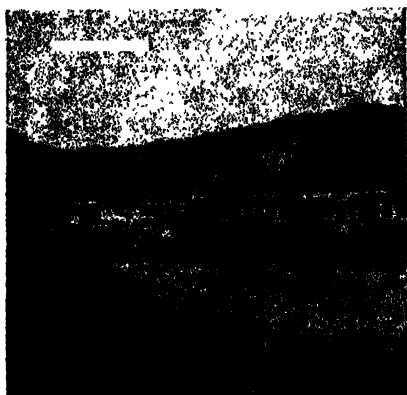
TVA's chemical plants are at the Wilson dam at Muscle Shoals in Alabama along with its chemical engineering unit in which I was specially interested.



Construction work in progress
at Watauga Dam

Also at the Wilson dam is the malaria control unit of the TVA for which I made this trip of a thousand and odd miles all the way from Columbia University in New York City. I was really impressed by their diverse methods for controlling malaria. In all the places I went to I was very cordially received and shown round: things were explained wherever necessary by the local officials. In the malaria control unit a special lecture with slides was arranged for me to explain the various problems involved in their fight against malaria. In malaria controlling, besides combating mosquitoes with new weapons like DDT, chloroquine, etc. an ingenious method is being used by the TVA engineers which consists of just raising the water level and then suddenly lowering it down thereby exposing

the larvae to the sun on a dry surface and kill them all. The technique of DDT residual spraying has presented an entirely new approach to the control of malaria. The Tennessee Valley Authority has been interested in the development of this technique and its utilization as a routine method for malaria control. The effect of the routine treatment on an area basis was almost a complete elimination of anopheline mosquitoes.



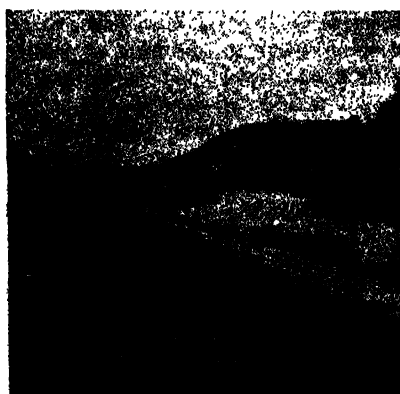
Temporary construction offices,
Watauga Dam

The Muscle Shoals chemical plant is a huge munition plant inherited by the TVA from World War I and is now the fertilizer plant for the TVA. TVA supplies fertilizers to the neighbouring farms at a much cheaper and more concentrated form. An adequate use of phosphate fertilizers in the past had in part been impeded by its high cost to the farmers. A group of TVA chemical technicians, aided by expert Washington resources was set to work in 1933 to reduce the cost of producing highly concentrated phosphate fertilizers. Here chemical engineering came to the rescue of the farmers. Today the whole resources and production capacity of the Muscle Shoals munition plant are directed towards production of phosphate and nitrate fertilizers. They are also introducing liquid ammonia directly as a fertilizing manure.

The chemical engineering section as such was established in the year 1937 and is responsible for the development and administration of the TVA program and policies involving research in the field of fertilizers and munitions, the production of such materials and technical direction and guidance of industrial research activities based upon the sciences of chemistry, chemical engineering and metallurgy. The director of the department is responsible to the chief conservative engineer and through him to the general manager for planning and administration of the work of the department. He advises the chief conservative engineer on programs and major policies and departmental organization and on relations with other departments in the TVA and with outside agencies. It is to be noted that the TVA works in

close co-operation with the State universities and other Government institutions on a national basis.

If one looks at the achievements of the TVA its record will be seen written in concrete and steel and in lands revived and forests renewed. Here one can see what modern science can do in a few years to change the face of the earth and the waters. The wild waters of a wild river have been tamed and made to work for the people. Eighty-five thousand farms in the seven states use electricity from the TVA. As a result of low-cost electric power nine out of ten wired houses in Chattanooga, Tennessee, now have electric refrigeration and three out of four in Knoxville. The total investment of a billion dollars in river development produces not only power but also benefits of navigation and flood-control. Along with the development of a new 650 miles navigation channel, land-locked towns like Guntersville, Alabama, became an inland port. Not only this, private industries grew up in the valley and the level of the four and a half million people in the valley rose within the last fifteen years by something like 75%. TVA has not only been built by the people but for the people. In the wordings of that "most famous book of 1944," *Democracy on the March*, by Lilienthal, TVA has been the story of a new kind of pioneering—pioneering by the people of the Tennessee Valley,



South Holston River—the Dam site

the "dreamers with shovels" who have built tomorrow out of yesterday. From a valley whose land was barren and scarred with erosion, whose river used its great stores of energy only for destruction, they created fertile farms, modern productive industries based on tremendous electric energies of a harnessed river, and a thriving commerce utilizing the vast man-made water-ways that serve them also as fisheries and playgrounds. Today the Tennessee Valley where farmers milk their cows with electricity, where once women who carried water pail by pail work in modern kitchens, stands as a living symbol of the miracle that can be achieved by people who have a clear vision of the potentialities of their region and a firm belief in a working democracy.

FULTON FISH MARKET

America's Largest Fish Distribution Centre

America's oldest and largest fish-distributing centre, the Fulton Fish Market, is located on the East River in the heart of New York City.

Before the war fresh fish poured into this market from all over the world—by ship, by truck, and by train. The Fulton market sold brook trout from

Holland, Dover sole from England, swordfish from Japan, lobster tails from South Africa, octopus from Spain, and green turtles from the Caribbean. For over 200 years fishing vessels from Canada and the U S North Atlantic Coast, from the Gulf of Mexico and warm southern seas, laden with cod, haddock, lobsters, terrapin, shrimp, and a hundred other varieties of fish, have docked every morning at the big market which has been known as the Fulton Fish Market for the past century. The history of the market goes back to 1664, when American Indians brought their fish to New York City's first fish market on this same site.

With the coming of World War II, United States fishing schooners and fishermen have had to work harder than ever before.



An American fishing vessel, loaded with a cargo of fish, sailing for the Fulton Fish Market.

Against a background of modern skyscrapers and business buildings marking the financial district of the city, the Fulton Fish Market conducts its business in many old warehouses and shipping offices that were built in the days when great sailing ships docked at their doors from famous ports of the Seven Seas. All year long day and night, in blistering heat and freezing cold, fearless American fishermen sail through fogs and gales, over the rough, treacherous waters of the Atlantic, risking their lives to catch the fish, to help feed the United States and during war the U S armed forces and the United Nations.

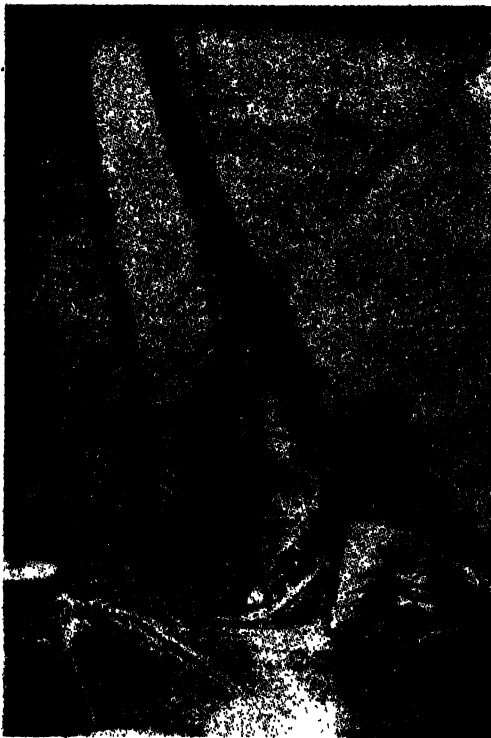
Fish was not rationed in the United States during time of war and there was a tremendous demand for fish as a food substitute for strictly rationed meat. The Fulton Fish Market

ships large quantities of fish to civilian outlets all over the United States as well as to the U S armed forces and to overseas supply depots for the United Nations. The market distributes to hotels, restaurants, homes, and stores throughout the United States.



Fishermen from Gloucester rest in bunks on board their ship after unloading their cargoes at the Fulton Fish Market.

Every day the Fulton market handles 650,000 to 1,000,000 pounds of fresh fish. The men who bring these cargoes to the Fulton Fish Market are sturdy representatives of many nationalities. United States fishermen include Portuguese types from Cape Cod on the U S North Atlantic



American fishermen cast their heavy nets for fish to sell at the Fulton Fish Market in the heart of New York City



An American fisherman hoists a giant tuna fish from his ship to the docks



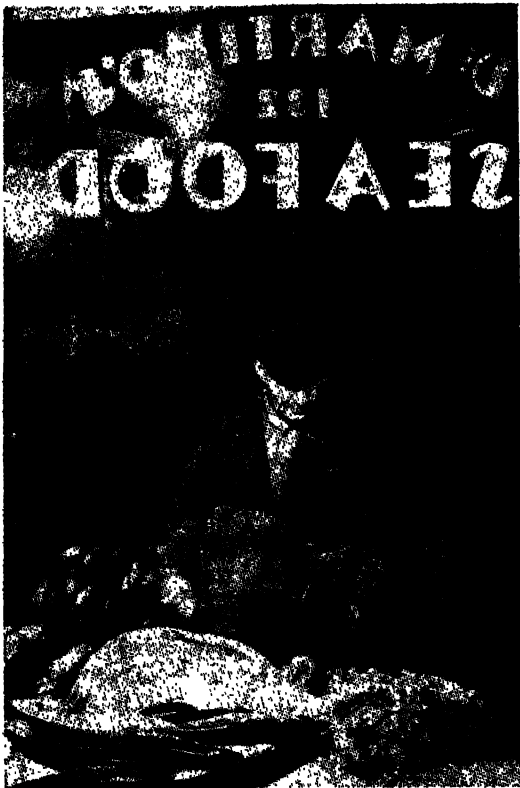
On the long pier of Fulton Fish Market stand freshly packed barrels of fish ready for shipment



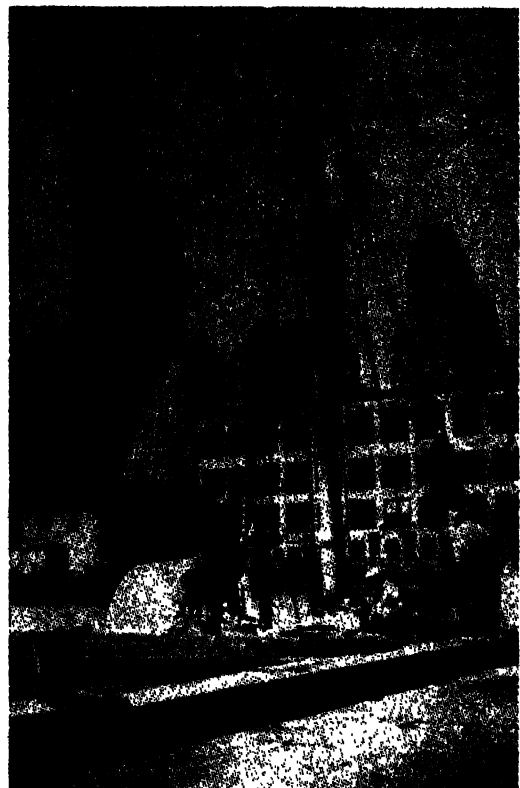
American dock workers weigh cod fish in the Fulton Fish Market

coast, Greeks and Cubans from the Gulf of Mexico, French Canadians, Italians and Scandinavians, as well as a wide variety of Anglo-Saxon types from the

During the war, the U. S. armed forces consumed more than half of all frozen fish in the United States, and great quantities of canned fish were shipped over-



An American truck driver examining an assortment of shrimps, halibut and mackerel in a restaurant window



Fishermen from Gloucester, a famous American fishing port, prepare for a trip while their boat is docked at the Fulton Fish Market

fishing ports of the U. S. Northeastern States called New England. They have enriched America's fishing industry through techniques developed in their native lands over a period of centuries.

seas to United Nations battlefronts. Today, to the United Nations and the home front, Fulton Fish Market is distributing fish in greater quantities than ever before.—USIS.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Provincialism in Assam

For some time past we find a sordid spectacle of provincialism in all its nakedness all over India. I really wonder what are things coming to. If each province thinks of its own parochial interest, what remains of India. I do not for a moment hold any brief for any particular province. I am myself a Bengali, but I do not spare any Bengali when I find the least trace of provincialism in his thoughts and deeds.

I have been keenly watching the recent developments on the Assam Railway. It pained me much to read a statement of the Chief Administrative Officer of that Railway that it was a mere coincidence that

both the Chairman and the Member of the recently-formed Service Commission for that railway happened to be Assamese. Without meaning any disrespect to anybody, I must say that this statement is a travesty of truth. I have it on unquestionable authority that it was the Government of India who ordered that the Chairman of the Commission must be Mr. Barua, an Assamese Officer of the railway, who, by the way, was the District Traffic Superintendent at Lumding and who in consequence had to be transferred to Pundri to take over this new job. The Press Communique of the Assam Government published on 2.7.48 where it was made clear that the Service Com-

mission on the Assam Railway which was set up at their instance would consist of two 'sons of the soil' is much more suggestive than the cook-and-bull story with which the Chief Administrative Officer of the Assam Railway tried to dupe the Press reporters.

There is, however, one very surprising aspect in this interesting episode. It is the Government of India who normally issue Press Notes or Communiqués regarding formation of a new Department or a new organisation on railways which are controlled by the Government of India. In this instance, however, it was the Assam Government who took the initiative to issue a Communique on a subject which concerns the Central Government. Why this departure from the usual practice? Is it to tell the world gleefully that the Central Government have been forced to give way to violent agitation? Is this not going to encourage people to foment fresh trouble as they now have got positive proof that their violent anti-Bengali agitation has succeeded beyond their most fantastic expectation? In any case, why are the Central Government mum? Are they ashamed to own up their disgraceful conduct in surrendering to the mischievous propaganda of a mushroom growth, the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha which flourished on the tacit support of the ruling authorities in Assam? Are they fighting shy to admit that a small cloud no bigger than a man's hand which could have been easily subdued with a slight firmness on their part was allowed to assume a serious proportion by their lamentable lack of imagination and foresight? Are they staggered at the result of their own folly in adopting a policy of appeasement from the very beginning? It is a pity that they have forgotten the lessons taught by the Muslim League! At times I doubt if the Transport Minister of the Government of India is functioning or the old bureaucracy is carrying on merrily according to good old methods.

Bengal has undoubtedly fallen on evil days. There is a remarkable dearth of leadership in all affairs of life. It is even more remarkable in the journalistic field where the mantle of those fearless intellectual giants like the Ghosh Brothers, Sir Surendranath, Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Sj. Syamsundar Chakrabarty and men of their ilk whose mighty pen was a veritable terror to the erring officials and agents of British Imperialism with its enormous resources, has fallen on mealy-mouthed pigmies who have not the courage of their conviction and who can be duped by even a third-rate non-Bengali. Otherwise, how can they swallow an obviously misleading statement of that wily gentleman who explained in his Press Conference that it was a mere accident that the Service Commission of the Assam Railway consists of two Assamese Officers only. Could they not get it verified from any other sources? Have they not seen what the Assam Tribune of Gauhati wrote on the subject and was not the Press Commu-

nique of the Assam Government clear enough to discerning readers that the whole thing was arranged at the dictation of the Assam Government? The Assam Government were honest enough to state in that very Communique that they never believed that the Railway Administration ever discriminated against Assamese. If so, could not our Press Reporters enquire why the Assam Government insisted on a purely Assamese Commission of their own choice? Is it not obvious enough that it was just to secure special indirect favour for Assamese candidates or to enable the Assam Government to have a voice in the selection? These are pertinent questions and it is very unfortunate that not a single Bengali paper thought it fit to raise them. Even those who are fully acquainted with facts dared not publish them.

Viewed from another angle also we have every reason to question the propriety of such an all-Assamese Commission. As you are all aware, Bengalees form one-third of the total population of Assam. If to this is added the Bengalers of Dooars and Cooch Behar Sections, 50 per cent of the population of the area served by the Assam Railway would easily consist of Bengalees. Knowing as we do the narrow racial policy followed by the present Assam Government, it is a matter for serious consideration whether this large number of Bengalees can expect any justice in the hands of an all-Assamese Railway Service Commission, sponsored by the Assam Government. The fate of Sylhetee employees is a pointer. The Central Government could not protect them. Similar would be the fate of the refugees from East Bengal who are openly hated by almost all Assamese. It was really a great blunder to allow the Assam Government to be in virtual control of railway employees. Ordinarily no one would have taken any exception to the formation of a wholly Assamese Service Commission. But the circumstances that led to their selection are bound to make them subservient to the Assamese influence. Can the Central Government say that the selection of the personnel of the Commission has been made with due regard to their strength of character so that they may be able to withstand influence of all kinds?

Another thing that rises uppermost in my mind is why there should not be a nominee of the Bengal Government in this Commission when part of the Assam Railway is in Bengal. Shall I be correct to assume that Bengalee interests do not matter so long as Assamese are appeased? Will Dr. Bidhan Roy take a leaf out of Premier Bardoloi's book? If a wholly Assamese Service Commission is justified for the few jobs in Assam Railway, a wholly Bengali Commission is absolutely essential for the numerous jobs on the Bengal portion of the E. I. and B. N. Railway. Will Dr. Roy take the hint?

NALIN BHARATI SEN GUPTA

DEAF AND BLIND HELEN KELLER ON WORLD-WIDE TOUR

To carry to the countries of the Orient and the Near East her crusade for recognition of the usefulness of the blind to the society in which they live, Miss Helen Keller, who in infancy was deprived of sight, hearing, and speech (she regained the faculty of speech through the untiring efforts of her tutor) by a severe illness, and who so overcame this almost insurmountable handicap as to become one of the world's most notable women, left New York City on March 17 on the first leg of a year-long journey that will take her through virtually all countries of the Orient.

Now 68 years old, Miss Keller is famed as an author and lecturer, and is an honors graduate of Radcliffe College, Boston, Massachusetts. She is undertaking the long and arduous trip, she said, while she is still physically able to do so, to emancipate the minds and spirits of her fourteen million fellow-blind, and to bring them hope that they soon may be able to take their rightful place in human society. She will appeal to governments and peoples "to dispel their ancient superstitions concerning blindness; to inaugurate programs of education and rehabilitation of their blind millions and to hasten to do everything possible in the field of prevention of blindness."

"I am not a teacher or a preacher," Miss Keller said. "I am just a happy witness to the light that God sheds upon handicapped human beings throughout the earth."

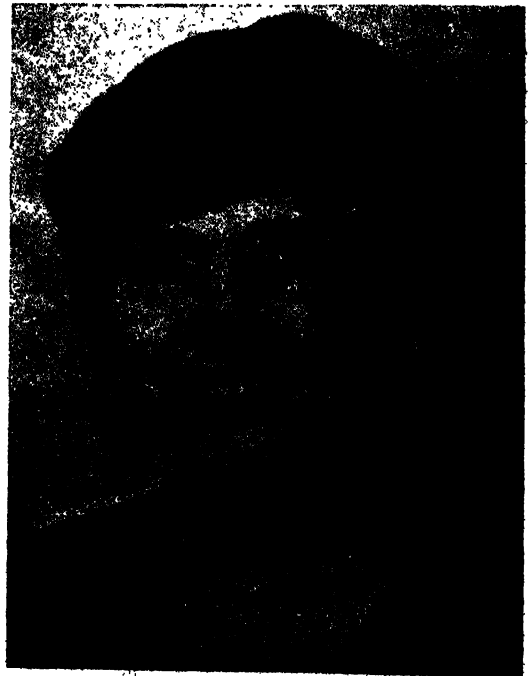
Her present plan is to conduct her crusade through speeches at public meetings, visits with government officials, and to homes and schools for the blind and deaf in the key cities of each country.

Last year Miss Keller toured Europe on the same mission, to bring hope and encouragement to some of the world's millions of blind people, and to prove to disbelievers that blindness does not incapacitate a human being so far as service to humanity is concerned.

Tentative itinerary of Miss Keller's tour includes visits to Australia and New Zealand, Japan, Korea, China, India and Pakistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. She has tentatively planned to visit, between January 4 and February 16, 1949, the cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore, Vellore, Travancore, Nagpur, New Delhi, Bombay, Lahore, and Karachi, although the final itinerary will be subject to consultations with government representatives, the India Association for the Welfare of the Blind, the National Christian Council of India, the All-India Council of Women, and other groups.

Miss Keller's tour is sponsored by the John Milton Society for the Blind, of which she is founder

and president. This society is an inter-denominational, non-sectarian agency for the publication and distribution of religious literature in Braille, and Miss Keller's tour marks the extension of its services to a world-wide scale. The society publishes monthly the *John Milton Magazine*, a Braille digest of the best religious articles appearing in current periodicals for the sighted, and *Discovery*, a religious magazine for boys and girls, containing inspirational stories, articles, and poems. Both magazines are distributed without charge to anyone requesting them.



Miss Helen Keller

Originally founded for the blind of the United States, the society, through its publications, has extended its services to include Canada, South America, and Europe. Extension of its services to the Orient and Near East, it was recently announced, will be marked by publications in Arabic Braille for Moslem lands; in Telugu Braille for South India; in Persian Braille for Iran; in Korean Braille for Korea; and in Cantonese Braille for South China. The society is financed entirely by voluntary contributions. —*USA*, May 24, 1948.

IS RUSSIA SECRETLY PLANNING A WAR?

By P. K. BANERJI, N.E.I. (Sweden)

A refugee from the Soviet Union recently arrived in Paris under cover of the closest secrecy. He gave out his name as Gulishvili and he figured as a mystery-man in Parisian life. He was said to hold the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Red Army, who, according to a rumour, was the man who recently held the responsible post of the Chief of the Russian Intelligence Service in the occupied zone of Austria. Just about the same time a certain news-agency of Paris came out with the sensational news that the real identity of this man had been established beyond doubt as being the Soviet General Khaparidze, whose statement regarding the secret plans of the Union, was also published simultaneously by the same agency. It reads as follows:

The plans that have been drawn up by the two departments of the Red Army General-Staff, one of which is entrusted with the work of administration and organisation and the other with matters relating to mobilisation, provided for the mobilisation of 120 divisions by the 1st of January, 1948, in addition to the thirty special divisions, each having twice its normal strength and deployed in the occupied zones of the Union. This will provide the Union with a peace-time strength of an army of 1,800,000 fully equipped men. These divisions have been grouped into six army-corps, each employed at a particular strategic point of the Union's long frontier-line, which in the opinion of experts might prove vulnerable to attack by the enemy in a future war. The Northern Army will have Leningrad as its base of operations, the Western is intended to operate from its base at Minsk, the Caucasian Army is based at Tiflis. The Army stationed in Turkestan, will have two separate operational bases, one at Tashkent and the other at Frunze, while the Army in the "Dniepr Vostok" (the Far East) will have bases at Chita and Vladivostok. The strategically clear-sighted Marshal Klim Voroshilov, who is also a member of the highest Defence Council of the Union, holds the command of the Northern Army. The forty-two year old Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, who greatly impressed the Red Army with his slogan "Victory must be carved out of stone and not imprinted on loam" has been appointed the commander of the Western Army. Marshal Zhukov, who is considered to be the ablest general in the Red Army and whose strategy was mainly responsible for the successful reduction of the Mannerheim Line, which was considered by the Finns to be an impregnable line of fortifications, will command the Southern Army. The black-moustached Marshal Ivan Bagmarian has been entrusted with the task of leading the Caucasian Army and the reputed Marshal Simyon Timoshenko has been given the command of the army, stationed in Turkestan, while the Supreme Command of the Army in the Far East has gone to the corpulent Marshal Rodion

Malinovsky, who so successfully carried out the counter-attack in Stalingrad, which turned the tide of the war definitely in favour of the Russians, and who finally closed the arms of the gigantic pincers by effecting a meeting with Rokossovsky. Out of this army of 1,800,000 men at least 800,000 may be reckoned as mobile troops that at regular intervals are replaced by the newly called-in. But about a million men in the army serve as professional soldiers throughout their life. These six army-corps employed at different strategic points on the Union's frontiers are all self-contained and independent units as regards operational tactics and administrative policy. One of the fundamental principles of Soviet military strategy, which is specially cared for by all ranks of the army is based on the doctrine "Adinia Voinaia Doktrina" (the doctrine of waging war on a unified basis). According to this principle, a common pool for the successful utilisation of all the available technical, tactical, strategic and material resources of the army must be created and the method of conducting warfare should be meticulously planned and perfected behind the front before the actual starting of hostilities. The Russians have also plans ready for dropping big armies from the air behind an would-be enemy's lines of communications and supplies. The delicate problem with regard to the actual production of the atom bomb is however giving the Russian High Command a cause for headache, though it is now an open secret that they have full knowledge of the complicated process of manufacture of this type of bomb. In the opinion of experts Molotov did not mince matters when he made a dark innuendo about such a possibility in one of his public speeches held in Moscow recently. But the snag about the whole thing lies perhaps in the fact that up till now they have not made such a progress in this direction as to be able to proceed immediately with its manufacture on a large-scale industrial basis. All the same they have started setting up three factories for this secret purpose in eastern Siberia, which are expected to work on a satisfactory productive basis within the next twelve or eighteen months. Against the background of these secret activities of the Russians, which might have been prompted by dark and sinister motives, the fact that the Soviet High Command have got scent of a scientific method recently developed by the Americans for strategic atom-bombing, stands out in bold relief in the present political set-up of the world. The Russians have little doubt in the effectiveness of this method with the help of which the Americans can easily render the Russian oil-fields at Baku and the others that lie not far away from the sea-coast useless by atom-bombing, not the oil-fields proper but a certain area of the sea surrounding them. By their proximity to the sea most of the Russian oil-fields might thus prove very vulnerable to attacks by

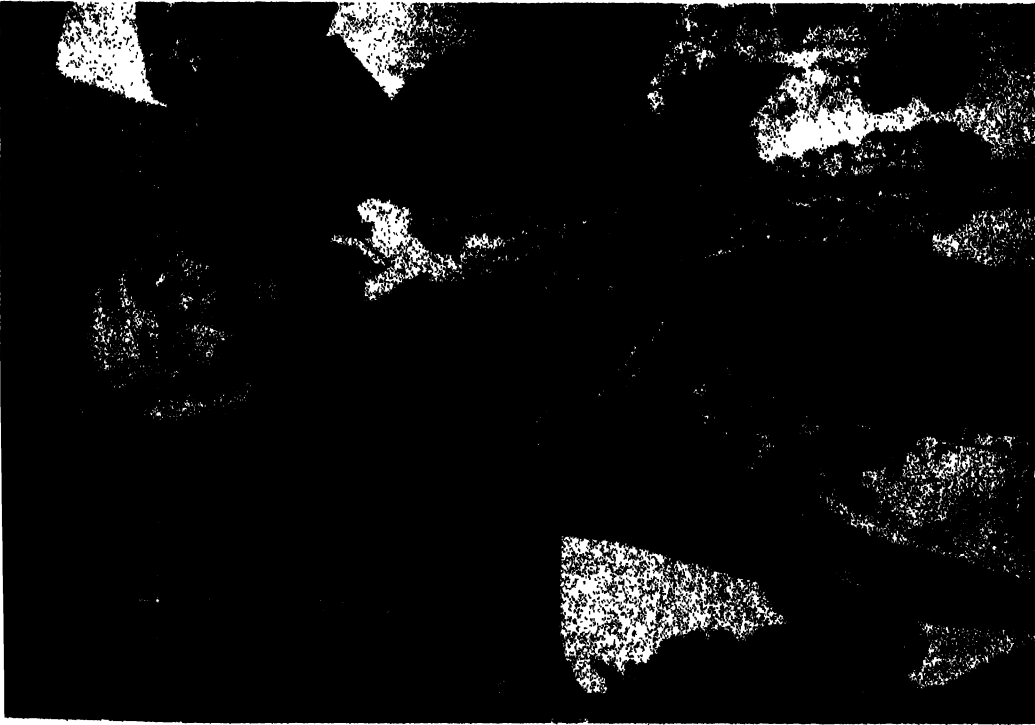
The last message from the Emperor of India is read by Lord Mountbatten on August 14, 1947. Mr. Jinnah sitting beside him.



Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India and his lady stand on the steps of the Karachi Assembly Hall with Mr. Jinnah and his sister, Fatima.



On the eve of becoming the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gets a golden mace, the symbol of ancient Hindu Kings, his forehead being daubed with sacred ashes by an order of holy men





Shakespeare's Cliff at Dover



The sea-beach at Brighton on the Sussex coast which provides some of the most famous of the seaside resorts of Britain

enemy aircraft carrying a deadly load of atom bombs. The oil-fields at Baku constitute one of the most important sources of the Union's war potential, which by virtue of their close proximity to the Caspian Sea can be very easily put out of action by the dropping of a few atom bombs on this inland salt-water lake. This possibility has made the Russian High Command extremely nervous as they fully realise that failing to maintain the full productivity of these oil-fields they can hardly carry on a war for a long time with the Western Democracies. Keeping this threatening danger in view the Russian General-Staff have started work in feverish haste on a gigantic military project, involving the construction of a huge screen looking exactly like an unfolded parachute on the shores of the Caspian Sea, for the purpose of preventing radioactive contamination from vitally affecting the nearby oilfields. Though the Russians may not have yet succeeded in making the desired progress in the manufacture of the atom bomb yet it must be conceded that with regard to V-weapons they are already well-advanced for meeting any contingency in a future war. They have, of late, particularly devoted their energies to the development of these pilotless, propeller-driven aerial projectiles for long-range bombing. It is reported that such a high degree of precision-bombing has already been attained with these weapons that from the long distance of 1,400-2,000 kilometres they can be effectively used on specified military targets with chances of near misses being as low as only 2-3 miles on the average. An experimental station for this purpose has been set up at a place in eastern Siberia, which is very close to the Kamchatka peninsula.

The Russian High Command is of the opinion that their chances of victory in a war will be much greater, if they can somehow put it off to a suitable time in the future, when they will have fully developed these and other deadly lethal weapons of war. With this object in view, the Kremlin is doing its best to prevent the outbreak of a world-conflict in the near future. But none the less the Russians are prepared for any eventuality and have drawn up plans for successfully conducting a war. Firm in their conviction that the decisive battle in a future war will be fought out in the "Dainie Vostok" (The Far East), the Russian General-Staff are strongly fortifying their existing bases and constructing new strategic ones in Siberia. From the viewpoint of the Russian General-Staff, the third World War against the Western Democracies would have only two important phases. The key to success in the first phase can be provided only by a quick occupation of the whole of Western Europe. It is looked upon as a comparatively easy task, for the successful fulfilment of which only the help of those troops that constitute the present peace-time army of the Union plus the help of the troops employed on the Home Front is considered more than enough to match the combined armies of the Western Powers. They

hope to be able to finish off this affair in the course of 2 or 4 weeks only. As there is no room for complacency and over-confidence in their military strategy their calculations must have been based on certain concrete facts. The second phase of the operations will begin with a 'blitz'-offensive on the Iberian Peninsula, simultaneously with the forcing of the Mediterranean by large contingents of highly equipped troops whose primary objective would be to establish a firm foot-hold in North Africa, while another arm of their pincer-movement will be provided by a powerful thrust through Persia, Iraq and Syria towards the strategically important Suez Canal. The Russian General-Staff have plans well in hand for bringing to a successful conclusion the second phase of the war in just about three months time. If their plans do not misfire, they hope to be able to neutralise quickly and swiftly the whole of the Mediterranean area, after which they will be free to give more attention to the vital task of protecting and securing their flank against a possible attack from the British Isles, the strongest bastion of democratic freedom in Europe. About a hundred divisions are considered sufficient for this purpose and half of this strength will in all probability be composed of Bulgarians, Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks. The third and last phase of the war, according to them, will begin in the Far East, where they will be then free to rush their crack divisions from the West for the final and decisive show-down, which, according to expert Russian military opinion, will take place in China. Here the struggle of the giants is expected to last for a pretty long time. The beginning of the last phase of the war will see the Russians throwing in a colossal army of 300 divisions, sufficiently reinforced by a large number of Chinese Communists, and once China is completely overrun the Russians hope to be able to offer a compromise-peace to the U. S. based on an 'equitable' division of the World into two separate and distinct spheres of influence. The Russian plan, if accepted by the U. S. A., will give the former complete mastery over the whole of Europe excepting the British Isles, the whole of North Africa, the Near and the Middle East and China, while the U. S. A. will hold an undisputed sway over India, Indo-China, Indonesia, South America, the British Isles with her colonies and Japan.

The main pre-occupation of the Russians for the present time is not so much the atom bomb as the vital question how to confront the Western Powers with a political *fait accompli*. It is, however, believed that once they succeed in manufacturing atom bombs, a new situation in world-politics might naturally arise creating a military deadlock, for which the only solution would lie in a compromise-peace. The Russian General-Staff is at the same time keeping themselves busy with the all-important task of devising ways and means of securing their oil-supply and therefore the grim possibility of another war breaking out in the near future is giving them a real cause for headache.

WAS ASOKA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DOWNFALL OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE?

By PROF. SACHINDRA KUMAR BANERJEE, M.A.

ASOKA occupies a unique position in the ranks of world's great rulers. He combined in himself the qualities of a great soldier and a statesman. He was the master of a vast empire which he ruled benevolently and efficiently. So long Asoka lived he maintained intact the grand fabric of the Maurya Imperial organisation reared by the genius of Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty. But no sooner had the great Maurya emperor passed away, than the decline of the empire began. Historians who have laboured to find a satisfactory cause of the downfall of the Maurya dynasty, have made Asoka's peace-policy responsible for the break-up of the empire. According to their learned opinions, the deliberate abandonment of military activity undermined the strength of the empire's capacity for defence and so when after his death the barbarians from outside as well as the self-seekers within his empire began to raise their heads, the successors of Asoka could not protect the empire. Dr. H. C. Raychoudhury commenting on the pacific policy pursued by Asoka remarks, "India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Chandragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer." Was Asoka really a dreamer? Was he not a realist who could understand the real needs of his empire and people? A careful study of the Asokan inscriptions makes it clear that Asoka was not a visionary without any touch with the realities and Asoka was not really responsible for the downfall of the empire.

In order to explain the causes of the decline of an empire, we should bear in mind that decay is the doom of all nations as of all men. History records the rise and fall of empires. No empire on earth can be permanent. Sooner or later it must go. The great Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun has pointed out the different stages of empire's life after which *ie.*, (12) years) it will die. It may be taken for granted, that empires or kingdoms cannot exist permanently on earth. But at the same time we should try to find out the causes of the decline of the empires. Here in the case of the Maurya empire we should try to disprove the responsibility of Asoka for its collapse.

It has been said that Asoka after the Kalinga war had sheathed his sword and employed the vast resources of his empire to the propagation of his message of non-violence and good-will and the result was the neglect of the defence of the kingdom which pronounced the doom of the vast empire after his

death. Dr. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Hindus who were religious-minded, were made more religious through Asoka's preachings and became indifferent to state politics, and naturally after the death of Asoka, when the empire was threatened by the barbarian invaders, they could not offer resistance.* It has been further said that if Asoka would not have abandoned the traditional Maurya policy of war and aggression, he might have conquered the extreme South of the Indian peninsula and other parts of the Eastern and Central Asia and the Maurya Empire would not have collapsed after his death.†

Is the statement that the Maurya empire would have been enlarged farther and would not have collapsed if Asoka would have followed the traditional Maurya policy of war and aggression and not the policy of non-violence, a correct one? The historians, who find fault in Asoka's policy of peace and good-will, perhaps have in their mind the famous saying of the great Mogul, Akbar, "A monarch, should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him."‡ Akbar meant to say that the weakness of the king and army would encourage the neighbouring rulers who might take opportunity of this weakness. But Asoka was certainly not a weak king. He was not inferior to Akbar in valour and prowess. Nobody dared to revolt during his reign. Asoka without being ever intent on conquest, gave no opportunity to his neighbours "to rise in arms against him." The historians who think that the giving up of the traditional policy of war and aggression by Asoka was the cause of the downfall of the Maurya empire, probably take war and conquests as sure guarantees of the empire. But History gives verdict against their theory. If wars and conquests would have been effective safeguards against the disruptive forces that cause the decline of an empire, why the empires built by the great generals of the world collapsed after their death? Harshavardhan was a mighty warrior and carved out a vast empire, but why his empire broke down immediately after his death? Alauddin Khalji, one of the greatest conquerors of India, who never sheathed his sword like Asoka, and rather always used it on the neighbouring kings could not make it stand on an ever-lasting foundation. Even during his lifetime the authority of the emperor ceased to command respect and insurrectionary movements were set on foot in the outlying

1. *Political History of Ancient India* (4th edition), p. 288.

2. Bhandarkar : *Asoka* (2nd edition), p. 288.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 286-88.

4. *Happy Sayings* : *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 369.

provinces of the empire. In the words of the Muslim chronicler, Barani, "Fortune proved as usual fickle; and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him" and the mighty monarch, 'bit his own flesh with fury' as he saw the work of his lifetime being undone before his eyes.

The reign of Aurangzeb, which saw the Mughal empire reach its greatest extent, also witnessed the unmistakable signs of its decline and disruption. Aurangzeb was not non-violent like Asoka and his reign was a vast military campaign. Like Charlemagne he had no hesitation in acting on the principle that kingdom-taking was the business of the kings and immediately after his accession to the throne, he plunged himself into wars which occupied many years of his long reign. But what was the result of his long campaign—failure and chaos ! He had 'to spend the last 26 years of his life in tents and wear out the empire's revenue, army and organised administration as well as his own health in an unending and fruitless struggle.'

Alexander, one of the greatest conquerors of the world, who was always intent on conquest and created a vast empire within 13 years only, and gave no opportunity to the neighbouring rulers to rise in arms against him, also could not prevent the break-up of his empire after his death.

Napoleon, modern world's greatest general who within a short time, created a vast French empire, could not also stop the imposing fabric of his empire falling to the ground.

The above accounts will make it clear to the students of history that wars and conquests are not necessary guarantees of the empires and the opposite principle of war and aggression, i.e., peace and non-violence, is not the cause of the decline and downfall of the kingdoms. If the constant use of army could be regarded as effective measures for arresting the progress of decline, the mighty empire of Alauddin Khalji and of Aurangzeb would not have collapsed soon after their demise. The causes of the decline of the empires of world's great generals and conquerors—Alauddin, Aurangzeb, Charlemagne, Alexander and Napoleon—are not the same, but one point is certain that constant wars could not stop the decline of their empires. On the other hand, in some cases, the wars and conquests were contributory causes to the downfall of the empires. As already pointed out, Aurangzeb's incessant warfare ruined the resources of the country and disorganised the administrative system which hastened the process of a disintegration of the empire. Napoleon's lust for conquest ruined him. His insatiable ambition led him to extend his power to the breaking-point. "His empire was built up by war and conquest and so it was environed by the hatred of the conquered. Based on force it could be maintained only by force." But when the iron hand of Napoleon passed away, the empire fell.

Thus the theory that Asoka's empire would not have collapsed so soon after his death, had he pursued the traditional policy of war and aggression, cannot stand. When we see that the empires of the above-mentioned great conquerors could not last long after their death, where was then the guarantee that Asoka's empire would have lasted, if he adopted the traditional policy—'kingdom-taking is the business of the kings'? On the other hand, it may be said that had Asoka pursued a policy of wanton aggression like Alauddin Khalji and Aurangzeb, he would see like them that his works were being undone before his eyes.

Were the non-violent and peace policy of Asoka responsible for the decline of the Maurya empire? Historians who hold Asoka responsible for the break-up of the empire, think that after Kalinga war Asoka became a monk and dealt only with the religious affairs and neglected the army—the pillar of the empire. No inscription of Asoka goes to support such theory. It is true that the miseries of the Kalinga campaign, the sufferings of the prisoners and the wailings for the dead so struck him with remorse that he became averse to war and conquest, and enunciated a new theory of conquest, viz., conquest by Dhamma (Dhamma-Vijaya), but that does not and cannot prove that Asoka became a dreamer who neglected the political affairs of the country, when the Yavanas were knocking at the gate of India. He never neglected the administration of the country. Asoka's inscriptions prove that he inherited from his predecessors a well-organised bureaucratic government and utilised its machinery to its fullest advantage for maintaining peace and order within the realm. He was not in favour of the liquidation of his empire. His devotion to religion and aversion to war did not mean that he was indifferent to state politics. Asoka knew that if his new scheme—Dhamma Vijaya—was to be put into practice, it was necessary that peace and tranquillity must reign in place of chaos and lawlessness. And peace could only be maintained by a strong and efficient ruler. Asoka understood that the Maurya empire needed no further extension of frontiers, but the retention and consolidation of what it already possessed. He rightly thought that wars and conquests would bring untold miseries to mankind and it was the duty of the kings not to indulge in wanton aggression. "The king should consolidate their conquests and should devote themselves to the material and moral well-being of their subjects. This is what Asoka did after the Kalinga war. He did not become indifferent to worldly objects. In that case he would have renounced the world and become a Buddhist Bhikshu. But Asoka did not do so. On the contrary, inscriptions and other authentic records show that Asoka retained to the last his masterful personality ruling state and church alike with a strong hand. So long Asoka lived nobody dared to disturb the peace

of the empire. We gather from his inscription^a that he warned the neighbouring rulers that they should not try to break the peace of his realm. Asoka no doubt sent messages of love and freedom to the people of his neighbouring kingdoms, but his freedom had one restriction. "Freedom must not violate morality. The sovereignty of Right enthroned in the place of Might must be maintained." While anxious "to secure the love and confidence of the borders" Asoka was equally anxious "to set them moving on the path of piety." The forest folks were warned not "to continue in their evil ways that they be not chastised".

The king who thus could maintain peace and order in his realm and who could warn the borderers not to disturb the peace of his empire and at the same time laboured to change the hearts of his own subjects as well those of others living in the neighbouring kingdom so that the peoples of different kingdoms might live happily side by side, could not be regarded as a dreamer and his policy of peace and goodwill were not certainly causes of the downfall of his empire. Had Asoka been turned into a dreamer after the Kalinga war, the foreigners would certainly have invaded his country and put an end to his rule. But the foreigners did not venture to touch his realm during his lifetime. On the contrary, we know that friendly relations were maintained by the foreign potentates with the Maurya king. And cordial relations in ancient time was possible only among the equals. Had Asoka been a weak king, the foreigners would not have allowed his empire to rest in peace. Asoka was certainly more powerful than the foreign kings, who thought it proper to maintain peace with the mighty Maurya emperor. If he were a dreamer, the Yavanas who were knocking at the gate of India, would have broken the gate and captured at least the frontier of his kingdom. But such a thing did not happen. Thus it is clear that Kalinga war could not make him a dreamer. He remained as powerful as he had been before the Kalinga war. The only difference which we notice in Asoka after the war, was that he was against war which, instead of benefiting humanity, did cause sufferings to mankind.

We, the people of the 20th century, who have unfortunate opportunities of witnessing two destructive world wars, realise the soundness of Asoka's views on war and aggression and peace and non-violence. The politicians of the present day are endeavouring to save humanity from wars and to maintain peace among the different states and to abolish the causes of war altogether. Are the present-day statesmen to be regarded as dreamers? It is true that they failed to fulfil their aims in the past, but there is possibility of success in future. In the past they failed because the diplomats of the different states were not sincere in their aims and attitudes and moreover there was

not a strong machinery to control the different states. The League of Nations failed because no great state cared to obey it. But Asoka was sincere in his aims and attitude. He was not like Mr. Churchill, Mr. Truman, or M. Stalin, who in the name of maintaining peace in the world are trying to secure strategic positions for their countries and as a result suspicion is growing in the mind of the people of the world about their intentions. Asoka's case was different. Nobody doubted his intentions and purposes. His aims and ideals were translated into action. So when he assured the unsubdued people that "they should not be afraid of him, but should trust him, and should receive from him not sorrow but happiness," he was really believed by them. Asoka sincerely hoped to abolish unnecessary wars and to secure the love and confidence of his subjects as well as those of the borderers and 'to set them moving on the path of peace and good-will.' He was successful in his attempt and did not fail like the League of Nations and the modern statesmen.

That Asoka's preachings made the Hindus more religious and as a result they were unable to defend their country after his passing away, cannot be accepted as a learned view. It is rather a weak argument. Generally in no country either in ancient or in modern times, all the subjects were or are soldiers. Soldiers are a distinct and separate group of men who fight for the state. I have already said that Asoka maintained intact the administrative machinery of his predecessors. He did not disband the grand army, created by Chandragupta. The army remained not for aggression but for the maintenance of peace and order. The soldiers certainly did their duties and were not turned into monks. The ordinary people (other than the soldiers) might have come under the influence of non-violence. But here too, we should remember that all men did not follow the principle of truth and non-violence because in that case we would not have been informed that the severity of the Law against criminals and negligent officials was not relaxed. Capital punishment was not abolished. "To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted" during which their relatives could endeavour to win their repentance so that "even during their imprisonment they may gain the next world."

It will be unfair to say that Asoka's preaching could make the Hindus non-violent. The upholders of truth and non-violence could not be sentenced to death. Only a few persons (as now-a-days) were true believers in the principle of truth and non-violence, who could not certainly bring about the downfall of a mighty empire like that of the Mauryas.

The real causes of the break-up of the Maurya empire after the demise of Asoka were the loss of power of resistance of the Maurya rulers and the rivalry among the royal princes for power which undermined the unity of the empire. Was Asoka responsible for the loss of power of resistance of the Mauryas after

his death ? We have seen that neither abandonment of the traditional policy of war and conquest nor the policy of peace and non-violence pursued by Asoka, could be regarded as contributory factors to the decline of the empire. It has been further shown that all the people of his realm were not champions of truth and non-violence and hence it is not proper to say that Asoka made them indifferent to state-politics and so they gradually lost their power of resistance. Asoka himself was certainly more religious than his subjects, yet during his life-time his state and people did not lose their strength. But after his death that very people and state could not stand. Why ? The reason was that after Asoka there was none who was strong enough to maintain the integrity of the empire. His successors were weak personalities and after his death they assumed independence in different parts of the empire. The unity of the empire was lost. Foreign barbarians renewed their incursions. There was no Asoka among them who could arrest the progress of the barbarians. The Maurya state was an autocratic state which depended upon the personality of the monarch and when Asoka passed away, the weak successors of Asoka who quarrelled for power, were unable to cope with the situation, and for that Asoka should not be blamed. The weakness and disunity among his successors were not his creations and so why Asoka was to be held responsible for the defects of his successors which brought about the downfall of the Maurya empire ? The learned scholar has said that if Asoka would have followed the traditional policy of war and aggression, the Maurya empire would not have collapsed so soon after his death. We may point out here that it may be said with far more logical truth that had there been a peace-loving king like Asoka strong enough to maintain peace and order in the realm and could warn the neighbouring kings not to disturb his kingdom, (after his death) the Maurya empire could have offered effective resistance and maintained the integrity of the empire, as it had done during Asoka's long rule. Unfortunately, the empire was not supplied with such a man after Asoka and so the very same people and government which were powerful enough to preserve the solidarity of the empire during the reign of Asoka, could not play the same after his death.

In ancient world, the kings or heads of the states counted for much. The rise and fall of the kingdoms were bound up with the fortunes and misfortunes of their rulers. Epaminondas, the great Theban patriot, made Thebes the leading city in Greece, but after his death (in the battle of Mantinea), the Theban supremacy also

passed away. With the death of Harshavardhan, his vast empire fell. Why ? There were no capable persons to guide these states after the demise of their rulers. The career of Napoleon has proved it that the personality of a general or an emperor is a very important factor in the rise and growth of an empire. Napoleon made France the greatest power in Europe but with his fall, also collapsed the empire.

Thus, it is clear from the above fact, that personalities of the kings were decisive factors in the rise and fall of the kingdoms. The Maurya empire was not an exception to the rule. The empire flourished under Chandra Gupta and Asoka, and collapsed when the state failed to produce strong rulers like Chandra Gupta and Asoka.

It will be unfair to call Asoka a dreamer and to hold his policy of peace and non-violence responsible for the collapse of the empire. Asoka was a rare admixture of the ideal and the practical. As the champion of peace and non-violence, he tried to abolish war which caused immense loss of life and property, but at the same time he was careful enough to see that no one could invade his kingdom and break the peace. Clear in his ideals which he pursued with a steadfastness that has few parallels in the history of the world. It should be said to the credit of Asoka, that 2,000 years ago, when the states of the world were governed by the principle of war and aggression, Asoka being a mighty emperor, did not want to destroy the independence of other states ; on the contrary, he assured the people of other states that they "should not be afraid of him but should trust him and should receive from him not sorrow but happiness." "Thus rang through the country loud and clear, the healing message of freedom, of peace on earth and good-will among men." Asoka understood that the best way to maintain peace among the states was to silence the war drum and to sheath the sword. War and conquests would embitter the feelings of the belligerents and so no real and effective peace would be possible. So Asoka wanted to abolish war and thereby paved the way for mutual co-operation and good-will among the states which would enable the peoples of different states to live happily side by side. Asoka's career has shown the world that a mighty king if he earnestly wants to maintain peace on earth, can do so by propagating the principle of peace and non-violence, without doing any harm to his own state. This is Asoka's contribution to the world for all time and ages. Asoka stands out easily as first of the peace-makers of the world, but certainly not as a dreamer.



WHITEHEAD'S CONTRIBUTION

By P. C. CHATTERJI

It gives one something of a shock to realise that Whitehead was born, in 1861 and that considered from the point of view of dates, he was a contemporary not only of Bergson but almost of Bradley. Bradley, of course, represented a well-established tradition and it is not surprising therefore that we should associate him with a philosophical school, which is now definitely out of fashion. There may not be many Bergsonians in England or America but Bergson's influence is a well-established fact in the philosophical life of these countries while in France his views are propounded and received as authority. Whitehead's philosophy on the other hand is only just beginning to be known. Budding philosophers in Britain and America are still hesitatingly probing its subtleties or getting to grips with its novel conceptions, and so far as I am aware, there is still no authentic commentary on the *Philosophy of Organism* 19 years after its first comprehensive presentation in *Process and Reality*.*

Philosophically, Whitehead developed much more slowly than either Bradley or Bergson. To some extent this can be explained by the different means through which they came to study philosophy, a difference of background which is strikingly reflected in the theories which they were to propound. Whitehead's early interest was mathematics and it was from mathematics that he was led on to mathematical logic, the philosophy of the natural sciences and ultimately metaphysics proper. It was his belief that natural philosophy was a necessary basis for a re-organised speculative metaphysics and in this sense the preliminary work for the *Philosophy of Organism* had been presented in his *Principles of Natural Knowledge* and the *Concept of Nature*. The richness or as William James would say, the 'thickness' of the theory propounded in *Process and Reality* bears testimony to the different lines of enquiry which were woven into and systematized in Whitehead's philosophy.

It is not my intention to attempt an exposition or discussion of even the main principles of the *Philosophy of Organism* but I want to consider two of the fundamental habits of thought which Whitehead wished to repudiate. They are the modern distrust of speculative philosophy and reliance in language as an adequate expression of propositions.

Although it is common to accuse the modern world of creative impotence and failure of imaginative vigour, the last fifty years have by no means been barren in the field of speculative metaphysics. Apart from Whitehead one can immediately think of three or four names—Bergson, Alexander, McTaggart—who may well rank with the greatest metaphysicians of Europe. Nevertheless it remains true that the general tendency in philosophy is towards critical analysis and distrust of speculative system making. This distrust for speculative metaphysics is the direct outcome of the belief that it is impossible to gain any real knowledge of the

nature of the universe *a priori* as all the earlier metaphysicians had claimed to do. Speculative metaphysics, then, if it is to be treated seriously any more must be re-established on a different, an empirical basis. It was Whitehead who realised most clearly what this change involved and set himself explicitly to define Speculative Philosophy restate its relations with the physical sciences and to defend it as a study productive of important knowledge.

Whitehead defines Speculative Philosophy as the endeavour to frame a coherent, logical, necessary system of general ideas in terms of which every element in our experience can be interpreted.

In other words, the function of speculative philosophy is to evolve a general scheme of ideas such that every particular fact of experience can be seen to be an illustration of that scheme. He goes on to point out that the general scheme must satisfy two main types of conditions, which Whitehead classifies as rationalistic and empirical. By the former he means that the scheme should be logical and coherent, that the fundamental notions of the scheme should not merely be consistent but also such that they cannot be abstracted from each other. As he puts it:

"The ideal of speculative philosophy is to illustrate the truth that no entity can be conceived in complete isolation from the system of the universe."

The empirical condition of any satisfactory scheme is that it should be *applicable* and *adequate*, that in fact the scheme should explain *all* the facts of experience, not merely those which happen to have been considered.

It is not my intention to follow Whitehead through all the details of this admirable first chapter of *Process and Reality*, a chapter in which the difficulties and pitfalls of speculation are explained and countered with remarkable force and clarity. I shall only permit myself one brief quotation on the usefulness of philosophy before I get down to the crux of the problem. Whitehead writes:

"Philosophy frees itself from the taint of ineffectiveness by its close relations with religion and with science, natural and sociological. It attains its chief importance by fusing the two, namely religion and science, into one rational scheme of thought... The useful function of philosophy is to promote the most general systematisation of civilised thought. There is a constant reaction between specialism and commonsense. Philosophy is the welding of imagination and commonsense into a restraint upon specialisms and also into an enlargement of their imaginations."

The central problem of any empirical metaphysics must be its relation with science. For dogmatic or rationalistic philosophy the main task is to demonstrate the inadequacy of scientific explanations. Up to a point this must be so with empirical metaphysics also. Commenting on the fact that the field of every special science is confined to one genus of events, Whitehead says:

"The systematisation of knowledge cannot be conducted in watertight compartments. All general

*Schilpp: *The Philosophy of Whitehead* contains articles on Whitehead's work by different contributors.

truths condition each other; and the limitations of their application cannot be adequately defined apart from their correlation by yet wider generalities." "Thus," he concludes, "one aim of philosophy is to challenge the half-truths constituting the scientific first principles."

But on the other hand, an empirical metaphysic must necessarily be based on the findings of science itself. The method which metaphysicians must adopt is to construct generalisations derived from a particular branch of science, which also apply to and enlighten other aspects of reality. As Whitehead says:

"This construction must have its origin in the generalization of particular facts discerned in particular topics of human interest; for example, in physics or in physiology or in psychology or in aesthetics or in ethical beliefs or in sociology or in languages conceived as store-houses of human experience.—The success of the imaginative experiment is always to be tested by the applicability of its results beyond the restricted locus from which it originated."

From this new procedure which an empirical metaphysic must adopt necessarily follows a lack of certainty which characterizes our final beliefs. Over-ambition, Whitehead says, was one of the main defects of dogmatic metaphysicians; they claim to have discovered for all time the general nature of reality, though grudgingly admitting their failure to comprehend the details. But while certainty could be claimed by dogmatic philosophers who argued deductively from supposedly self-evident premises, a philosophy such as Whitehead's cannot dare to think in terms of finality. Philosophers, he contends, can never hope finally to formulate these first principles.

"At the very least, men do what they can in the way of systematization, and in the event achieve something. The proper test is not that of finality but progress."

But the possibility of arriving at any generalization which can claim to interpret all the facts, however tentatively, is itself open to question. Such generalizations, if they are not to be merely the 'reflections of the temperamental pre-suppositions of exceptional personalities,' must at least be based on some calculation of probabilities. But the probability of an inference, so logicians tell us, varies directly as the proportion of the field of observation stands to the field of influence. In other words, the probability of an inference will be high if the number of cases in which a generalisation is found to hold good is large in comparison with the unobserved field over which it is sought to extend that generalization. On the other hand, the probability will be small if the field of observation is small and the field of inference is large. Thus even if the universe is not infinite, the total number of events which have been observed by science must be very small in proportion to those that exist—a fact which must make any empirical generalization almost useless.

There is also a further difficulty, a logical difficulty, in the way of an empirical metaphysic which has been

left unanswered by Whitehead. In induction, we argue that because a particular characteristic has been found to exist among certain observed members of a class, it must also exist among the remaining unobserved members. The point is that the inductive argument can be used only within that class. It is not possible to argue on the basis of induction that because a certain property characterizes a certain species it will characterize objects belonging to some totally different class of beings. And yet this, in effect, is what the empirical metaphysician is doing. He is attempting to extend generalizations, which apply to members of the class 'parts of reality', to something which is a member of no 'class' whatever, namely, reality itself.

The last few decades are notable for the interest which philosophers have begun to take in language and the influence it has exercised on thought. While a few thinkers in the 19th century were not unaware of the subtle ways in which language had led their predecessors into metaphysical blunders, more thorough examinations of language or philosophies of language developed only in the present century. One of the most notable results of these researches has been the development of Symbolic Logic, which may roughly be described as an attempt to fashion a new language for philosophy which will be exact and free from the emotional associations of common speech.

A novel and thorough analysis of language and an exposure of the hopeless impasse into which it has led European philosophers must be recognised as one of Whitehead's important contributions. Every proposition, Whitehead points out, can make sense only in the context of a particular 'universe of discourse' and every universe of discourse must exhibit certain systematic metaphysical characteristics. For example, when Keats talks of "Magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas and fairy lands forlorn," his words can only make sense if interpreted in the context of the world of imagination. But the universe of discourse itself, the world of imagination in our example, presupposes a background which is left vague and indeterminate in the propositions which we use. A proposition then if it is to make sense demands on the one hand a universe of discourse which is known to have a particular kind of order, and on the other, it implies a certain more general context which is left indeterminate. Because of the former, a proposition, Whitehead tells us, does have some sense but because of the latter it cannot possibly make complete sense. As he succinctly puts it:

"Apart from this background, the separate entities which go to form the proposition, and the proposition as a whole, are without determinate character. Nothing has been defined, because every definite entity requires a systematic universe to supply its requisite status. Thus every proposition proposing a fact must, in its complete analysis, propose the general character of the universe required for that fact."

"A proposition can embody partial truth because it only demands a certain type of systematic environment, which is presupposed in its

meaning. It does not refer to the universe in all its detail."

And then the conclusion which this analysis works up to is that it is simply credulous to imagine that the system or order implied by propositions is the ultimate order of the universe.

Failure to see this point has, Whitehead contends, vitiated the major part of European philosophy. The particular form that the pernicious influence of language has taken is to lead philosophers to believe that, because the commonest propositional form is the subject-predicate variety, the universe can be interpreted in terms of the categories of substance and quality. If not explicitly, at least by implication, the substance-quality categories have been accepted as fundamental by almost all the metaphysicians of Europe. This has led to two main types of philosophies which are equally false to human experience, a blank monism incapable of supporting differences or the utter scepticism of Hume. The way out of this dilemma is to repudiate the substance-quality relation as fundamental and to accept one main contention of the *Philosophy of Organism*, the description of 'actual entities' as an 'ingression of eternal objects,' as literal clusters of Platonic universals.

There is one other interesting point which Whitehead makes about language and its influence on

philosophy. All philosophers claim that their view is more nearly in accordance with experience than the theories propounded by others. This is accepted as the final test. But Whitehead points out that the question of forming any precise idea of the nature of experience is no easy matter. What happens in practice is that we tend to believe that the facts are of the kind as stated in language, forgetting that the form of expression may be imposing its own order on the experience, and thus distort it. One of the most interesting and instructive parts of *Process and Reality* is the illustration of this point which Whitehead gives from the writings of earlier philosophers, particularly Locke. Whitehead shows that time and again Locke, in his faithful description of experience, was on the point of anticipating some of the main contentions of the philosophy of organism and then was misled by language.

I have outlined Whitehead's views on the subject of language not only because they were fundamental to his entire scheme of thought, but also because his own use of language and his peculiar terminology have been the greatest obstacles to a proper appreciation of his work. I am convinced that when we have got over the first irritation caused by his idiosyncrasies of expression, we will not fail to find many conceptions which may permanently affect the course of metaphysical speculation in the years to come.

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NATIONALISATION IN BRITAIN

Transport

By B.

ON January 1st, 1948, the greatest unified transport system in the world came under State control. On that date the legislation which had passed through the British House of Commons for the nationalisation of the country's transport became operative. Now the British Transport Commission owns 52,000 miles of railways, 20,000 locomotives, 41,000 passenger vehicles, 1,235,000 goods wagons, 50,000 houses, 70 hotels, 100 steamships and thousands of motor vehicles—the whole being valued at over £1,000 million.

Why was it necessary in the public interest to nationalise British transport?

To answer that question one must look back on the history of transport in Britain and sectionalise it: that is to say, consider the three great methods of transport—the roads, the railways and the canals. (The air is a different and separate problem which will be dealt with in another paper).

WHY NATIONALISATION WAS NECESSARY

Up to about the year 1750, roads and rivers represented the only means of inland transport in Britain. From 1750 to 1825, under the impulse of the Industrial Revolution, canals and canalised rivers, roads and railways were developed at an astounding pace. By 1900, for example, steam railways provided a complete network of communications over the whole country and, in the early years of this development the rail-

ways, having virtually a monopoly in transport facilities, grew the fastest. They were, however, always subject to strict legislative control and never entirely superseded either road or water transport.

Canals suffered most severely and only a few carried on but the roads developed with the development of electricity and the internal combustion engine. At the same time, coastal shipping flourished. The competition between these various forms of transport was until about 30 years ago healthy and flourishing and produced only greater effort by the owners to satisfy users. But after the first World War, the roads and railways in particular had to develop a rivalry that was virtually a savage struggle for existence.

WAR CONTROL

During the first World War, the railways were put under Government control for war purposes and at the end of the war it was obvious that their economic position was far less stable than it had been. Their early development had meant an enormous capital expenditure and the effects began to make themselves felt. Their costly specialised fixed equipment limited their capacity to adapt themselves to changing conditions and gave them a heavy ratio of overhead expenses. There was no longer an excess of traffic over transport and too many companies were competing for the same tonnage. At the same time statutory regulations

required the railways to accept all traffic offered to them and to provide transport facilities even when this did not pay and also imposed liabilities on the companies as to their expenditure on maintenance of property and on labour, while at the same time prohibiting their raising and adapting existing rates and charges.

THE RAILWAYS ACT

In the national interest something had to be done and in 1921, the Railways Act was passed. This swept away a mass of old legislation which hampered the companies; enabled them to bring about economies long considered necessary and ensured that the railway user got reasonable facilities at reasonable rates.

The Act brought about—

- (1) the amalgamation of 123 railway companies (practically every railway company of importance in the country) into four groups—the Great Western; the London, Midland and Scottish; the London North-Eastern; and the Southern; and
- (2) the establishment of an entirely new method of regulating charges. Under the Act, a body known as the Railway Rates Tribunal was set up with extensive powers to deal with all matters relating to rates and charges. The railway companies submitted to this Tribunal a system of rates and charges designed to produce a Standard Revenue of £51,000,000 a year. The new rates, which were based on a new classification of merchandise carried and included the value of the merchandise as well as the cost of carrying it, were known as Standard Charges. A list of these charges was open to examination by every transport user, and the railway companies were required to abide by them, except when they proposed to quote "exceptional rates" which, unless they were between 5 and 40 per cent lower than the standard, they could do only with the previous consent of the Tribunal.

This Act, however, failed to remedy the situation. The amalgamation did not in fact bring about the economies expected. In the second place, at the time the Standard Charges were introduced, six years had elapsed and in that time there had been a trade depression, meaning less work for the railways. There had been also a tremendous development in road transport which, free from legislative control, was able to compete on very favourable terms with the railways. At the same time water transport began to take over a certain amount of non-perishable slow-moving traffic, and though competition from this direction was less severe, it did nothing to improve the position of the railways. The result in total was that the four amalgamated railway companies failed to realise their standard revenue and the deficit in the first two years after the Act amounted to £14,000,000.

ANOTHER ATTEMPT

Another attempt was made to solve the problem. The Government ordered an official enquiry which resulted in the publication of the Salter Report, and in the passing of the Road and Rail Traffic Act of 1933.

This Act, which embodied most of the proposals in the Report, (a) gave rather more freedom of action to the railway companies—it allowed them, for instance,

to make "Agreed Charges" *i.e.*, to give preferential terms to a particular user provided that he gave all or a specified part of his traffic to the railway in question, and (b) brought the hitherto unrestricted road transport under a certain amount of statutory control. But, although the railway companies availed themselves to the utmost of their new opportunities; and although the Tribunal, after having access to every detail relating to railway operations and after examining railway representatives in public enquiries, annually declared itself satisfied that there was no lack of efficiency or economy in the management of the railways, the situation continued to deteriorate. In 1938, the railway companies launched their "Square Deal" campaign, calling for relief from all statutory regulation of charges and freedom to decide for themselves the rates to be quoted for merchandise carried.

The outbreak of the second World War interrupted this campaign before any action had been taken and on 1st September, 1939, the Government, through the Minister of Transport, took control of the four main railway companies, the London Transport, and a number of minor railways under the *Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939—Order No. 1197*. Under this Order, the Minister appointed a Railway Executive Committee to be his agents for the purpose of issuing directions to the companies, whose managements and staffs were to carry on their duties as previously, subject to the direction and orders of the Government.

Financial arrangements provided for the net revenues (with certain items excluded) of the controlled undertakings to be pooled and out of this pool sums paid annually equivalent to the average net revenues for certain periods before the war. In September 1941, revised arrangements were substituted which provided for fixed annual payments totalling £43,000,000. The net revenues of the undertakings accrued to the Government, except for those investments in transport undertakings not operated by the railways, and from railways in Ireland.

These arrangements—which in the event proved of benefit both to the companies and to the Government—remained in force after the end of the war, for it had by that time become sufficiently clear that a return to the pre-war position would be inadvisable, and that a completely new solution to the whole transport problem must be found.

This was the position of the railways immediately after the end of World War II.

ROAD TRANSPORT

Between 1920 and 1938 the number of motor vehicles of all kinds in England increased from about 600,000 to over 3,000,000. Between 1920 and 1930 apart from road safety legislation, road transport remained practically free from legislative control and, like the railways in their early days, the road transport industry was left to organise its own charges and rates, its own operating methods and its labour conditions. By 1930 it was obvious that this complete

lack of regulation would in the end prove harmful and as a result the first Road Traffic Act was passed.

Under this Act, three Traffic Commissioners were appointed for each of the thirteen traffic areas into which the country was divided, to control all motor omnibuses and coaches in the particular Traffic Area with which they were concerned. Their function was to eliminate any services which they considered unnecessary, to fix and maintain fares and to sanction routes and timetables, none of which might be altered without permission. To facilitate their work, it was laid down that every operator of public passenger service vehicles must obtain licences or certificates of fitness for his vehicles and services as well as route licences, and that route licences would only be granted or renewed if the operator was able to justify his services against any rival provider of transport, including the railways, who might object.

LEGISLATION

The Act also specified maximum hours of work for the drivers of public service and goods vehicles and made provision for the payment of fair wages to passenger transport employees.

Goods transport by road was affected by the Road and Rail Traffic Act of 1933. The Chairmen of the Area Traffic Commissions were made the Licensing Authorities, and licences had to be obtained from them for all goods vehicles (with a few exceptions such as fire engines) in one of three classes, viz: "A" for public carriers, i.e., operators using their vehicles for hire; "B" for mixed carriers, i.e., operators using their vehicles partly for hire and partly for their own trade or business; and "C" for private carriers, i.e., operators using their vehicles for their own trade or business only.

The effect of the licensing regulations on "A" licences was to make it impossible for them to alter the size of their fleets without permission. No "A" licence was given or renewed unless the Area Commissioners were satisfied that there was a reasonable need in the area for the services that the licensee proposed to provide. The same conditions governed the granting of "B" licences, the holders of which were further restricted in some cases as to which types of goods they might carry and the radius within which they might operate. "C" licensees were granted their licences by right, provided that they fulfilled the conditions attached to all licences regarding keeping of records, fitness of vehicles to be on the road, drivers' hours of work, etc.

The result of the Act was to stabilise the number of "A" and "B" licensed vehicles, which in 1939 was rather over 93,000 and 54,000 respectively. On the other hand, it did nothing to stabilise charges, since it contained no provision for fixing rates or for establishing a structure of freight charges by road which could serve as a basis for rate control by a public authority.

WORLD WAR II

By 1939, a certain degree of balance and co-

ordination in the road transport industry had been achieved. As far as road haulage was concerned, the tendency had been for small firms to concentrate in the main upon local work, leaving long-distance work to be undertaken by the large concerns who were in a position to organise regular services, and to comply with the labour regulations attaching to such work and services. As regards passenger transport, there had been several attempts to unify the operation of services in large and populous areas, of which the creation of the London Passenger Transport Board was the outstanding example. At the same time the basic difficulty at the root of the transport problem, that is to say, the uneconomic competition between road and rail had not been cleared away, for railway charges were still subject to statutory control, while road charges were not.

During the second World War, the licensing provisions of the *Road Traffic Act, 1930*, and the *Road and Rail Act, 1933* were temporarily suspended, and a more flexible system of permits issued by Regional Transport Commissioners was substituted. The Regional Transport Commissioners also rationed fuel for passenger and goods vehicles.

In 1943, a scheme was initiated whereby undertakings engaged wholly or partly in long-distance work put the whole of their resources at the disposal of the Minister of Transport's Road Haulage Organisation, which carried Government traffic both long and short distances, and all other traffic over 60 miles with certain exceptions.

CENTRALISED ADMINISTRATION

The object of this scheme was to effect still further economies in road transport, and by providing a centralised administration, to reduce unnecessary journeys to a minimum. The country was, therefore, divided into fifty-two areas, each under the control of an Area Road Haulage Officer, whose duty it was to co-ordinate, through a number of Unit Controllers, all long-distance traffic within, or passing through his area.

Fuel rationing for all vehicles has been continued since the end of the war. Licensing has been renewed for new applicants, and/or for modifications of existing services. The Road Haulage Organisation was terminated in August 1946, but certain members of the industry have, under an arrangement negotiated between the Ministry of Transport and the Road Haulage Association, contracted to supply vehicles for essential work in any part of the country, if local vehicle resources prove inadequate.

CANALS

During the first World War, the Government took over those canals which were owned by the railway companies. In 1917, the independent canals finding it increasingly difficult to operate, even at a loss, were placed under the control of a special committee of the Board of Trade. As soon as the war ended the canals were handed back to their owners but they found their difficulties were even greater than before and in 1920

the Minister of Transport set up a Committee of Inland Waterways to study the whole problem. Certain recommendations were made but no action was taken. In 1931, the Royal Commission on Transport recommended that "a process of amalgamation was a necessary preliminary to any development programme." But again, no action was taken.

After the passing of the *Road and Rail Traffic Act* in 1933 an agreement was reached by the railways and the independent canal companies to avoid undue competition, but by that time the canals had relapsed into such a state that this had no effect on them. It was not until 1939 when World War II was imminent that Central and Regional Canal Advisory Committees were formed to provide liaison between the Government and the Canal industry. By 1942, the process was complete. All canals were under Government control and they have remained under Government control ever since.

PORTS AND HARBOURS

The great majority of ports and harbours are in the hands of harbour authorities coming under (a) Local Commissions or Trusts, not working for profit, established under statutory authority for the management of particular harbours, (b) Municipal authorities, (c) Railway Companies, and (d) Harbour Companies or Individuals.

These harbour authorities have as a rule been established by Special Acts of Parliament empowering them to work the particular harbour undertaking specified in the Act. Such Acts generally contain provisions dealing with such matters as the constitution of the harbour authority, the compulsory acquisition of any land, the construction of new works, the dredging and maintenance of the harbour, the maximum rates and charges to be levied, the making of bye-laws for the control and regulation of vessels and persons employed in connection with the harbours, the definition of the limits within which the authority may exercise jurisdiction and demand rates, and the raising and repayment of capital. Additional powers for the construction of new works, the levying of additional rates or the raising of additional capital are normally only obtainable by the promotion on the part of the harbour authority of a Private Bill, but except in the case of certain ports, and provided the cost of the proposed works does not exceed £100,000 and compulsory powers for the acquisition of land are not required, the Minister of Transport may make a Provisional Order authorising particular works.

As a general rule, the facilities at large ports for dealing with the traffic passing through them has been well maintained; and the harbour authorities, whether representative of Public Trusts, such as the Port of London Authority, the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board and the Clyde Navigation Trust, of municipalities, such as the Bristol Corporation which manages the Bristol and Avonmouth Docks, or railways, such as the Southern Railway Company which owns the docks

at Southampton, kept pace during the inter-war years with modern requirements as regards new docks and quays, railway and road facilities at the quays, appliances and general layout.

The ports serving coastwise shipping, however, received less attention, partly because the trade that at one time gave them their prosperity had fallen off, and partly because many of the smaller port authorities lacked the financial resources to prevent silting up or to provide modern facilities for loading and unloading.

GOVERNMENT BODY

During the second World War, powers relating to harbours and docks were vested in a body set up by the Government and known as the Port and Transit Control. The effective co-ordination of port facilities and inland distribution was served locally through (a) Regional Port Directors (in the Clyde, Mersey, Bristol Channel, Humber, the North-East Coast)—and during the invasion period in London, (b) the Port Emergency Committees and, (c) local Shipping Representatives of the Ministry of Transport.

Control was relaxed at the end of the war, and the normal peace-time procedure was reinstated, the harbour authorities once more becoming responsible for the organisation and management of the ports and harbours.

It will thus be seen that the legislation for nationalisation of transport in Britain was not revolutionary but a stage in an evolutionary process. The main obstacle to the proper development of public transport in Britain had been lack of co-ordination. The Transport Advisory Council set up in 1933 under the *Road and Rail Traffic Act* had published recommendations favouring a much greater degree of co-ordination. The experience of the war years had demonstrated beyond doubt that under unified control railways, road transport and canals were all able to deal with an increased volume of traffic without loss to any one of them and that transport systems can be most successfully linked to provide speedy transit of goods particularly to and from ports. The Transport Act was, therefore, passed to bring about this essential co-ordination and to establish the benefits of a unified control.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE

It is, of course, necessary to say something of the political aspects of nationalisation. No thinking person in Britain, no matter of what political creed; would deny that for a long period the transport system had been subject to more and more legislative control. In the course of years that legislative control had been imposed by successive Governments not all of the same political complexion.

Nationalisation of transport was the logical culmination to all the legislation that had been passed in an effort to ensure the co-ordinated development of the British transport system in the national interest and, finally, it should be said that the nationalisation

of transport was given a clear mandate by the country in the last general election.

Today, actual day-to-day operation and general management of the transport system is in the hands of five Executives appointed by the Minister of Transport and responsible to the British Transport Commission whose duty is to evolve an efficient, adequate,

economical and properly integrated system of public inland transport and port facilities within Great Britain and to improve and extend that system. The Commission are also to conduct their undertakings in such a way that revenue is not less than sufficient for meeting charges properly chargeable to revenue taking one year with another.

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REFORMS IN LAND TENURE SYSTEM

By NAWAL KINHORE PRASHAD SINHA, B.A.

THE death-knell of the Zamindari system has been finally sounded. With Zamindari Abolition Bills on the anvil of the various legislatures and the Congress Party steadfast in its resolve to abolish all the intermediary interests between the Government and the actual tillers of the soil, the problem of land reform and the establishment of a new basis of land tenure has assumed gigantic proportions. All are agreed that mere replacement of the Zamindari system by Rayatwari system can never be the solution of all the ills that our agricultural economy is suffering from. For one thing, the Rayatwari system itself is suffering from the defects of an antiquated and ill-balanced economy and in some respects the actual tiller of the soil is worse off in Rayatwari areas than his similarly ill-fated brothers in permanently settled areas. The grave food position of our country and the all-round exploitation that is going on challenge us to bring about a revolutionary change in our agrarian economy, and to place it on a sound and stable position with a view to ensuring food self-sufficiency and meting out long-denied justice to the age-long down-trodden Kisans of the country. Moreover, we have got to plan our whole community life with villages consisting of prosperous and contented peasantry as the central pivot in pursuance of our ideal of a classless and non-violent society.

While, generally, there is agreement on the goal to be achieved, there are markedly two schools of thought on the means of achieving it. There is one section of opinion which does not believe in building anything on the basis of the past, but rather on its ashes. In their opinion, complete nationalisation and state ownership of land and collectivisation of farms is the only way of introducing improved and scientific farming, thereby increasing the yield appreciably and also bettering the lot of the peasantry. The second school of thought is not in favour of such sweeping changes of doubtful utility and believes in planning our agricultural economy on the basis of peasant proprietorship, but shorn of its rights of unlimited possession, unqualified alienation and unregulated succession. They believe in introduction of improved and scientific methods of farming within an economy based essentially on private rights and enterprise.

Collective Farming

State ownership of land and cultivation by collective farming is not only impractical in the present set-

up but also detrimental to our best interests. For one thing, the peasants of this country can never view with equanimity the prospect of being deprived of their lands and of becoming labourers on their own farms. The Indian Kisan, in common with peasants of other countries, is passionately attached to his land. As a matter of fact, it is Russia which has only experimented with collectivisation of lands and that also not with happy results. Soviet Russia had a definite objective in introducing collectivisation of land and that was to make agriculture a handmaid to industry whose rapid development was the immediate goal of the Government. All economic activities were subordinated to the supreme task of industrialising the country as rapidly as possible without caring for the cost, human or material. In pursuance of this policy 5 million Kulaks were dispossessed of their lands and in all nearly 20 million peasants were 'liquidated.' The peasants as a measure of retaliation destroyed nearly 50 per cent of the cattle wealth of the country which in its wake brought untold suffering on the population. By the end of the Second Year Plan, the Soviet Government had to give in and permitted private ownership of land to a few acres and possession of cattle to a few heads. In Russia even consequently, peasant holdings number 1.5 millions or 7 per cent of the total number of undertakings in 1928.

The greatest objection to compulsory collectivisation of lands is its utter neglect of the all-important human factor in agriculture. Agriculture is a way of life, rooted to the soil; and the sons of the soil, the sturdy peasants carry the message of a hoary and deathless civilisation. "By defying machinery and by trying to subordinate entirely the most natural impulses in man to the needs of rapid industrialisation collectivisation has made an utterly wrong approach to the problem of increasing man's resourcefulness." Timoshenko, at the 5th International Conference of Agricultural Economists, stated:

"It is a scheme that fails to take into consideration many organic processes of the greatest importance in Agriculture, particularly the human element in farming. In Soviet Russia, machines were not adjusted to the needs and conveniences of the farmers, but all agriculture particularly the whole of land tenure was reshaped for the convenient use of machines, and with neglect and frequently direct sacrifice of the interests of many millions of farmers. As yet, the system has failed to yield even the meagre results that were expected."

Agricultural production also has not shown as good results as the authors of the scheme expected. Rather there was considerable loss of national wealth. In 1913, 227 million acres of land were under cereals and production was 80,100 tons. In 1935, area was 247 and production 90,100. Thus while the increase in acreage was 8.8 per cent, increase in production was 12.4 per cent, not a very spectacular figure. In 1938, the production of meat and dairy products was not even to the level of 1928. Thus while the system deprived the peasants of their rights and of lands and turned them virtually into landless labourers, it has failed to justify itself even on the point of increased production. No one in Soviet Russia can ever claim that collectivism was an effort to create a prosperous moral society enjoying personal freedom, well-being and security. In this connection, it would be not out of place to dispel the common notion that peasant family farms are in any way less efficient than large-scale farms. Rather expert opinion in Europe and America is increasingly realising the superiority of peasant farm system over other types of agricultural production. Says Karl Brandt, a noted authority on the subject in his book *The Reconstruction of World Agriculture*:

"A rural society can offer its farm population much greater satisfaction and life to a higher level if most of the farmers have that freedom of management which private property gives. They can earn more benefits from their own skill, initiative and effort than if they are landless rural proletarians who obey the commands of foremen or managers and merely play the role of a certain measure of manpower exchanged for a wage or members of a collective farm with few opportunities to utilize their individual abilities. So far it has not been proved that given equal opportunities family farming could be beaten in the costs of production and in the technical and economic performance by large-scale farms, no matter whether these are privately owned and managed estates, corporations or collective farms."

Thus our principle should be production for man and not man for production, and it is on this principle that we should proceed to organize and reorientate our whole agricultural economy.

DRAWBACKS OF PRESENT AGRARIAN ECONOMY

Ours is a lopsided economy. On the above is the privileged class consisting of Zamindars, Taluqdars, Mahajans and other numerous petty intermediaries, who, without performing any useful function appropriate the major portion of the national wealth produced from the land. The mass of peasantry, on the other hand, suffer from various disabilities and subsist on a marginal income. The operation of various laws of inheritance coupled with the fact that growing poverty and ruin of village industries have forced the functional classes to take to cultivation, has resulted in excessive fragmentation of holdings. This has not only resulted in a majority of uneconomic holdings, but has impeded any improvement in methods of cultivation. While our

population has increased phenomenally, production per acre has alarmingly decreased. The following figures will speak for themselves:

	Production in lb. per acre			
	1931-32	1935-36	C. P.	Bombay
Rice	896	738	—	—
Wheat	—	—	666	428
1936-37 to 1940-41				
Rice	837	676	—	—
Wheat	—	—	590	394
Decrease				
Rice	59	62	—	—
Wheat	—	—	76	34

Another great defect of fragmented and uneconomic holding is that the cost of production is higher while the yield is low. Nearly 70 per cent of our Kisans cannot live comfortably on their farms only. While the yield is low and the rate of production is gradually declining, the cost of production has gone high and the rates and taxes are showing an ever-rising trend. In Bengal, the average size of a holding is 4.4 acres. The average yield of cereals per acre sown is 0.48 ton, and thus the average holding is capable of yielding a little more than two tons of cereals. In U. P., average size of holding is 6 acres, average yield 0.35 ton and the yield of average holding the same as Bengal. The Punjab only on account of less pressure of population has shown better results, the average size of the holdings being ten acres, average yield per acre 0.34 ton and the average yield per holding above three tons. In Bihar, 63.7 per cent of the peasants possess uneconomic holdings.

From the above discussion it is clear that reforms in the land tenure system of the country, whether in the permanently settled areas or the Rayatwari areas, are the crying need of the hour. We should have three objectives in view in carrying out the reforms.

The first requisite for any successful reorganization of the rural economy is the elimination of all non-cultivating elements who are mostly responsible for organized and large-scale exploitation of the peasantry. Secondly, we will have to see that all real Kisans possess economic holdings. This objective can be achieved partly by a just tenure system and partly by diverting pressure on land by organising other avenues of suitable employments in the revitalised village industries.

Thirdly, by eliminating wasteful factors such as, fragmentation of holdings and antiquated methods of cultivation, and by introduction and encouragement of better and scientific methods of cultivation, that is, better seeds and manure, improved implements, co-operative method of farming, etc., we can speed up our production of cereals to a considerable degree.

We shall now proceed to indicate briefly the method of achieving the above objectives: These objects can be fulfilled only when the Zamindari system is abolished, and direct relations between the tenantry and the state is established.

LAND TENURE SYSTEM

It should now be laid down that the tenancy right shall vest only in those persons who actually cultivate the lands themselves. A non-cultivator shall have to surrender his lands to the State on payment of equitable compensation, equitable compensation being clearly defined. It is, however, desirable to emphasise that equitable compensation can on no account be defined as more than ten times of the *actual net gain of the owner*. Thus, all those non-cultivating elements like trading, salaried, and professional classes who invest their surplus capital in land will be automatically eliminated. Similarly, all those big cultivators who possess more land than they can cultivate shall have to surrender their surplus land to the Government on payment of equitable compensation. The criterion in their case will be how much land they can cultivate themselves efficiently. The upper maximum limit can profitably be fixed at 30 to 50 acres according to the nature of the soil. Also, such persons who generally get their lands cultivated on crop-sharing basis will also have either to cultivate the same themselves, or surrender their lands to the State. Some practical difficulty might be felt in putting this into effect. People whose lands are to be acquired under this provision may transfer their share in the name of other cultivating members of their family. Even if this happened, the intention of the law would be fulfilled and the lands go into the actual possession of the real cultivators.

LAND COMMISSION

Each provincial Government immediately afterwards will appoint a land commission, consisting of experts. This commission will carry out an exhaustive survey of land and divide land of each village into four classes :

'A' class lands will be those that are uncommonly fertile for the area and possess adequate irrigational facilities as well as immunity from flood.

'B' class lands will be inferior to 'A' class lands but capable of improvement with better irrigational facilities and scientific means of production.

'C' class lands will be ordinary lands, neither good nor bad but capable of improvement.

'D' class lands will be fallow ones not under cultivation. There are 170 millions of this kind of land in the country. It will be the business of this commission to indicate the possible use and method of improvement of such marked areas of lands.

The Commission on the basis of record of the last ten years and according to their own judgment will fix the probable average produce per acre of each kind of land and will also indicate the likely cost of production per acre. The Commission will also indicate as to which of the Kisans possess economic holdings. They will also report on the possibilities of land improvement and of introduction of improved methods of cultivation *areawise*.

The chief provisions of the tenancy law will be on the following lines :

1. On the basis of compulsory consolidation, the

cultivable lands of each Kisan will be consolidated at one place. There will be trained staff of the Revenue Department to carry this out with the help of the Village Panchayats.

2. Those Kisans who do not possess economic holdings will have to consolidate their lands with other Kisans of the same category at one place into economic holdings under the supervision of a trained staff, and carry on production on a co-operative basis. The lands surrendered by the non-cultivating class as well as by the big Kisans will be distributed among Kisans having uneconomic holdings and among those landless Kisans who carry on cultivation primarily on crop-sharing basis. Such Kisans will have to pay the price of the land. Those who have no money will be afforded credit facilities by the Rural Development Bank, to be constituted by the provincial governments. The Bank will get repayment on easy yearly instalments.

3. The primary requisite for holding tenancy rights will be that the Kisan must cultivate the lands themselves. Those who lease out their lands for cultivation on crop-sharing basis for three consecutive years will be automatically dispossessed of their rights and the village Panchayats will take possession of their lands. Such lands will be settled with others according to Government regulations. In cases of real hardship the village Panchayats will be entitled to extend the period of grace to another two years.

4. The Kisan can sell his land only to the village Panchayat and that also not in fraction but in whole plots, *e.g.*, if he has 2 acres of 'B' class of land, he must sell in whole and not in parts. The Rural Development Bank will pay the price on behalf of the Panchayat. The village Panchayat will settle the land with other Kisans who in their turn will pay the price to the Bank. The Kisans will have the right of mortgaging their crops but the land itself cannot pass into the hands of non-cultivating interests.

5. After the death of the Kisans, the land will pass into the hands of those of his heirs who are genuine cultivators. The land itself can in no case be parcelled out except when the holding is of more than 20 acres. In such cases one part cannot consist of less than 10 acres. The heirs will have the right of joint cultivation. Those of the heirs who follow other occupations will have two courses open to them: either by mutual arrangement they will continue to enjoy the income from their share in the lands or on an application to the Village Panchayat will be entitled to get compensation for surrendering their share to other heir or heirs. The lands of the Kisans dying intestate will vest into the village Panchayat who will settle the land according to Government regulations.

6. The wages, hours and conditions of work of the agricultural labourers will be governed by Government regulations. Every agriculturist will have to contribute to the "Agriculture Labour Welfare Fund." This

fund will be entirely devoted to the welfare of the agricultural labourers and will be administered by a statutory body appointed and constituted by the Provincial Government. Every agricultural labourer shall have to register himself with a particular Kisan and shall have to work on the agricultural fields during the agricultural season.

LAND REVENUE

As already noted above, the land Commission shall indicate the average produce per acre of each kind of land village-wise and shall also indicate the probable cost of production. After deducting the cost of production from the actual produce, one-fourth of the net produce will be exempted from taxation. The rest will be taxed on a sliding scale basis. Remissions will be made for permanent improvement effected by the Kisans. Similarly, for lean seasons remissions will be announced by the Government. The Government at the close of each agricultural season will announce the market rate of each kind of agricultural commodity area-wise. The Kisans shall have to pay the land revenue in cash according to the market price announced by the Government.

LAND ADMINISTRATION

For working the above system an efficient governmental machinery will be necessary. A system, however good, can never be successful unless the methods of its operation are cheap and speedy. Above all, we have to guard against the danger of bureaucratising our land revenue system which is sure to result in large-scale exploitation and corruption. The Revenue Department shall appoint a trained village officer in each village who will to a great extent replace the present *Patwari*. This officer will be in charge of the village records, and will maintain with the help of the Village Panchayat a record of the agricultural activities of each cultivator and will submit periodical reports regularly the same to the Circle Revenue Officer. He will be, as a matter of fact, the eyes and ears of the Revenue Department. From his periodical reports the Circle Revenue Officer will gather information regarding the kind of crop being raised in each plot of land. At the close of each agricultural season, he will issue demand notices village-wise on the strength of records in his office as well as in the light of the prices of the commodities announced in the Government gazette. The demand notice will be sent to the head of the Village Panchayat who will collect the revenue from individual cultivators and at the end of a specified time will deposit the collections in the Government treasury. Simultaneously, he shall submit a report to the Circle Revenue Officer stating the names of the defaulters. The defaulters will be called upon to pay the revenue with fine and in cases of persistent default, the Circle Officer will be entitled to recommend for temporary or permanent

CIRCLE COMMITTEE

In every circle there will be a Circle Panchayat

Committee whose members will be elected by the Village Panchayats. The Circle Revenue Officer will act as the President and the Chief Executive Officer of the committee. The functions of the Circle Panchayat, among others, will be as follows:

1. To settle lands with the cultivators on the recommendation of the Village Panchayat.
2. To recommend for remission of land revenue.
3. To revise assessment of production and cost of production according to Government orders and instructions.
4. To recommend cultivators for grant of loan from Rural Development Bank.
5. And lastly, to organize actively co-operative farms, introduce and popularise improved methods of farming, run multi-purpose societies, organize functional guilds and to revive village and cottage industries.

Similarly, there will be a District Panchayat in the district whose main functions will be co-ordination of the activities of the various Panchayats under it. Its members will be elected by the Circle Panchayats and it will possess certain statutory powers like hearing of appeals against the decisions of the Circle Panchayats, etc. It will be presided over by the District Officer who will act as the Chief Executive Officer of the Committee.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

Experts are agreed that no scheme for improving the land tenure system and the village life will be successful unless speedy and cheap credit facilities are afforded to the cultivators. As a matter of fact, the whole scheme as propounded above will collapse if side by side the above reform steps are not taken for constitution of a Rural Development Bank in each province, either separately for each province or one Central Bank for the whole country. It would be better if a Government-sponsored Rural Development Bank is constituted in each province or group of provinces which will work in close co-operation of the Reserve Bank of India. The capital of the Bank may be raised by public subscription, but holding of shares by an individual or family must be limited. The Provincial Government may guarantee a minimum dividend and should have statutory control over the affairs of the Bank. The Bank will act in close association of the Revenue and other departments of the Government. The Bank will purchase and sell lands on behalf of the Government, grant loans to the cultivators on recommendation of the revenue officers and the Panchayats, finance schemes of village and agricultural improvements. It will, for instance, make available to cultivators improved implements on hire and finance schemes of village industries approved by the Government, etc. The Bank may also carry on ordinary banking transactions besides discharging statutory obligations. The above scheme, it is hoped, will help in solving the agrarian problems satisfactorily and will contribute materially towards building up a happy and prosperous India.

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BROTHERS FROM OVER THE RIVER

The Refugee Problem of India

By **SRI JADUNATH SARKAR, B.Litt.**

Our Central Government has admitted that up to the end of July last, i.e. in less than twelve months of our freedom, eleven and a half lakhs of men from East Bengal have migrated to West Bengal. And the stream has not ended; five days ago 760 persons from East Pakistan landed at the railway station of Scaldah, and the flow is sometimes reaching the thousand men a day height. Nor do I see any prospect of this migration ever stopping altogether, as far as I can look into the future; for years and years to come a thin trickle of humanity, about a hundred daily, will transfer themselves from East Bengal to West Bengal, and Calcutta will be the first depot of this human cargo.

PAKISTAN IS LAPSING INTO BARBARISM

For it is no good blinking the fact that East Pakistan is lapsing into barbarism, and the Hindu population there has no future, no chance of honourable work and fair employment by service or trade, no hope of real political equality, safety to life, honour and property, or economic prosperity by honest open competition. European travellers have described the condition of Palestine under Muhammadan rule; it was then a poor desert country, with an ignorant, impoverished, half-civilized population, leading a sort of animal existence and dying of disease, dirt and hunger like neglected cattle. Then forty years ago, the Jews began to buy plots of land from their Arab owners and by introducing roads, schools, hospitals, fruit cultivation and an honest police force, turned the desert into a garden.

Every Jewish farm is now like an oasis of civilization and modern scientific amenities in that once barbarous holy land. And when the Jews have fought and won their national State in Palestine, it will become an advance post of modern progress in the Near East, a spark of light in the midst of the mass of Muslim misgovernment and stagnation. Eastern Bengal is going the way of Palestine without the Jews. We must make our West Bengal what Palestine under Jewish rule will be, a light in darkness, an oasis of civilisation in the desert of mediæval ignorance and obsolete theocratic bigotry.

THEY ARE THE ELITE

Those who are leaving East Bengal are the very best portion of the local population, in brain, wealth, organising capacity and indomitable spirit, however, crushed and benumbed they may look when they are unloaded from their third class wagons on the Scaldah station yard. They are the elite, the most valuable portion of the population, and the greatness of a country depends upon exactly men of this type. Dacca and Mymensingh, Barisal and Faridpur are losing them,

and will pay the penalty under God's justice in the very next generation.

I warn West Bengal: Do not spurn away such a rich racial element when seeking shelter at your doors. They alone can make you great if you utilise these human materials. More than 30 years ago, I wrote in a Bengal monthly magazine, "The life stream of the Bengali race flows languidly in West Bengal; it is full and vigorous among the Hindus of East Bengal only."

Let our independent province of West Bengal engraft this rich racial branch upon its old decaying trunk and rise to a new era of prosperity and power. It is for your own good and it is for the permanence of the Bengali Hindu race. Oh ye, men now in possession in our Ministry, University and professions, do not be alarmed about losing your personal gains, about sharing what you have captured by manipulating the electorate or political jobbery. Admit this infusion of new blood or else you will die and your children will have no future.

TRAGIC MIGRATION

This migration from West Pakistan, into the north, centre and south of the Indian Dominion, and from East Bengal into West Bengal, is on as vast a scale and as colossal in its economic effects, as the "wandering of the tribes" or the "migration of races" in ancient times of which historians like Gibbon have left such graphic descriptions. But it is far more tragic, because those tribes moved in organised hordes, compactly under recognised leaders, fighting, conquering and settling wholesale in new lands, where they soon absorbed the local populations. Thus, the Germanic tribes of Angles and Saxons settled in Britain, and mingling with the local Celtic population formed the present strong English race. Also the Huns in Hungary, the Goths in Spain and so on. But they belonged to an age when there was plenty of virgin land in those countries.

The same is true of the European colonisation of North and South America, which continents had measureless areas of virgin soil and a very small primitive, ignorant population. Hence their local problem was easy, and they settled in the new lands with all the power and resources of their European mother countries' Governments behind them.

CHERISH THESE REFUGEES

We should compare the present migration of East Bengal Hindus rather to the flight of English Puritans to Holland and thence to Massachusetts and of the French Huguenots in the time of Louis XIV to Holland, Prussia and England. These movements were all due to religious persecution and dishonest discriminatory legislation, setting one sect above the law. What in-

calculable harm the evacuation of these men did to France you can understand when you read in history of how the fugitive French Protestants enriched the intellectual life, industries and trade of Holland, England and Prussia. They were the cream of the population, by reason of their brains and character. The Commander of Wellington's Horse Artillery at Waterloo was Cavalee Mercer, the great-grand-son of a French Protestant cloth-dealer who had fled to England 130 years before. The hard core of the army of William III at the battle of the Boyne was a body of French fugitive Protestants, to whom William's General Schomberg pointed out the French Royal troops facing them as "Gentlemen, here are your persecutors!" Let the Indian Dominion in its own interest absorb and cherish these refugee brethren. A day may come when we shall need them for our preservation.*

PLAN NEEDED

Now, this gigantic movement has not the advantages of an emigration, which term means something well-planned, well-conducted, and at once fitted into the life of the land and society to which the emigrants are sent. But our East Bengal brethren have complicated the problem of massiveness by that of the lack of plan and of leaderly guidance. The first task everywhere is to find food for the body and cover for the head of this vast mass of floating humanity. Happily, Hindu charity has not failed; somehow or other these new-comers have not been starved to death, though suffering from a thousand unavoidable discomforts. We, the non-official public of Calcutta, even when ruled by a heartless and corrupt Muslim ministry, did tackle the problem of the man-made famine in Calcutta in 1942-43. And I can confidently appeal to my brethren to show the same spirit of sacrifice in the case of our East Bengal kith and kin. If they are neglected, the worst effect of this wholesale migration will be not death from cholera or pneumonia, but the benumbing of the souls, the crushing of the all-but-indomitable spirit of those whom we call Bangals—a term of admiration on many an athletic field. Do not forget that Sir Jagadish Bose, Sir Prafulla C. Roy, Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., Ananda Mohan Bose, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and some other noted historians—are all sons of what has now become Eastern Pakistan.

THE PROBLEMS

Passing beyond this immediate problem to those of a more lasting nature, I appeal to our leaders' statesmanly vision and true patriotism. Here charity is not enough.

The first in difficulty among these problems is—how to integrate the new-comers into the economic life of West Bengal. Here we now possess only one-third of the area of undivided Bengal, but have to accommodate half of its total population. Our bar and medical profession are already overcrowded, and so also is the educational service. Small manufactures and retail

sale of various grades, even petty groceries and bari shops, should go to East Bengal refugees, for I see not a single West Bengal Hindu keeping such shops. Happily, the inherent energy of our brethren from East Bengal has already found this outlet. For the last thirty years I have been marking the steady increase of shops under East Bengal ownership in Calcutta. They are here what the Gujratis are in Maharashtra.

The second problem is—how to colonise these evacuees in permanent homes as distinct from refugee-shelters and famine relief camps. Here a permanent board like the Tennessee Valley Authority alone can act, because ministries come and ministries go with a rapidity surpassing the case of the French Republic, and a debating club cannot do practical work.

The third problem, equally urgent with that of food and housing, is how to provide the student population from the Dacca side with facilities for continuing their interrupted high education without the loss of a year. These boys and girls are our future nation, the American (Confederate) President Jefferson Davis told his West Point cadets, "You are the seed-crop of the nation." Here they need, not money, but books, accommodation, and a sudden and vast expansion of high schools and colleges, for both boys and girls, academic and technical. Otherwise, our lot would be worse in the next generation than in this.

On the credit side I have seen the indomitable spirit of work, self-sacrifice and organisation on the part of the evacuee teachers and the eagerness and austerity of their boys. Let the University and the Ministry of Education do their part in saving the East Bengal student population. Self-help on the part of the evacuees has already half solved the problem.

NO CLINGING TO POWER

Lastly, as soon as this wandering population has settled down and given up any lingering desire (however natural) to return to their own in Pakistan, there should not be a day's delay in granting them by law full political rights as citizens and making them absolutely equal with the older inhabitants of West Bengal. No selfish clinging to a monopoly of former political power by any of us in this province.

The problem is staggering by reason of its volume and complexity. No one man, no single ministry can tackle it. Let us have a non-official permanent body for watching over the new-comers, giving them prompt help and guidance at the stations, and co-ordinating our efforts for their permanent rehabilitation, so that there may be no waste of efforts and resources by overlapping. I appeal to the merchant princes and well-placed social leaders of East Bengal now in our midst, long settled in Calcutta, to make this supremely necessary effort. As for the State, it must create such a statutory body with a block grant for five years at a time.*

* Presidential speech at a public meeting on 16th August, corrected for *The Modern Review*.

THE HISTORICAL SPIRIT IN ANCIENT INDIA

By PROF. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.LITT.

A prominent conclusion drawn by the occidental orientalisists is that India never had any true historic perspective which even the ancient Greeks had perfected. They maintain that this deficiency is clearly responsible for the lack of a proper history of India before the Buddhistic Age. This attitude has been traced to the other-worldliness of our systems of philosophy, to our ways of life, and to our customs and manners.

Be that as it may, we have to see whether our ancients really lacked the historic spirit, and if so from which period. Chronologically speaking, we find the *Anukramanis* of the *Samhitās* giving the names of the *Rishis* who composed the hymns, the subject-matter of the hymn concerned, and the metre in which it is written. And we are told that we have to learn the *Samhitās*, along with these details. If the *Anukramanis* thought of the cold-blooded ritualism alone, we feel no necessity to remember the names of the seers. Closely allied to this is the fact that the Sutra Literature gives us the lists of the *gotras* and their *pravaras*. Till this day it has been incumbent on all the so-called *Divijas* to remember their *gotras* and the *rishi pravaras*. What blessed purpose on earth does this all serve, unless it be the preservation of certain historical data? Similarly, there is the oral transmission of the entire Vedic literature. It was communicated in this manner originally because of the lack of written material. Later on a semi-mystic ritual significance has been attached to it. Any way it has come to preserve a historical document of a rare importance. These factors belonging to the Vedic period, though fragmentary, reveal traces of the historical spirit in ancient India.

Coming down to the Epic period itself, we are surprised to note the rich material. The whole of the Mahabharata teems with history, of course, with occasional mythological interludes. The geography of the country, the political divisions in the country, and the internal and external policies, as well, of these territories are given in detail. The evolution of the fight itself during those fateful 18 days gives us an epigrammatic statement of the evolution of the military technique. The administrative policies of the times are not omitted. The genealogical tables lead us up to the early years of the *Kālī*. The history of the country from this period onwards is clearly and concisely stated in the great and the early Puranas. Now we are told that the chronological tables of the Puranas are self-contradictory, and semi-mythological. Pargiter tried his best not to be misled by these statements of his Western contemporaries. In the present day we are witnessing a tendency which seems to rely on a more careful analysis and examination of these Puranic tables. This speaks for itself. Here we have to note that the Puranas were not composed in the same age, or at the same place, though we are confronted by the *Naimisharanya*. Some of the oldest were actually com-

posed in the Buddhistic period, though additions were continually made till the fifth century after Christ, as in the case of the Mahabharata. Further they were written in various parts; and most unluckily the writers began to feel that the country occupied by them was the whole of India. Hence the dynasties that ruled over a particular area were often spoken of as ruling over the entire country. Herein lies the so-called error. If we can locate the area in which each Purana was composed, most of the contradictions will disappear.

As in the case of Greece and of England, here in India too we find that the poets and the dramatists are more historically conscious. The entire *Kumarsambhava* of Kalidasa is nothing but an allegorical representation of the fall of the Mauryas, and the rise of Hindu kingdoms bent upon the revival of the Vedic culture. Bharavi's *Kirtarjuniya* is an allegorical and soul-stirring cry for nationalism at a time when India has been ravaged by the Kushans and others.

More straightforward than these are some other work. Bana's *Harsha-charita* is a fine historical document concerning his own master, Harsha Vardhana. Bisakhadatta's *Mudrarakshasa* makes literature out of history by presenting us the rise of the Mauryas with the help of Chanakya. It appeals to the country to stand by the Guptas in defending the integrity and independence of the country. Vakpatiraja's *Gaudavaho* tells us of the exploits of the Gaudas against Central India. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is the history of Kashmir. Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva-charita* is another fine piece of history regarding Chalukyas.

Besides these, we find throughout India a variety of valuable inscriptions, coins, copper-plates and other materials. These amply testify to the fact that the spirit of history is not foreign to India. It is innate amongst us. But we had had too many obstacles in our past. These impediments stemmed the advance of the historical spirit. The first and the greatest calamity that ever befell India is the rise and growth of Buddhism. It really advanced our progress in our systems of philosophy. But politically, socially, religiously, and culturally it gave us a death-blow. The gospel of non-violence along with its insistence on the values of the other world, paralysed us politically and opened the doors of our country for the foreigners to dominate us. It made us pessimistic, and made us sing 'of our first disobedience' to our own culture and tradition; thereby 'the fruit of this forbidden tree brought all mortal woe.' Socially and religiously it led to the spirit of vengeance on the part of the Hindus, who brought in the rigidity of the caste-system and other similar things; for, the Vedic civilization was too lax in such things. Culturally we lost many a precious work of man; we lost great liberty achievements; we lost the historic spirit.

And yet the very fact that the historical spirit

survived this onslaught and revealed itself in the writings of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Visakhadatta, Bana, Vakpatiraja, Kalhana, Bilhana and others, is sufficient to show that the spirit of history is innate in India. The performance of the Visvajit, Asvamedha, and Rajasuya sacrifices, as given in the *Brahmanas*, the construction of the *mathas* in the four corners of India

by the great Sankara, and the prevalence of the uniform Vedic culture throughout India are enough to show clearly that the unity of India as a political and cultural unit is the cardinal principle in the historic spirit of India from the earliest times to the present day. The occident may ignore it. But history cannot afford to forget it.

-O:-

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY: By K. M. Panikkar. Published by N. I. P. Bombay, 1947. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 7-8.

INDIA, A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW: By Sir Frederick Whyte. The Royal Institute of International Affairs. Pp. 83. Price 2s. 6d.

Ever since Maxmuller wrote his highly appreciative words about India and her culture, attraction to its study has been great. True it is, during the second quarter of the present century there has been a considerable production of historical literature, but most of them, excepting such well-known classics as *The Fall of the Mughal Empire* and *Aurangzeb* are so drily written and wanting in sympathetic imagination that they have failed to satisfy the popular appetite for the reading of history. Studies on Indian history as a whole have suffered from another drawback. Its frame-work has followed the pattern fixed by V. A. Smith more than three decades back. The division of Indian history into three periods, Hindu, Muslim and British, and the classification of the events under the successive ruling dynasties or viceroyalties have been the ever-guiding lodestar to the weary caravan of textbook writers. Naturally Indian history has been presented as a pageantry of kings and emperors, of their romantic fights and sieges or mean intrigues and treacherous murders.

The first book under review has broken this stereotyped form of writing Indian history. Mr. Panikkar has evidently been inspired by the Wellsian view of history, "They (glorious battles) are the ornamental tapestry of history and no part of the building." Hence we hear little in this book of the tramp of cavalry and the thud of guns, but can watch here the craftsmen and the artisans, the philosophers and saints, architects and painters engaged in their humble pursuits, and unconsciously shaping India's destiny from age to age. Thus one searches here in vain for a glowing account of Kanishka's or Samudragupta's victories, Wellesley's or Hastings's hammer-blows or the *Mughals'* war-cry against the *Kafirs*. On the other hand, we can read here of the *nagarika's* life

and amusements—dicing, dancing, singing and of his personal adornments, such as collyrium in his eyes, unguent which tinges the lips, of education in schools and universities during the Maurya and later periods. Data are gleaned from every possible source, literature and archaeology. The torso of a female figure draped in a *sari* brought to light by the recent Arikamedu excavation does not escape his notice, and he puts the fact in its proper place. In the same way the early Sultans of Islam who figure so largely with romantic episode of Devala Devi and Padmini, and blood-curdling stories of persecution and massacre of the Hindus are given here the go-by and their place is taken by such themes as medieval theism, the revival of Jainism under such a person as Hemachandra who popularised in a Jaina garb the entire mythology of the Hindus, and Vijaynagar and Chandrasekhar, Smriti commentators. The long roll of British Viceroys is dismissed summarily with the words, "From the point of view of the history of the English in India, they are no doubt important; but in the context of Indian history, these Governors-General signify nothing." But the rediscovery of India's past, the rebirth of culture, the revival of Hinduism and integration of Islam, leading to Pakistan are succinctly summarised.

From this brief outline it would be evident that the author's conception of the treatment of Indian history is original. He treats of India's developments as an organic whole, instead of dividing it into parts. Indian history and culture is shown here painted on a broad canvas, and seen moving towards the fulfilment of a great purpose. We see here the spirit of India striving across the ages, struggling, winning, sinking but reasserting itself again, engaged in the ceaseless endeavour of harmonising and reconciling the endless diversities into a unity.

The narration is lucid and free from excitement; it has not the glow of a Green, the charm of a Macaulay, or the grandeur of a Gibbon, but it is free from bias or partisanship. No particular sect is his *bête noir*; nor does he dote on any particular king or sage. Yet some of his conclusions are not possibly what they ought to be, e.g., the sepoy mutiny is with

him "no mutiny at all but a great national rising," because the object in view was the expulsion of the British. Sir Frederick Whyte's opinion in *India* (p. 24) is more apposite. Secondly, according to Panikkar Hinduism was not held in contempt by early Muslim rulers, because some of them patronised Jaina Archaryas. Alauddin's severity to the Hindu fighting aristocracy recorded in Barani and Firuz's exertions in the path of the faith as recorded in the *Futuhāt* disprove such a statement. Thirdly, in his opinion the Muslim Sultanate of Gujrat being "dependent on the loyalty of the people and the wealth of the merchants, followed a policy of reconciliation." Contrast this statement with that of Professor Commissariat in the *History of Gujarat*, p. 114, "Not less important was the dependence of the conquerors on the conquered in respect of the materials and the builders, so that the spoliation of Hindu shrines . . . continued apace." In the Jami Masjid, Bhadra Mosque and several others, pillars and ceilings are to be found "that were transferred bodily from the Jaina temples . . ." What an admirable process of reconciliation!

India, A Bird's-Eye View is a war pamphlet to inform the world of India's political evolution under the British aegis in the context of her complex problems, particularly Hindu-Muslim, and the enormous advantages acquired by India out of the war. The apologia made on behalf of the British rulers for communal tension was unnecessary for the separate electorate was their invention and gift.

N. B. Roy

BHAGAVAD GITA AND MODERN LIFE : By K. M. Munshi. Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chhatpaty Road, Bombay 7. Pp. 224.

The author's reputation in this case will naturally raise high hopes in the minds of his readers. We can confidently say that these hopes have not been belied. The book is well written and bears marks of the author's great erudition.

The *Gita* has been so much written upon that it is difficult to expect anything extraordinarily new in any modern writing upon it. But Munshi has been remarkably successful in this respect. He has suggested a new approach in his interpretation and adopted an easy and facile style. The last chapter on *Brahmacharya* has struck us as particularly adept, full of imaginative insight and modern scientific knowledge.

We hope recent political activities will leave him time to complete the series of lectures of which we have but a foretaste in this book.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BEAUTIFUL : By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. Printed and Published by Thomson and Co. Ltd., Broadway, Madras. Pp. 112. Price Rs. 1-8.

Although the style of the book sometimes smacks of peroration rather than of philosophy, and although it is cramped with too many references to names and citations of opinions which give it the odour of a class lecture, yet, we cannot but pay our tribute of praise to the extensive scholarship and deep and penetrating insight of the author. He has brought within a small compass the salient points of the philosophy of the beautiful and given it a presentable shape for the ordinary reader. The study of the book is expected to rouse the curiosity of the intelligent and of those who are eager to know. This curiosity can of course be satisfied by a study of more advanced books and more authoritative sources. But the reader will be

grateful to our author for having raised his receptivity.

The last two chapters are the author's original contribution to the subject; for, such discussions will not be found in books by authors of Europe or America. Such discussions are beyond the competence of most of them: they know yet so little of Indian thought. But they ought to know and this book will help them to know.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION : By Bronislaw Malinowski. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pages 338. Price 16s. nett.

The author was an outspoken opponent of National Socialism in Germany and as a result his books were banned early in that country. After the outbreak of war in 1939 the author remained in U.S.A. and was appointed in Yale University. He was much agitated over the early success of the Nazis as he was confident that their totalitarian methods and victory were sure to destroy freedom and civilization. The author did not live to see the victorious termination of war and destruction of the great menace to humanity. He wholeheartedly endorsed the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and showed great anxiety for a peace settlement which will ensure the progress of the world and civilization.

In these pages the author has made a scientific study of all aspects of human freedom from the earliest days to the present times. The problem has been studied from the points of view of biology, anthropology, sociology, economy and other allied sciences including physiology and psychology. The author has shown that freedom is a condition of human culture and civilization. But human society restricted its freedom with the progress of civilization to organise freedom and culture. After all, there is nothing in human society as absolute freedom. Freedom is a relative term with reference to time and stages in culture. Freedom to destroy other's freedom or to enslave other people is no freedom. Freedom ultimately means subordination of the individual or society to a higher principle and ideal for the attainment of a higher culture. When we accept this view even the sovereignty of modern states will vanish and a super-state must come into being to end all conflict of Nation-states. In that ideal world National Independence will mean a limited freedom for each people but nations of the world as a whole will enjoy more freedom without any fear of domination whatsoever. In the words of the author, "The world must choose between a state of international anarchy or of international law. Since law can not exist without sanctions, and sanctions must be embodied in a political organization, we need a super-state, a World Federation or a Commonwealth of Nations in order to have freedom anywhere and everywhere." This was written by the author before the United Nations Organization came into existence. Now UNO has come into being and is trying to function for ending the conflicts among nations. If UNO succeeds it shall have to be a superstate, otherwise it is likely to have the fate as that of the League of Nations.

Students of politics will find this book extremely interesting. To the students of Indian politics, this book is specially useful, because attainment of freedom has brought in not a small number of problems to this country, the proper and democratic solution of which will bring real freedom to the country and the people.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA-SAMHITA (with the commentary of Sayanaacharya, Vol. IV, Mandalas IX-X) : Edited by N. S. Santakke, B.A. (Tilak) and C. G. Kashikar, M.A. (Tilak). Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth. Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala, Poona. Price Rs. 25.

This volume completes the critical edition of Sayana's commentary on the Rigveda undertaken by the Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala more than a decade back. Besides the text and commentary on the last two Mandalas, we have here a critical edition of the *Khilas* as well, accompanied by a separate introduction which not only describes the critical apparatus but discusses the antiquity of the *khilas* and their relation to the Rigveda Samhita. The procedure followed in editing the volume is the same as that in the previous volumes already noticed in these pages (August 1935, July 1940, July 1945). In addition to a good number of manuscripts of Sayana's commentary, a printed edition of a portion of the commentary of Udgitas, a predecessor of Sayana, as also a fragmentary manuscript of another portion of the same were consulted and found helpful in determining the correct text of Sayana. The improvements that could be made in the readings of the commentary have been separately noted in the general introduction. On the whole, we have in these volumes a handsome scholarly edition of the Rigveda together with Sayana's commentary thereon. We hope when the fifth volume containing indices comes to be published it will greatly enhance the usefulness of the edition. It reflects credit on the authorities of the Mandala to have produced the present volume during the most stressing period of high price and scarcity of paper and other printing materials due to the last great world war. The world of scholars would be ever grateful to Sri C. G. Agashe whose munificent donation towards meeting the entire cost of printing and paper of the volume has made its publication possible in the face of all sorts of difficulties. It is a strange coincidence that such or even greater munificence or patronage was forthcoming on the occasion of publishing previous editions of the work at different times and places.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SWADHIN BHARATER JATIYA PATAKA : By Rabihaldas Som. Published by Messrs. Das Gupta and Bros., 54/5 College Street, Calcutta. Pages 64. Price Rs. 3.

This nicely printed and well-illustrated book gives in chaste Bengali the history and evolution of the National Flag of India. Behind this flag we have a glorious history of sacrifices, struggle and bloodshed of our countrymen for over a century. So the 15th August, 1947, i.e., the day when we unfurled the banner of freedom, opens a new and glorious chapter in our national history. The author reminds his countrymen that as they proceed to attain the fullest freedom for their country, they should always remember the ideals preached by Bankimchandra the Seer, Rabindranath the Poet and Gandhi the Servant of Humanity, so that India may contribute her best to the world culture.

A. B. DUTTA

KALIR DADHICHI : By Bhaktiirtha Umesh Ch. Chakrabarty. Sriguru Library, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

The book under review containing a short biographical sketch and sayings of Mahatma Gandhi is a timely publication. Gandhiji may aptly be called

Dadhichi of the modern age because like Dadhichi, the Hindu mythological figure, he voluntarily gave up his life for a noble cause. The writer has spared no pains to gather valuable information regarding Gandhiji's life and activities from authentic sources. Three poems from the writer's pen have been included in this book. They may not be modern in form, but it is evident that these are spontaneous outbursts of an imaginative mind.

NALINI KUMAR BEADRA

HINDI

JEEVAN KA SATYA : By Mohansingh Sengar. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 2-12.

NAYE YUG KI NARI : By the same author. Pp. 141. Price Rs. 2-12.

Both published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.

In a way, both these books are complementary, because the selfsame subject, namely, woman, is treated therein; only the first does this in the form of nine short stories, while the second deals with the various problems, pertaining to her, in their modern setting in ten essays. The reader is told that the stories are based on factual events, though appropriate situations and psychological profiles and portraits have been created to incarnate them in an intriguing manner. Indeed a cold shiver creeps down his spine as story after story reinforces him in the impression that woman is more sinned against by man than she sins against him in our present-day man-made and man-mastered society. What, then, is the remedy? Woman must resolve to come into her own; nay, to make positive contributions to culture and civilization, she should shake off the fetishes and false values of the dead or decaying past, whether they be social or sacramental. For, what matters is her own true self-fulfilment, the condition precedent to which is freedom from the bondage of the priest, the parents, the parents-in-law, the politician and the philanthropist. Her vital and varied life ought to be a poem on whole-souled and wholesome comradeship and not a mere command performance in obedience to the baton of prejudice, passion or prestige. Such is the writer's thesis in the main. The well-known author's refined sense of chivalry, reformist zeal and intensive humanity are clearly evident in his books, under review, while his style burns with the glow of Right as well as Righteousness.

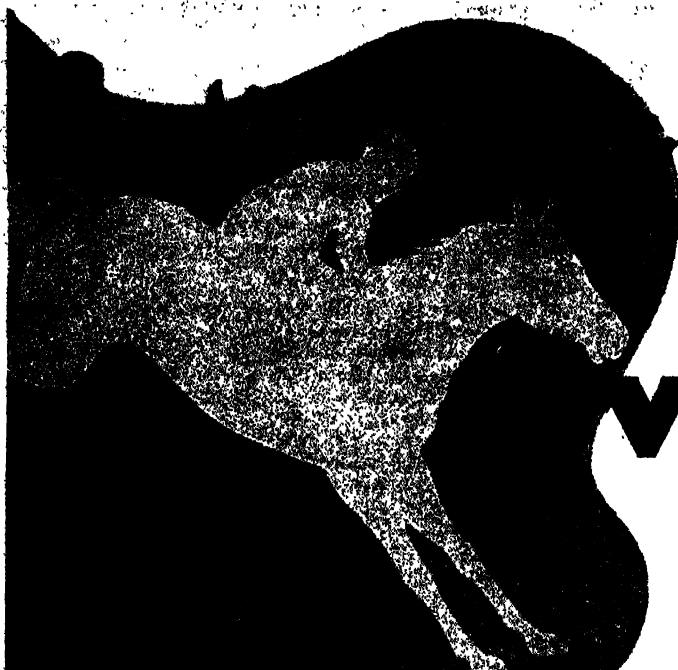
G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATNUN GHADTAR : By Ramanlal Vasanlal Desai, Baroda. Published by the University of Bombay, 1946. Sold by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. Cloth-bound. Pp. 306 + 7. Price Rs. 3.

In 1941, Mr. Ramanlal Desai, a distinguished writer and thinker, was invited by the Bombay University, under the rules of the Thakkar Vasanji Madhavji Endowment to deliver a series of lectures on Gujarati literature, and he did so; the result of which is embodied in this book. Owing to war condition and scarcity of paper it was not found possible to publish them earlier. It is a piece of work bearing on the structure of society and literature so far as Gujarat is concerned, and the author has acquitted himself very well. Historically he has divided his subject into two parts, pre-Vedic and Vedic period, up to Muslim period, and then Muslim and post-Muslim period. The theme of Rasanirupan, old and new, and Realism in Literature claim two more lectures, and in between the two main subjects he has introduced Kasi Nanlal (who died only recently) as the connecting link. The whole work is a valuable contribution to Gujarati

K. M. J.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Aspects of the Dominion Economy of India

The solvency or otherwise of the public finance of India is not the chief consideration in regard to Indian economy. The most substantial fact about it is the tremendously small amounts of revenue and expenditure per head of population. Professor Benoy Sarkar observes in *The Calcutta Review* :

The extremely low indices of agricultural, industrial and commercial wealth produced by the people constitute the fundamental economic data of the two Dominions now known as India and Pakistan.

Between 1939 and 1946 the years of World War II India's total revenue amounted to Rs. 15,000 millions (in round figures) and expenditure to Rs. 21,000 millions (in round figures). During the same period the total revenue of the United Kingdom amounted to £17,000 millions and total expenditure to £33,000 millions. The corresponding U. S. figures for the same period were \$182,000 millions and \$397,000 millions. The percentage of revenue to expenditure in India was 71, in the U. K. 52, and the U. S. A. 46.

In 1946-47, the debt position of the Government of India (undivided) was embodied in the figure Rs. 24,000 millions (being the total interest-bearing obligations including unfunded debt and deposits). This is to be seen in the perspective of the revenue for that year, namely, Rs. 3,600 millions. For the U. K., the corresponding figures for the period were £26,000 millions and £3,300 millions. The U. S. figures were \$260,000 millions and \$40,000 millions respectively.

In the U. K., the public debt was nearly 8 times while in the U. S. A. and India near about 7 times.

It should appear that in the formal logic of public finance India (undivided) presented proportions that were quite reasonable and decent by the Anglo-American standard.

But the material logic enables us to visualize other conditions. It is the *per capita* values that are really meaningful. In 1946-47, the revenue per head of population was approximately Rs. 9 for India, £26 for the U. K. and \$266 for the U. S. A. In round figures the population is taken to be 400 millions for India, 50 millions for the U. K. and 140 millions for the U. S. A. Taking the Pound to be Rs. 13-5-0 and the Dollar to be Rs. 3-2-0 the revenues per head are roughly speaking as follows : India Rs. 9, U. K. Rs. 890, and U. S. A. Rs. 970.

Crudely considered, we get the following equations of comparative public finance :

Every American = 108 Indians (approximately)

Every Briton = 100 Indians

It is not to be understood that in every sector of economic efficiency as well as of human values these approximate equations are valid.

Be this as it may, let us look to another brass tag of economic India.

On August 15, 1947, the Indo-Pakistan Agreement

distributed the available cash balances between the two parties as follows :

India	Rs. 3,250 millions
Pakistan	Rs. 750 millions

Total Rs. 4,000 millions

Taking the entire population of undivided India as, roughly speaking, 400 millions, the cash balances on the day of partition amounted to nearly Rs. 10 (15 shillings or, say, \$3 per head).

The terms of the Financial Agreement between India and Pakistan are likely to be contested, as has been done by Deshbandhu Gupta in *A Glance at the Indo-Pakistan Financial Agreement* (New Delhi, 1948). But in the world-economy the relative position of both is to be assessed as more or less identical, because each is a territory used to operating on very small doses of finance.

The categories of economic development or economic policy to which people in the U. K. and the U. S. A. and other regions of more or less the same standard of living are used, are hardly applicable in India and Pakistan unless, of course, they are employed simply as formal or heuristic terms. The world-economic realities of India as of Pakistan are to be understood in the perspective of Rs. 9 per head as the annual revenue and Rs. 10 per head as the cash balance of the undivided Government of India.

The category, industrialization, is often wrongly taken to be indifference to and neglect of agriculture and the allied economies.

But no economic statesmanship has ever sought to permit industries to kill or eclipse farming, animal-husbandry, fisheries, forestry and the like. These agricultural and allied occupations or professions are never meant to be ignored or overlooked in any scheme for industrialization. Rather, it comprises the modernization of the farming and allied occupations as well as their advancement by the application of latest scientific discoveries and technical inventions. Agricultural improvement belongs, as a matter of course, to the content of industrialization.

In India as well as Pakistan relatively large doses of mechanization and fertilizer therapy will be necessary for quite a long time in order to up-to-date the agricultural economy. In the domain of agricultural finance, likewise, some of the up-to-date methods will have to be imported from Eur-America.

The Central Co-operative Bank ought to be furnished with substantial funds from the Government Treasury or from the Reserve Bank in order to enable it to offer loans liberally to individual cultivators through their co-operative societies at reasonable rates. In India, the Governments have always followed the opposite,—the wrong,—principle by compelling cultivators to depend on self-help.

The combined self-help of resourceless and perpetually indebted people, such as cultivators generally are, cannot possibly enable them to possess enough capital

It is seen that in 1947 per head of population every American had at his command on the average the supply of Rs. 2,575. This was more than double that of the Briton and nearly 50 times that of the Indian. We can easily understand, therefore that while the American in his daily parlance talks of 50 dollars the Indian cannot afford to think in terms of more than one dollar. In 1936, also the relative population between the American and the Indian had been more or less the same (438 : 14).

The re-allocation of Sind Cabinet portfolios by the Sind Governor, without the consent of, or even prior consultation with the Premier and eventually his dismissal from office, under directions from the Governor-General of Pakistan, are two recent instances of utter violation of constitutional conventions and flagrant abuse of constitutional propriety which cement the functioning of a Responsible Government. The Khuro episode, as a matter of fact, eclipses the arbitrary and summary dismissal of Mr. Allah Bux—the Sind Premier—on October 10, 1942, and that of Dr. Khan Sahib, the Prime Minister of N.W. F. Province, immediately after the emergence of Pakistan as an independent Dominion.

A meeting of the League Assembly Party was, however, summoned for April 30, 1948, to take stock of the whole situation. But Pir Illahi Bux, the Deputy Leader of the Party, also called a meeting of the Party on April 14, 1948. This unconstitutional calling of the party meeting by the Deputy Leader was characterised by Mr. G. H. Gazdar, the Secretary of the party, as *ultra vires*. Twelve other members of the Provincial Legislature (including Qazi Fazlullah, the Revenue Minister) endorsed the objection raised by Mr. Gazdar. The meeting called by the Deputy Leader was, however, held, and it was reported to have been attended by eight out of 37 members of the party, including Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur. Mr. Khuro asked both these Ministers to resign, and seek re-election as they were manipulating and canvassing support for his removal from office. The Pir and the Mir denied, in a joint statement, the allegations made by the Premier. At the same time they stigmatised the Premier for issuing illegal orders, and added that they



had informed the Governor and the Central Government how Government servants were being utilised, and how they had been demoralised. They concluded the statement by saying: "We are of the opinion that any leader who is not able to keep the members of his party with himself without official influence has no right to be a leader."

Dramatic events followed in succession.

On April 16, 1948, a Press Note issued from the Governor's House, under the signature of the Private Secretary to the Governor, announced the re-allocation of portfolios among the Ministers. This was managed by the Governor in such a way that Home and Public Works portfolios were taken away from the Premier and allotted to Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali, respectively. The Department of Revenue which was under the charge of Qazi Fazullah, a close friend of Mr. Khuro, was taken away from him and given to the Mir. In vain did Mr. Khuro protest to the Governor.

Mr. Khuro represented his case to the Governor-General after his return from the N.-W. F. Province's tour on April 21. The Premier requested Mr. Jinnah "to ask the Governor to allow me to reshuffle my Cabinet or to agree to my expanding it by taking one or two Ministers and also revise his order regarding the allocation of portfolios. This I demand as my constitutional right." Without going into the merits of Mr. Khuro's submission the Governor-General asked for his resignation "or be dismissed because the Governor had asked for his approval to dismiss me." Mr. Jinnah also told the Sind Premier that the Governor and Ministers Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur had made certain allegations against him. The nature of these allegations the Governor-General did not disclose to Mr. Khuro. Mr. Khuro ultimately resigned on the morning of April 26, but in the evening a Press *Communique* announced the dismissal of Mr. Khuro by the Governor acting under directions from the Governor-General of Pakistan "as a *prima facie* case has been made out against him for charges of mal-administration and gross misconduct in the discharge of his duty and responsibility and corruption." The *Communique* further said that the Governor was making arrangements immediately "to appoint a judicial tribunal to inquire into the charges and allegations that have been made against Mr. Khuro and the fullest opportunity will be offered to him to vindicate his position."

For the proper understanding of the Sind Premier's dismissal, let us go a little more deep into its causes.

Mr. Khuro was a member of Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Cabinet in the pre-partition Government of Sind. In the then Muslim League Assembly Party there were two rival groups, one headed by Mr. Ghulam Hussain and the other by Mr. M. A. Khuro. When the former was appointed the Governor of Sind, Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, who were also ministers in the Hidayatullah Cabinet, made a bid for the Premiership, of course, with the full support of Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. But subsequently they had to withdraw, because of the formidable position of Mr. Khuro. When Khuro became Prime Minister he reduced the strength of his Cabinet to four ministers. Two of his ministers were the Pir and the Mir and the third (Qazi Fazullah) was a close friend of Mr. Khuro. All the important portfolios the Premier retained for himself, and the Qazi. In this way old antagonism and personal rivalry

continued shouldering to flare up at the opportune time offered to either group, and resulting into the political annihilation of the other.

The course of events, however, did not run a smooth course for Mr. Khuro. He incurred the wrath of the Pakistan Governor-General and this gave the required opportunity to the Pir. The Pir played the trump card and the result was the final exit of Khuro.

Mr. Khuro had all through been a fervent champion of Pakistan, and a devout political disciple of Mr. Jinnah. The Sind Government, on the initiative of Mr. Khuro, invited the Pakistan Government to establish its headquarters at Karachi till the Dominion Government finally decided the place for the permanent location of its capital. After some time it became known that the Pakistan Government had designs on Karachi by permanently establishing its capital there. The Sindhis, including the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party, protested and demonstrated against this contemplated intention of the Pakistan Government. Mr. Khuro promised the Sindhis that he would preserve the integrity of the Province, and would resist any such move. This open revolt on the part of Mr. Khuro greatly annoyed Mr. Jinnah, because he did not find his once docile political disciple a willing tool of the Pakistan Government.

But the most annoying grievance against Mr. Khuro was on the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees in Sind. Raja Ghasanfar Ali Khan, the Pakistan Refugee and Rehabilitation Minister, disclosed in his Hyderabad speech (on May 2, 1942) that Sind had declined to take even 1,00,000 refugees and the Government had not been co-operating in their resettlement. Public, undoubtedly, cannot vouch for the correctness of this statement, yet there is no denying the fact that Mr. Khuro was not willing to take in more refugees than what he thought the Province could absorb.

The Sind Prime Minister incurred the displeasure of the Pakistan Government personnel, as he had become the spearhead of the movement to prevent Sindhi interests being swamped by Pakistan personnel from the West Punjab.

Mr. Jinnah referred to this aspect of the question, indirectly of course, in his public speech at Peshawar on April 20, when the Quaid-e-Asam appealed for unity in the League, patience with, and support for the Government and abandonment of factious jealousies and provincialism.

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Mr. Khuro's dismissal gratified the political vengeance of his opponents and it served the desired purpose of the Pakistan Government. On the 27th April, a day after Mr. Khuro's dismissal, the Pakistan Governor-General announced, while addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, that Karachi would be the permanent capital of Pakistan. The vexing refugee problem was also satisfactorily solved. It was decided to set up a Refugee Council in Sind, an exact replica of the one in the West Punjab. It was also made clear by the Pakistan Refugee Minister that Pir Illahi Bux, the new Prime Minister, had raised no objection to the creation of the Council. The Minister also expressed a hope that the new refugee and resettlement and relief arrangements would be much more satisfactorily dealt with as the Dominion Government was, hitherto, dissatisfied at the plight of the refugees in Sind.

That the Governor has a legal right to dismiss his ministers is undeniable. They hold office during his pleasure. The Government of India Act as amended by the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order provides that a Governor in choosing and dismissing Ministers acts under the Governor-General's control, and must comply with his directions. The dismissal of Mr. Khuro is, therefore, in accordance with the letter of the constitution. But this is not the whole constitutional position. Even the rigid provisions of the Government of India Act 1935, found flexibility in the Instruments of Instructions, which enjoined upon the Governors to appoint only those persons as Ministers who collectively were in a position to command the confidence of the Legislature, and to keep them in office so long as they enjoyed such confidence. In a system of Responsible Government it is understood that a Minister only ceases to enjoy the confidence of the Executive head of the State when he ceases to retain the confidence of the Legislature. To act otherwise is to disregard, rather abuse, the principles upon which subsists the Parliamentary Government; and it would be, as such, indistinguishable from autocracy, pure and simple.

With Buttoned Swords

The New Review observes:

America and Russia met on the grounds of Octacumund; the joust was lively and the witnesses had come from eighteen nations and nine international organisations. The occasion was a meeting of what they call in international lingo the Unecafe. The Economic and Social Council acting on the recommendation of its Economic and Employment Commission had, on June 21, 1946, established a Temporary Sub-commission on the economic reconstruction of devastated areas which set up a Working Party which recommended this United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which was approved by the Economic and Social Council, is charged with sponsoring measures of economic reconstruction and development in Asia and the Far East, and will have its work reviewed by the Unesco in 1951. Which story illustrates the method and pace of advance in international co-operation.

The Unecafe held a first session in Shanghai (June 16-26, 1947), a meeting of its Committee of the Whole at Lake Success (July 10-17, 1947), a second session at Baguio (Philippines, November 25-December 6, 1947) and its third session at Octacumund (June 1-12, 1948). At Shanghai, New York, Baguio, they

did what commissions and committees are wont to do; they discussed membership, terms of reference, programme of investigations and studies, etc. They did much the same at Octacumund, and they passed a report replete with soothing views and harmless resolutions. Two discussions, however, threw a sharp light on international psychology, and provoked America and Russia to a significant encounter, with the temporary advantage going to Russia.

The first forensic duel came out of the discussion on the membership of the Indonesian Republic. Full membership of the Unecafe is given to nations in the Asian region delineated by the Unesco (Nepal is not clearly situate within this region) provided they themselves conduct their foreign relations. Associate membership may be granted to non-self-governing countries on the recommendation of their overlords. The Indonesian Republic claims independence; but The Hague argues that since the republic is only a member of the United States of Indonesia which will coalesce on equal terms with Holland to form the Netherlands-Indonesian Union under the headship of the Dutch Sovereign, the Indonesian Republic must wait till the Indonesian Federation be established and needs Dutch sponsorship to join the Unecafe. Dr. Grady sided with the legal case of the Netherlands, Mr. Novikov with the Indonesian Republic. India made a strong plea for the Indonesians; Dr. S. P. Mookerjee realistically pleaded that the Unecafe had nothing to do with political ideology or legalism and was limited to economic problems, that the Indonesian Republic had sat at the Havana Conference of the Unesco on trade and employment and on the Interim Commission, etc. To no avail, the colonial powers and their allies won the day but lost face in the East. The second round came when Dr. Grady tackled the rehabilitation loans to Asian countries. 'Loans would undoubtedly be available not by way of charities but on business terms; but investors would have to be guaranteed fair returns and consequently economic and social conditions permitting fair returns.' Asian countries were puzzled and disappointed; they mentioned the gratuities which will go with the Marshall Plan in Europe; they did not demur to the idea of allowing returns but they did not hide their apprehensions that foreign investments might interfere with their internal politics; economic imperialism might be a camouflaged political imperialism, and that would be intolerable. Mr. Novikov hurried to play on such fears; he cautioned all Asian countries against foreign investments in key-industries and advocated un-

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restricted nationalisation. He boasted that Russia helped her neighbours with loans and never inserted any political clause in the contracts. He rallied many sympathies. Only the most alert among Asian representatives know that if Russia never puts any such clause in the contracts it is because she puts an occupation army in the country. Mr. Novikov tactfully enough kept silent about the Bolshevik method of dealing with the foreign investments made under the Csaars; but he scored a point when he extolled the industrial achievements of Russia on a national scale (thanks largely to foreign experts he again tactfully omitted to mention).

The problem of foreign loans must be faced squarely. Investments by foreigners are customary in all countries, in Britain, even in the U.S.A. and they are not inconsiderable; in small countries they do on occasion influence internal and external affairs. But they are rarely decisive when home politics are consolidated; British and American investments in the Weimar Republic did little to check Hitler's pace. For the present Asian countries feel weak economically and militarily; the memory of their past dependence is too fresh for them not to be allergic to any threat of imperialism, their economy is too uncertain for risking any possible interference, and their political unity is not yet strong enough for them to feel at ease in the international labyrinth. With the progress of years the mood will vanish, and with the future opportunities of investing in other countries, it will change into comforting buoyancy. But the mood is there at present, and Dr. Grady should have taken it into account, instead of giving an easy opening to Soviet truculence. The sympathies of Asian countries are still in the main with the Anglo-American bloc, but the spokesmen of British, Dutch and French imperialism should be kept away from all conferences in the East.

Bureau of Mines

Science and Culture observes :

With the advent of independence in India the attention of the country's Government, both Central and Provincial, has been directed to the proper and efficient development of mineral deposits of India for giving effect to the various schemes of industrialization. Steps have already been taken by the Central Government to formulate a 'National Mineral Policy' for the purpose and work is in progress to set up a 'Bureau of Mines' for this country.

Following up the discussions at the National Mineral Conference convened by the Government of India in January, 1947, the Government of India decided to establish a Bureau of Mines—an administrative organization, to standardize conditions of mineral development in India and also to exercise control over the exploitation of the country's mineral assets. The scope of this central organization envisaged powers to frame rules regarding terms and conditions of future leases, application of improved mining methods to ensure conservation of mineral assets, control over exports, collection and compilation of statistical returns, encouragement of domestic utilization of ores and minerals, local processing; providing expert mineral advice and service to all and prosecution of research on mining and fuel.

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Conservation programme is still awaiting solution; wastage of good quality coal has yet to be eliminated; there has been lack of uniformity in the existing laws and licences of the Central and Provincial Governments and mineral resources are being exploited in a manner quite injurious to the country's interests.

The idea of starting an 'Economic Minerals Bureau' for India's industrial progress first emanated in 1945 from the Council of the Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India.

The Society was simply expressing the demand of the Indian scientific and industrial public for the establishment of such a Bureau in India. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India realizing the importance of this scheme has now established a Bureau of Mines though on a small scale. Schemes for running such an organization should be very comprehensive and far-reaching in character and should always be organized in a way so as to fit in with Indian conditions and peculiarities and to solve Indian problems. Such schemes might bring about fruitful results in the shortest possible time leading to conservation of the mineral resources of this country.

During the last 50 years in India enough high grade raw materials like manganese ores, mica, monazite, ilmenite, bauxite, chromite, and magnesite were allowed to be simply exported or put to improper use or wasted without serving any useful purpose to this country, and it has now become absolutely necessary that such practices should be brought to an end. Lower grade materials should always undergo processing and beneficiation before they can be marketed for better utilization. The U. S. A. has made

rapid progress in the matter of industrialization and in that respect she has made all possible arrangements to pool the mineral resources of her territory in the best possible manner. In order to get the best advantage of the different grades of minerals there has been an organization in U. S. A. styled "Bureau of Mines" through the activities of which the industrialists and the mine-owners receive adequate help and proper guidance in the matter of maximum extraction with safety and proper utilization of the minerals.

The Bureau of Mines should have as its main objectives the promotion of safety in the mineral extraction, the conservation of mineral resources and the conducting of investigations on the mining, preparation and utilization of minerals. These ends are achieved through the development and introduction of safe practices and improvements in the methods of extraction and utilization of minerals of different grades and quality.

But the scheme proposed for the 'Bureau of Mines' in India would include for the present three technical branches, namely: (1) Mining Engineering; (2) Mines Inspection; and (3) Mineral Treatment, (A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs is provided for in the first year to give effect to this scheme.)

In the earlier stages it will function primarily in an advisory capacity without executive or statutory powers, nor will it undertake actual mining or any marketing of minerals. It will give advice on mining, marketing and will collect information and statistics, organize training and research, formulate policy and co-ordinate measures for the conservation and development of the country's mineral wealth.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Twilight of the Princely Order

Under the above caption, *India Today* observes the state of affairs in the Princely States of India :

One of the least known but most significant developments in India during the first seven months of freedom is the integration, control and in some cases elimination of the Indian Princely States.

Before independence, there were some 562 Princely States scattered in a crazy quilt across the Indian peninsula. With few exceptions, the States were ruled by absolute monarchs in medieval style. Even the modest reforms in British India were never extended to the States.

While the British ruled India directly, the States were ruled indirectly through a unique system known as paramountcy. Under paramountcy, the British entered into treaty relations with the nominally independent Indian Princes. The British undertook to protect the Princes from external aggression or internal attack in return for control over their external relations. The puppet Princes were ruled and manipulated through the powerful and notorious Political Department of the British Government in India.

The Princely States made sense from only one point of view: the desire of the British to consolidate and maintain their rule and to prevent social change. Geographically and economically, most of the States made no sense at all. Many of them were very small, being no larger than estates. Others, like Hyderabad, were larger than some Provinces of British India. Some were extremely backward both in agricultural and industrial development. A very few had important industrial plants. Some States were even located within Indian Provinces or parts of one State would be found in another State. Tariff barriers made the flow of trade unbelievably complicated.

While the organization of popular resistance in British India was the India National Congress Party, the States people had their own organization, the All-India States' People's Conference, which maintained close and friendly relations with the Congress Party and carried on agitation against the excesses of Princely rule.

Under the terms of agreement which ended British rule on August 15, 1947, paramountcy was abolished and the States were left free to remain independent or to join India or Pakistan. The British, however, made it clear that they would not recognize any Indian State as an independent entity with dominion status which some of the larger States had obviously hoped for.

It had long been the contention of Indian nationalists that once the British left India, the Princes would not be able to maintain themselves and their order intact without outside help. Even in the seven months which have passed since India got her freedom, this contention has already proven to be largely accurate.

With the division of India, most of the States fell within the Indian orbit with less than a dozen coming within Pakistan's sphere of influence. Of the more than 500 States in the Indian orbit, only the important State of Hyderabad

has not yet acceded. Kashmir, which has acceded provisionally to India, is a contested case.

Under the instrument of accession, the State relinquishes control over foreign affairs, defense and communications. Many States have also begun to introduce reforms in a democratic direction, the content of which varies a good deal from State to State. In this process, the Princes are under a double pressure from the powerful States Department of the Government of India, headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and the popular resistance movements in the States.

Since August 15, 1947, over half the States have been merged into neighbouring Provinces or have been grouped into Provincial units, and the rest retain their identity. The 39 Orissa and Chhattisgarh States, for example, have been merged into neighbouring Provinces. The 280 Kathiawar States have grouped themselves into Provincial units. The 16 Deccan States, which are interspersed with Bombay Province, have been absorbed into that Province, only Kohlapur, the largest with a population of a million, retaining its identity.

On March 17, the United States of Matsya, composing the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Kaurali with a combined population of nearly 1.0 million came into being. The administration of Alwar and Bharatpur had previously been taken over by the Government of India in an investigation of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh activities there. It will be recalled that the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi was a member of that organization. Virtually all the Moslems in the State had been driven out during the riots. The Government was forced to send in troops on March 16 to keep order in Bharatpur after Hindu tribesmen were reported to be in rebellion against the merger, invited by the younger brother of the Maharajah.

Further State merger and unification projects include the United States of Rajasthan, which includes seven States in Rajputana which came into being on March 25. The Vindhya Pradesh Union of 34 Bundelkhand States with a population of 3.6 million will be inaugurated on April 2. In April also, a conference of rulers and popular representatives from Indore, Gwalior and other Malwa States will consider final proposals for the Union of Malwa.

About 20 Gujerat States will hand over their administrations to the Government of Bombay on June 5, and a number of other States in this area will also be integrated with Bombay Province, thus increasing its population by nearly 2.6 million persons. A merger of Punjab States has also taken place.

When all this has been accomplished, the number of States will have been reduced to about 30. This will still leave a number of smaller States which, according to the Government's view, will not be viable units. There is little doubt that these States will sooner or later have to merge or federate. A number of major States will remain unaffected and have been given separate representation in the Constituent Assembly with a pledge from the Government that they will be treated as separate, viable units.

Hyderabad remains a chief source of controversy. The Nizam of Hyderabad signed a year's standstill agreement

with the Government of India after a good deal of negotiation and difficulties. However, according to reports, Hyderabad has not lived up to the agreement. There have been a number of raids from Hyderabad on Indian territory. Other points at issue include Hyderabad's purchase of securities in Pakistan and more important, the question of the establishment of a popular government. Hyderabad, whose population is 91 per cent Hindu, has a Moslem ruler and a fanatical Moslem communal party, Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, in control. With the introduction of popular government, this party's influence would be broken and this explains in large part the Nizam's reluctance to accede to India. There has been a good deal of agitation inside the State against the Nizam's despotic rule.

There is little doubt that the Nizam, beset by pressure from within and without, will eventually have to come to terms with Delhi. Meanwhile, tension between the authorities and the Hyderabad Peoples' Conference and between India and Hyderabad is growing.

Observers point out that the record of Indian Government in inducing the States to accede, and to merge or federate has been an impressive one, particularly in view of the many difficulties that the Government has had to face in the first months of existence. Of course, many problems in relation to the States will remain. The most vital of these is the introduction of democratic government. In the last analysis, this will depend both on the amount of pressure that the Government is willing and able to put on the States and on the strength of the popular forces within the States.

In the case of Pakistan, as has been pointed out, only a few States fell within Pakistan's orbit. Two of the important States which have acceded to Pakistan are Bahawalpur, adjacent to West Punjab and Khairpur, adjacent to Sind. On March 21, Pakistan accepted the accession of Makran, Kharan and Las Bela, three States which form part of the Kalat Confederacy in Baluchistan, an association of semi-independent chiefs under the Khan of Kalat. (British Baluchistan automatically went to Pakistan under the terms of agreement on the division of India but the independent States in Baluchistan were left free to accede to either dominion or to remain independent.) While part of the Kalat Confederacy has acceded, Kalat has not. Observers point out that this must have occasioned deep disappointment in Pakistan. It is recalled that a few weeks ago, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's Governor-General, held a Durbar in Quetta, Baluchistan, for the purpose of inducing the independent States in Baluchistan to accede. The Khan of Kalat is reported to have protested strongly to Pakistan in regard to the accession of the three Kalat States. Their accession cuts off Kalat from the Arabian Sea and the Iranian frontier.

The States acceding to Pakistan sign the same instrument of accession as the States acceding to India. The question of democratic reforms in the States will no doubt be raised as democratic forces begin to develop in Pakistan.

How We Get Our Coal

F. J. North writes in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, February, 1948:

It is often possible with the naked eye to see that coal is made up of layers, some of them bright, some of them dull, and some of them so soft as to soil the fingers as black as if they had been smeared with soot. In the bright layers we can sometimes recognise flattened fragments of the stems of plants, whilst the very soft black layers look as if they were made up of flattened fragments of charcoal or carbonised wood. When specially treated polished surfaces of coal or slices of coal, cut thinly enough to transmit a certain amount of light, are examined

with the aid of the microscope, the more detailed examination that is then possible shows that the substance is made up almost entirely of the debris of plants in various stages of disintegration and decomposition.

From this we are entitled to assume that coal began in forests in long-past ages, and a consideration of the regions where coal seams now occur shows that whilst the coal-forests, as we may call them, existed in many areas and at many periods in the history of the earth, they were most widely spread and continued for a longer time during what geologists call the Carboniferous (or coal-bearing) period, which began about 240,000,000 years ago, and continued for about 30,000,000 years.

Fragments of plants that we can recognise in the coal itself, together with the fossil plants—impressions of leaves, stems, fruits and the like—that are to be found in the rocks that are associated with coal seams, enable us to reconstruct in imagination the successive stages in the formation of coal seam. Each one began in a forest extending over a wide area and lying sufficiently near to sea level for the dead and decaying vegetation to remain more or less water-logged as generation after generation of trees grew upon the rotting remains of their ancestors.

From time to time large areas began to subside, the forests were "drowned," and the surviving trees were killed off. Their remains, together with those of the remaining trees that had lived whilst the forest thrived, were buried beneath layers of mud or sand, brought down as sediment by the surrounding rivers and spread out on the floors of the newly-formed water-basins. The mud and sand gave rise to the rocks that separate one coal seam from another, for in a typical coalfield there may be many coal seams, varying from a few inches to several feet in thickness, separated from one another by beds of rock—usually relatively soft shale in layers like cardboard but sometimes hard sandstone.

This series of processes, the accumulation of extensive and thick layers of decomposing vegetable debris on the sites of swampy forests, and the hermetical sealing of the debris when subsidence caused the site to be occupied by water from which mud and sand were deposited, was repeated time and time again. As a result, many thousands of feet of coal measures (as the rocks associated with coal seams are called) were laid down. Each layer of vegetable debris, the product of centuries of forest growth, subsequently gave rise to a seam of coal, but when the coal-forest period came to an end, the first coal seams to be formed were very deeply buried and even the most recently formed ones were overspread with rock and would have been invisible to a human observer, had there been one at the time.

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The exposure of coal seams sufficiently near to the surface to make it practicable to dig mines to reach them is the result of movements in the earth's crust, which caused the more or less flat layers of coal-bearing rock to be thrown into great arch-like and trough-like folds. As the "arches" were being uplifted, their tops were worn away as a result of exposure to rain, wind, and frost, and in many regions the coal-bearing strata were completely removed from such areas, leaving those which remained in the basins or trough-like folds to be preserved and, after other movement and deformation, to become the coalfields of to-day.

The earliest coal workings were small shallow excavations where seams actually appeared at the surface and it is interesting to note that in recent years the great demand for coal has led to a return to *opencast mining*, as coal digging at the surface is called. Nowadays the coal is not obtained from small holes dug by hand, but great trenches are excavated by powerful machines, that lift or scrape away the rock that rests upon a coal seam and expose the coal which can be removed and loaded into lorries.

Whether on a small scale as in the old days, or on a large scale as now, opencast mining is only possible where the seams lie comparatively near to the surface and are not very steeply inclined, but the basin-like structure of a typical coalfield carries the seams more and more deeply beneath the surface until in the deepest parts of the basins the seams may be covered by several thousands of feet of rock.

The history of coal-mining is a record of triumphs over the dangers and difficulties of bringing the coal from deep pits, and from working-places that (in mines worked according to a plan commonly adopted in this country) move farther and farther away from the pit bottom as the mine grows older. After a few years of working the miner may have to travel a considerable distance underground—a mile or more from the bottom of the shaft by means of which he has descended from the surface—before he reaches the place where he will begin work, so that mining involves not only the digging and hauling of coal, but the maintenance of underground roads giving access to the working-places and along which coal may be brought to the shaft and thence to the surface.

The "roof" left when the coal has been removed has to be supported by wooden or steel posts (pit-props) until it is safe and convenient to allow it to subside and close up that part of the space left by the removal of the coal which has not been filled with the fragments of rock dislodged during the mining process. Fresh air has to be pumped to all parts of the mine, not only to enable the miners to breathe, but also to sweep away the explosive gas (methane) that is given off from the coal in many mines. If this were not done, explosions would be more frequent than they are and work in many mines would become impossible.

Working as they do in total darkness miners need light. At one time candles or oil lamps were used, but their flames so often ignited the gas, giving rise to fires and explosions that early miners were compelled to seek for a light that would not ignite gas. A hand-driven machine, by means of which a steel disc was made to rotate rapidly against a piece of flint, thus producing a stream of sparks, was tried, but it was soon abandoned because the light was poor and not as safe as it was hoped it would be. Decaying fish was tried because of the phosphorescent light it emitted, but the lighting difficulty was finally overcome in the early part of the nineteenth century, when Dr. Clanny, George Stephenson, and (Sir) Humphrey Davy, working independently, produced lamps that would burn and give light in air containing explosive proportions of methane, and yet not ignite the gas.

In Davy's lamp, which is the real ancestor of the modern miners' safety lamps, the flame was enclosed within a cylinder of wire gauze; air could reach the flame and light could be emitted, but the gauze conducted away the heat of the flame so quickly that the explosive mixture outside the lamp was not ignited. In modern safety lamps the gauze is partly replaced by glass to provide better illumination, and the remainder is surrounded by a metal jacket to prevent it from being damaged due to a fall or to contact with a flying splinter of rock. Electric lamps are extensively used nowadays, but the "safety lamp" is still necessary, because, apart from the light it emits, it shows the miner when gas is present and enables him to determine when the amount is becoming dangerous. In the presence of explosive mine-gas a blue cap appears over the usually yellow flame and grows taller as the amount of gas increases.

In the old days all mining operations were done by hand—the coal was excavated by miners using picks and it was hauled to the bottom of the shaft on sledges (later in small wheeled vehicles), pulled or pushed by women or boys. In some mines it was even left to the women to carry it up ladders attached to the side of the shaft in order to bring it to the surface. At an early date machinery was used to wind the cages up and down the shafts, whilst horses, endless ropes driven by revolving drums, and ropes hauled by compressed air machines were introduced to haul the coal underground.

The nature and rate of the introduction of mechanical methods has varied from coalfield to coalfield and from mine to mine according to a variety of conditions, but the present tendency is to use machinery for more and more of the processes. Machines are now available to cut the coal at the face, to load the fallen coal on to travelling belts or into cars hauled by locomotives by which it is eventually brought to the pit bottom. Where such machines can be introduced, they will do away with hand digging and cutting, and will relieve men of the arduous work of shovelling coal into the trucks or on to the belts. They will also do away with the necessity for boring holes into the coal so that explosives can be fired to dislodge it and break it into pieces that men can handle or shovel up.

It will be some time before such machines can be universally used—indeed, there are pits where some of them may never be used because natural conditions do not permit. But by replanning some mines and opening others designed along new lines, and, as a result of the research that is being undertaken to lessen the risks of injury and disease amongst mine-workers, coal-mining will lose many of the characteristics that have made it so arduous, unpleasant, and dangerous, and will instead become a highly mechanised industry calling for a technical knowledge and ability of new kinds. The work will always be hard, and in varying degrees unpleasant, but it will be divested of much of the drudgery and of most of the dangers that have characterised it in the past.

Mechanisation in mining is usually associated with American practice, but that is largely because machines were easier to introduce when new mines were being opened up than in old ones that had been planned in the days when machinery was not available. Some of the most efficient machines which cut the coal without the use of explosives and automatically load it on to conveyors are British inventions.

With the realisation of what has to be done and the determination to do it, there is no reason why our coal mining industry should not play as important a part in the future of the country as it has in the past. Britain showed the world how to use coal, and for a very long time supplied the greater part of the world's needs. Even as recently as 1890 Britain produced about half of the world's output.

What We Do With Our Coal

W. Idris Jones writes in the same issue of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Arts* :

Coal has been known from very early times. It is referred to in China three centuries before the time of Christ, and there is evidence of its use during the Roman occupation of Britain, as we have found coal cinders mixed with Roman coins at Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1217, the Forest Charter was granted by Henry III giving certain Lords of the Manor the right to dig for minerals, and coal-mining seems to have been carried out in Wales, the Midlands, the North and Scotland in the thirteenth century.

In Chaucer's time coal was brought from Tyneside and became the common fuel in London. Later, under Queen Elizabeth, it was substituted for charcoal for smelting certain minerals. Gradually its use developed and coal-mining became more similar to that of modern times. At the beginning of the eighteenth century coal was successfully used for smelting iron and following this development the coalfields expanded rapidly. Newcomen's Atmospheric Engine in 1705, James Watt's steam engine in 1765, and Trevithick's locomotive in 1804 made it possible to hoist and transport much greater quantities of coal and set the Industrial Revolution of Britain into its stride. In 1600 the annual coal output was about 250,000 tons, in 1700 it was 3,000,000, and in 1800 it had jumped to 10,000,000. Now, of course, it is about 200,000,000.

When coal arrives at the surface of a pit in tubs or trams, it is a mixture of various sizes and is contaminated with impurities such as shale, rock, fireclay, and so on. The larger coal is separated by screening and is then passed over picking belts where the stone and shale are picked away by hand. The smaller coal is sorted in a variety of ways—usually by floating the dirty coal in a pulsating current of water or in a mixture of water and sand.

There are many different kinds of coal ranging from peat to anthracite, and including the various bituminous coals. One might say that peat is a very soft and young coal, whereas anthracite is very hard and old.

There are three main uses for coal; as a source of heat and power; as a raw material for certain manufacturing processes; and as a source of gas and a host of other valuable chemical products.

Now the energy of the sun is preserved in coal substance. One pound of coal contains enough energy to lift a ton weight to the summit of Snowdon. To release this energy we can, of course, burn the coal. About 70,000,000 tons of coal are used in this way to raise steam each year, and 60,000,000 tons to heat and light our homes, either by using the coal directly or in the production of the coke, electricity or gas, produced from it.

Coal is also an essential material in a wide range of manufacturing processes. It contains carbon and we require this carbon not only for the production of iron and steel out of iron ore and thus in the manufacture of motor cars, bicycles and so on, but also for many chemicals such as washing soda and lime of white-washing or cement.

Then there are a host of valuable chemical products which come from coal. When we burn coal we waste the smoke and the ash. Now if we extract gas from coal in gas works and coke ovens we get left behind some tar, a liquid looking rather like dirty water and having a smell of ammonia, and a solid coke residue. Now the gas and the coke between them can be used to light and heat our homes and from the tar and the other residue

we can get many valuable chemicals. From the gas we can also, besides many other products, get benzene to add to petrol for driving cars, and we can get hydrogen sulphide and hence sulphuric acid, from which we make sulphate of ammonia, used as a fertiliser and in the purification of drinking water. The coke also is of the greatest importance in the production of iron and steel.

From the dirty water we get ammonia, which we can also get from the coke ovens. It is a wonderfully valuable chemical, being used as a refrigerant, and being convertible into fertilisers and into high explosives. From the tar we, of course, get the material, with which we make our roads, in many different grades, suitable for heavy or light traffic and for hot or cold climates, but we can also get much more. We can get pitch for bricketting coal or for roofing, and we also get cresote for the protection of railway sleepers and telegraph poles from the deteriorating action of the weather. In the last century Perkin, a very great English chemist, produced from this tar a dyestuff called mauve; and this discovery was the open sesame to a host of similar developments, until by to-day very many valuable products are produced from coal tar; motor fuel, plastics of many kinds, synthetic rubber, dyestuffs, pharmaceutical products such as M. and B. for pneumonia. Vitamin K, substitute for stopping haemorrhage, aspirin for headaches, antiseptics, anaesthetics, flavourings and essences, perfumes, explosives, plant growth promoters, soil fumigants, and so on.

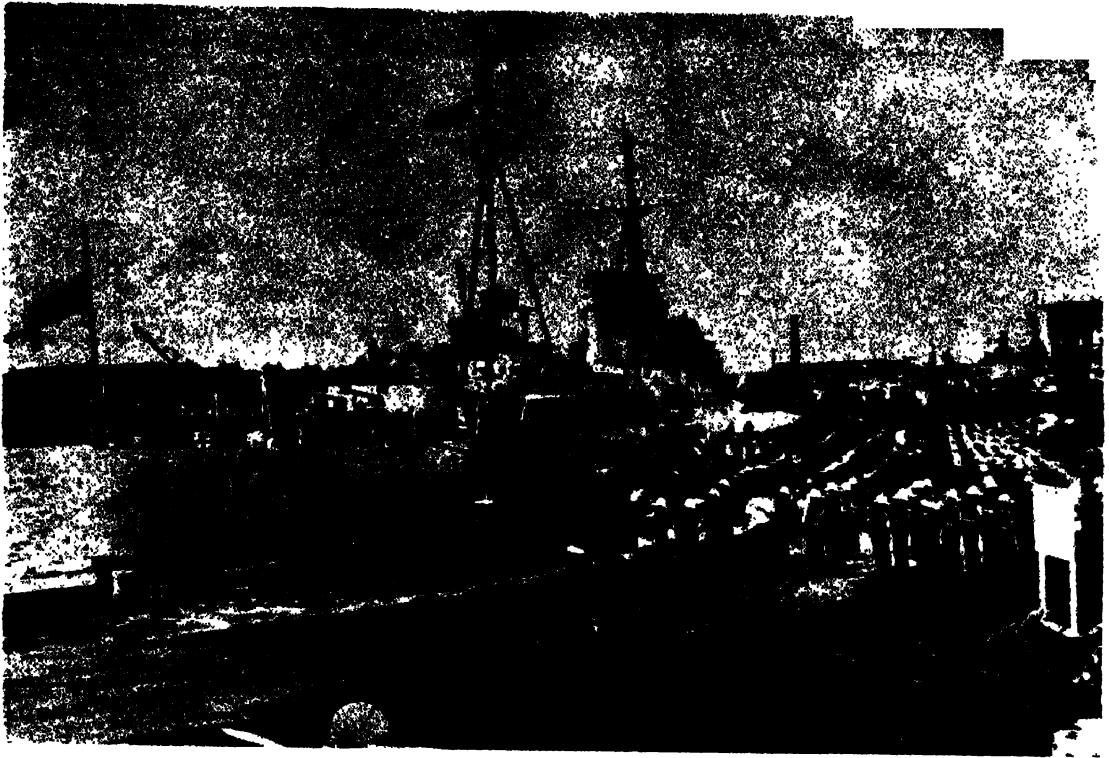
Further, I would like to mention that coal has been converted into oil, and coal gas can be used for producing chemicals such as formaldehyde, which is most valuable to-day in making plastics and high explosives or as an antiseptic. We can also, by heating together to a very high temperature coal, coke and limestone, produce calcium carbide, from which we get various chemicals such as plastics, artificial silk, acetone, essences, and many more. Coal is also used in the making of hydrogen, which was used to fill barrage balloons during the war, or, more recently, to convert fish oils and vegetable oils into margarine.

It is possible to go on cataloguing the many uses of coal for a very long time and it is difficult to know where to stop. It is veritably one of the most precious diamonds in the British Crown. I have no doubt that its use will continue to increase more and more during the years that lie ahead. Why, even in the field of atomic energy, pure carbon for the piles, which form an integral part of the atomic plant, can be made from coal tar pitch!



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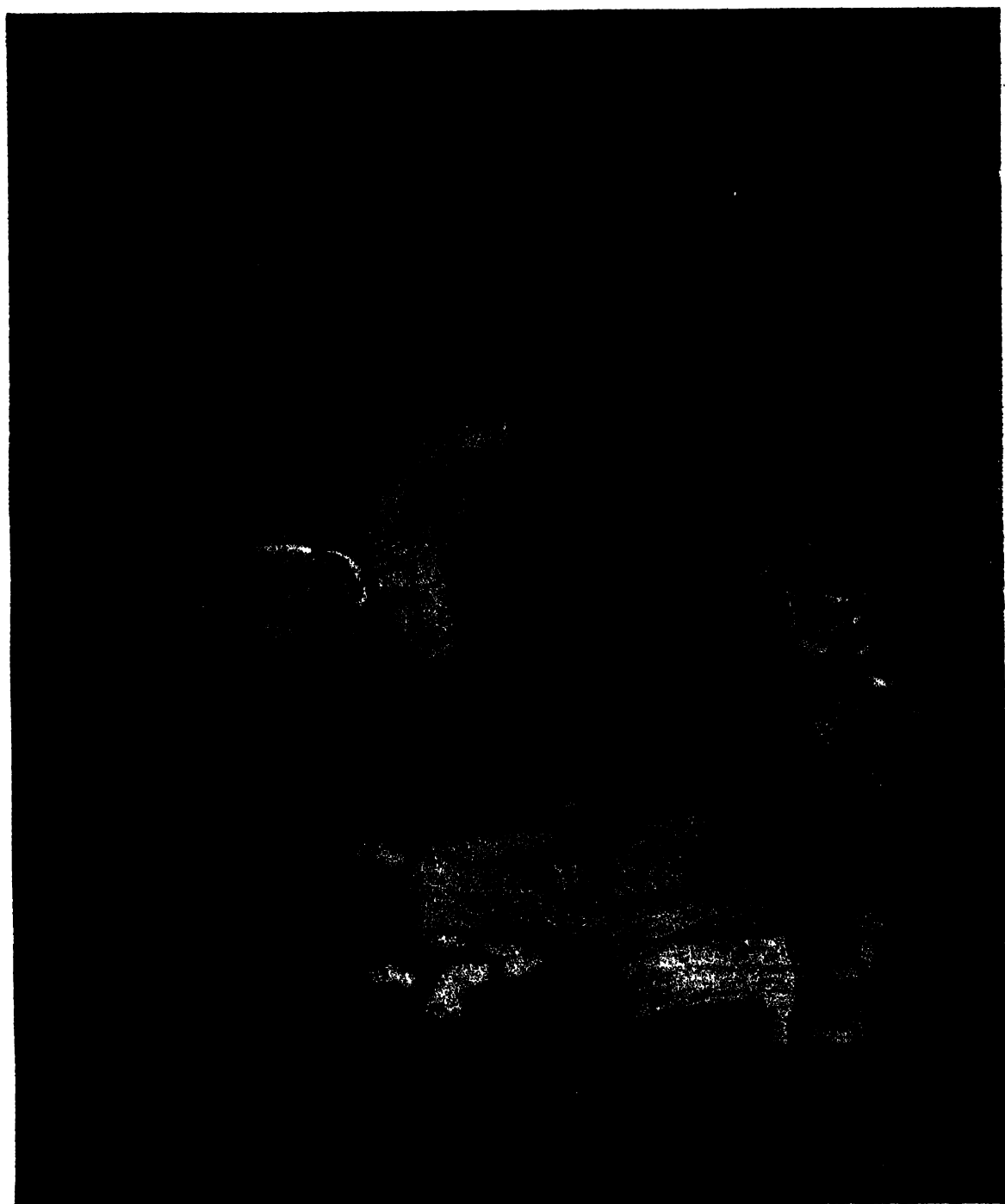
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A view of the handing over ceremony of H.M.I.S. *Delhi* at Chatham, which was received from the British Admiralty on behalf of the Government of India by the High Commissioner V. K. Krishna Menon



A modern British war-ship



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NOTES

The "United Nations" and India

The International tangle is getting more and more complex. The Indian Union's position is still very anomalous. Though we have shown a desire for peace and amity all round, the two groups into which the U.N.O. is becoming pronouncedly divided are both making moves to force the Union of India to declare itself as a partisan of one or the other. Political blackmail is being resorted to against India, at the U.N.O. by the democratic group, while Russia is maintaining a sphinx-like silence, being well-aware of the fact that these blundering moves on the part of the democracies are tending to force the Indian Union into the orbit of Moscow.

But all the same it cannot be denied that in the diplomatic sphere we have as yet attained nothing or little to our advantage. On the contrary, we have made certain blunders, mostly minor, which have been interpreted by the world outside to our disadvantage. The sending of Vijayalakshmi Pandit to Moscow and Asaf Ali to Washington gave an impression to the democracies that was quickly utilized by our enemies in the U.N.O. Further, the unauthorized declarations, by Asaf Ali at Washington and Syed Hassan at Cairo, that in the Palestine affair India was backing the Pan-Arab confederacy, gave needless offence to the Zionists and their sympathisers, without bringing any benefit whatsoever to our cause. For, it must be apparent to all but the densest that the Pan-Arab leaders have no intention whatsoever to throw their weight on the side of India, at any time.

Pandit Nehru is going to the Commonwealth Conference. He will have an opportunity to assess the position at first hand. The International tension today stands at almost the critical point of explosion. Our Foreign Minister, needless to say, must be well-aware of the fact. And further, by now, he must have realized by bitter experience, that biased faith and innocence alone cannot enable us to keep clear of the traps and pitfalls laid at every step in our path through the

agency of our enemies. Caution is the prime essential now, for India must not get herself entangled willy-nilly in the International imbroglio. No nation today is being actuated by purely altruistic motives to come to the aid of another and as such we must not either be fooled by empty promises nor should we be stampeded by black-mailers.

Our problems as yet are mainly domestic, though enemy aggression has made deep inroads on our resources. And by the same token, we must look to ourselves alone in the main for the solution. If we ask for outside aid, as we did in the matter of Kashmir, the price paid will have to be heavy beyond measure, and we may find ourselves far more involved in the end than what we were at the outset.

We must open our eyes to realities. We must understand that "Comity of Nations" is an empty phrase, excepting at the lowliest level. Hyderabad is an object lesson, as is the case of Kashmir. The rise in the tempo of anti-Indian propaganda abroad, the gun-running exploits of Sydney Cotton and other soldiers of fortune, the mock-heroics of Zafullah Khan, were not isolated phenomena. It all indicated concerted action by the enemies of India, and the lack of alertness and want of efficiency in ourselves. The howl of rage and anguish that went up in the British Press at the collapse of the Pakistan-cum-Rasakar plot in Hyderabad was not merely the echo of the gnashing of teeth by the Colonel Blimps of Britain. It had a far deeper significance. For example, Mr. Bevin did not observe any war-like spirit in Pakistan, even after it was admitted that Pakistani regulars were fighting in Kashmir, but he was prompt in opening his lacerated heart when the Police-action went through according to plan in Hyderabad!

The World is well-aware of the weight of the tremendous potentials of India. Naturally each group wants it to be ranged on its side, in the event of World War III. If it be not available, then that potential must either be destroyed or rendered useless as in China of today. We must realise this fact and spare

no vigilance or effort to guard our assets and to enhance our potentials.

Mr. Bevin, and others of that ilk, in and out of the U.N.O., watched Pakistan letting loose hell in Kashmir, with mass rape, loot, murder and arson in its train, without turning a hair. They saw the Pakistan-cum-Rasakar plot in Hyderabad develop to alarming proportions with smug contentment. Hundreds of thousands of poor inoffensive people, mostly Hindus went through untold suffering without those worthies uttering a single word of protest. But when the Hyderabad plot collapsed, then we hear no end of protests. Even Argentina is moved to "righteous indignation." And this is the "United Nations' World."

Hyderabad and Kashmir

More than once we have expressed the opinion that the sentiments and follies that created the Pakistan State were at the root of the Hyderabad imbroglio. History will record that the stresses and strains of the last decade that led to the final upheaval of Pakistan were carefully developed inside the Nizam's State. And it is significant that a professor in the Osmania University, Prof. Abdul Latif, should have been the first, who attempted to rationalize the inchoate ideas of a separate State or States for Indian Muslims to be carved out of India. Now that the Nizam has seen light and realised that with a 87 per cent Hindu population in the Hyderabad State it is foolish and futile to think and speak of this State being "Islamic," the world might have thought that the problem of Hyderabad would no longer trouble their thoughts. But events proved the contrary. The watch-dogs of the United Nations Organisation, a motley crowd, half democrat and half imperialist-fascist, are so anxious to justify their existence, that they refuse to allow the Nizam himself to withdraw his complaint filed before them by his reactionary emissaries. And thus we witness a burlesque where the judges are replacing the complainants! The Indian Union must not complain; it is the part and lot of a free State to be subjected to the slings and arrows of an outside world which is generally ignorant of the essentials of a problem and where there are people who flourish by fishing in troubled waters. Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, exposed the true mind of his country's ruling class, Tory or Labour, when he "regretfully" discovered on September 15 last, the development of "a war-like spirit" in the Indian Union. The Kashmir affair high-lighted the fact that irresponsibility and malice are the ruling passions in Britain in regard to India of our fellow Dominion. In October, 1947, Pakistani hordes were let loose by their leaders on a campaign of loot, arson and rape on the unoffending peoples of Kashmir. The Maharaja acceded to the Indian Union for protection from this invasion, and the rulers of our State were left no choice but to hasten to the defence of a territory which was juridically Indian. Despite difficulties of terrain and the lack of adequate land communication. The Indian Union forces have

given protection to the stricken people of Kashmir, pushing back the savage and brutal hordes of Pakistan. The gallant and heroic action of our armed forces have evoted admiration throughout Kashmir.

In a moment of idealism and mistaken respect for the spirit behind the UNO, the leaders of the Indian Union succumbed to the temptation of calling upon it to stop the outrage on international peace perpetrated by Pakistan. In January, 1948, delegates of the Union moved the UNO to issue directives to Pakistan, one of its member-States, to withdraw the invaders of the territories of another member-State, the Indian Union. Then ensued a series of arguments and petty quibbles which exposed the malign hand of Anglo-American power-politics; it came as a revelation to Gandhiji and the ruling authorities of the Union. It was sophistry of the deepest dye that could pretend that the Pakistanis were justified in their aggression, and could advance pleas in this behalf. For about five months with intervals this exchange of arguments continued; after which the UNO decided to send a commission to study conditions on the spot with a view to judge between the aggressor and aggrieved. The pleas that were trotted out to justify this step were so perverse that one finds it difficult to discuss them with patience.

The Commission came to India in July last; visited New Delhi and Karachi; the members came in batches and surveyed the scenes of devastation and battles in Kashmir. It interrogated ministers of the two States and the head of Kashmir Administration, Sheik Abdulla. The Pakistani ministers are reported to have confessed that their armed forces were in the field; this after months of deceit and falsehood. The Commission suggested a "Cease Fire." The Indian Union accepted it; the Pakistan rulers clouded their denial by a barrage of questions and petty quibbles. The Commission has now gone back, and we hear they are busy at Geneva drawing up their final report to be submitted to the UNO.

These two episodes of Kashmir and Hyderabad have confronted us with one fact. That for reasons unexplained the U.S.A. and Britain have lined themselves up to keep the Indian Union and Pakistan quarrelling with each other. We do not desire to accept the interpretation that these two States, one newly grown conscious of its own power and the other conscious of its declining power, have combined their forces to maintain the dominance of Anglo-American democracy over the world's affairs, and that the Indian Union and Pakistan are pawns in this game. But the way in which British Ministers and their representatives in the UNO have been behaving and the docility with which their opposite numbers in the United States have been following the British lead, strengthen the suspicion that there is substance in the suspicions referred to above. Whatever be the truth in the matter, the Indian Union cannot retreat from the path of justice.

India's Position in the Commonwealth

The Churchill school of British politics is fond of speaking of the British Commonwealth of nations. India—the Indian Union and Pakistan—cannot by any stretch of imagination be called as being States typically representative of a British nation or nations. This was the controversy that raged in India between the “moderates” and “extremists” in Indian politics during the first fifteen years of the present century. The former talked of “colonial self-government,” and the latter challenged them to prove how India with a non-British population could be a “colony” of Britain.

During the times of Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore there was some propaganda to induce the British authorities to authorize the “colonization” of India by men and women of British stock. The hope behind this idea was that as the “colonists” of North America had been able to attain Statehood by revolting against the “mother country,” so would British “colonists” in India help India to attain Statehood independent of Britain. Our ancestors did not know, perhaps, that the United States had grown to power by effacing the “Red Indians,” and that the British “colonists” in India could only revolt against the “mother country” only when they could be assured that there were not any “native” Indians to trouble about.

But whatever be the reason, the fact remains that India has attained Statehood without the help of British “colonists.” And the problem that confronts us today is whether or not there is any necessity for us to remain where we are—a Dominion of the “Commonwealth of Nations,” as many in Britain hope to rechristen their super-State with a view to remove the stain of imperialism from off its face. During the days following the outburst of nationalism consequent on the agitation against the Curzonian partition of Bengal, the “moderates” and “extremists” were engaged in this controversy. The former were almost silenced by the absurdity of their own position, and one of the leaders of the latter, Bipin Chandra Pal, put forward a scheme that would have transformed the British Empire into an “Indo-British” Federation, India holding primacy by her resources. The ruling race could not fancy it; and the idea was still-born. With the emergence of the Gandhi era, there ensued again the old controversy.

The late Revd. Charles Andrews came out on the side of complete independence; *The Modern Review* was fully with him. Gandhiji would not make any outright declaration; he spoke of the “substance of independence.” Deshabandhu C. R. Das in his last will and testament as recorded in his Faridpore speech thought loudly of “federation” being a higher unit of State organization than what “complete independence” indicated. The Lahore resolution of 1929 did not change anything; the interpretation of the status—“independence”—remaining unauthoritative, because of every Congress leader putting on it his own interpretation. Subhas Chandra Bose was the only man who was

unequivocal in his stand for complete dissociation from Britain.

The second World War hardened feeling against Britain, and Gandhiji issued the demand on Britain to “Quit India.” The Cabinet Delegation’s Plan seemed to accept the logic of this demand; the 20th February (1947) declaration and the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, were made in confirmation of this acceptance. The India Independence Bill of July, 1947, passed in the British Parliament followed the same track; and India today is a Dominion co-equal with Britain in the scheme of world States. The constitutional position being thus, the question that confronts the Indian people is whether or not they will go out of the British Commonwealth. There is no sentiment that could influence us as is the case with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and North Ireland. The only consideration that seems to be unconsciously moving amongst the rulers of the Indian Union is whether or not it would be safe to move out of the strategy of defence planned by Britain, whether or not we should decide on “withdrawal from the British plan of defence,” to use the words of Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari uttered in July, 1940. Rajaji is today Governor-General of India.

But since these words were uttered many things have happened. In the Constituent Assembly of India it has been solemnly resolved to proclaim “India as an Independent, Sovereign Republic.” India’s final State structure has yet to be decided. But there are individuals and classes in India who are represented by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, for instance, who desires the continuance of the British connection; on their behalf Dr. Ambedkar has moved for a change in the words of the above declaration substituting for the word “Republic” the word “State.” This change proposed by a Minister of the Nehru Cabinet, has been interpreted as a sign of the return of softness for Britain, as a token of anxiety to retain connection with her for needs of defence at least.

The Prime Minister of the Indian Union has agreed to be present at the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held in London sometime during the latter half of this month. Whether or not he will be carrying any mandate from his Cabinet, we do not know. The members of the Constituent Assembly which is the Central Legislature also have all grown wiser, and they have maintained a discreet silence on the problem, which is unhealthy for the evolution of an instructed democracy in India. We do not understand why the Nehru Cabinet should not have initiated a discussion on the subject, and got a mandate from the representatives of the people. Members also could have taken the lead in the discussion of this matter. As none of them, Ministers or legislators, have cared to do so, an intellectual vacuum, has ensued; people are being led blind-folded to a situation which may commit the country to a decision that may prove harmful to its interests.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in Britain

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian High Commissioner in London, rebuked the British Press and the British Broadcasting Corporation, whom he accused of misrepresentation of the facts of India's action in Hyderabad. Mr. Menon called a Press Conference at India House on September 21 immediately after his return from a short visit to India. Mr. Menon told the assembled Press men: "We greatly regret the opinions on this matter of Hyderabad expressed by some leading newspapers in this country and also the way in which the case has been presented to the B. B. C." He continued:

"We do not charge them with malice, but it is extremely difficult for even informed people of India to accept the view that 'it is just one of those things.'"

"It will become pretty apparent that the majority of Press correspondents in India have been pretty poor reporters."

"It is not my business to be concerned with the motive. I am only concerned with the consequences of misrepresentation. Consequences have a bearing on understanding and relationship and it is my business here in Britain to try to seek and promote understanding."

Mr. Menon read extracts from the *Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Evening Standard*, *Evening News* and *Daily Graphic*, and summed up with the words "these reports are wrong and are not related to the facts."

He asked, "What do you think any objective public can think when they see that the British newspapers give more space to Hyderabad than the whole question of Indian Independence?"

"From September 13 till today there has not been a single communal incident throughout the length and breadth of India."

"Every single Moslem leader of repute has stood by the Government of India and loudly proclaimed it."

"This standing together of the people during these days is a factor that the British Press might have noted, instead of writing what it did."

"The British newspapers have declared that India was at war. But that is not true."

"India was not at war. Why did India send troops into Hyderabad? If you are going to take police action, one must use sufficient force to restore order. Our army had the strictest instructions not to use more force than was necessary. Practically 99 per cent of the aerial bombing was on two air-fields. The bombing was never used to threaten civilians. The airfields had been used by gun-runners so we demobilised them. The remaining one per cent of bombs were dropped on military targets. Not a single bomb was dropped anywhere on the population or for striking terror. Our airforce co-operated with our army mainly in reconnaissance."

"In Pakistan also there has been very little trouble except one or two demonstrations. We do not want

Pakistan to be a state of difficulty, anger, or poverty. We want prosperous neighbours. The general impression on lesser informed people after reading the reports in the British Press on Hyderabad is that India is on probation and that Britain is only waiting to pounce on us, as we are in trouble."

"If a fine honor, a theft, or a Royal procession had been reported in the British Press as has been the question of Hyderabad, I do not think the reporter who did it would keep his job."

"The best evidence of why we sent troops to Hyderabad is the Nizam's own story. The troops were welcomed by the population and mercy troops were left behind to deal with the situation. The Government having got Hyderabad into this state, it abdicated."

"We withdrew our troops from Secunderabad in the first instance—and this was against public opinion and some expert advice and then we sent them back again when trouble broke out. We did not say we were going to conquer, we said we were going back to restore order. There has been no disarmament of the Hyderabad Army. We have taken away such weapons as are not necessary."

"The normal administration functions in Hyderabad. We were merely negotiating an accession agreement."

"The future of Hyderabad must be decided by the people of Hyderabad themselves. It will be decided by a Constituent Assembly which will establish its own formal Government."

"We have put no restrictions on the sending of news from India. We are entitled to some consideration for the hospitality we have offered to British Press representatives. British correspondents in India, contrary to what happens here in Britain, have personal access to our Ministers. To see a Prime Minister in India is one of the easiest things in the world."

"I would say to everyone: Do not create trouble that will separate the people of India from this country. I think the time has come when British correspondents in India should realise that this is a matter which has serious implications."

He also expressed surprise how the Government of India's demand for stationing of troops in the State could be considered wrong, while it was never considered immoral during the 200 years of British rule. Nor could he understand, he said, how India Government was expected not to do anything in a situation which the British Government would not have tolerated for five minutes."

There had been criticisms, Mr. Menon continued, that India had forsaken the path of Gandhiji. It was a welcome surprise to him. The Indian High Commissioner remarked that there had been a sudden appreciation of what Gandhiji stood for, especially when it could be used against the present Government."

India's Relationship with Britain

Only a fortnight before this London Press Conference, the Congress Party in the Indian Parliament discussed the question of India's relationship with Britain, especially the question of India remaining within the British Commonwealth. The meeting was held with Pandit Nehru in the Chair and there was some opinion in that meeting for not severing the last links with Britain. It has decided that India must function as an Independent Sovereign Republic but at the same time must frame her foreign policy in a manner so as to maintain the present cordial relationship with the countries of the world, particularly Great Britain and the Commonwealth countries. This decision, coming after Britain's actions at the UNO on the Kashmir and South Africa's Indian baiting questions, indicates the depth of generosity in the Indian mind. But Britain's support at the UNO for Hyderabad with the backing of the most powerful section of the British press, has been a rude shock in India even for those who still pine for a continuance of political association with Britain and has fully justified the popular demand that India should completely sever her relations with that country. Short-sighted British policy has paid dearly in America, the mother country is today a debtor nation to her former colony.

Battle Against Inflation

Having invited and obtained the views of a variety of interests on the question of fighting inflation, the Government of India has released to the Press summaries of six reports on the economic situation in India. These are the reports of (1) the nine economists, (2) the Government of India economists, (3) the industrialists, (4) labour leaders, (5) bankers and (6) the views of Prof. Ranga and Shri Jaiprakash Narain. A brief outline of the suggestions made in these six reports is given below. The suggestions put forward may be divided into six broad heads: production, labour, foreign trade, monetary, fiscal and economic controls.

To take production first. Almost all interests have conceded the need for increasing production but none has put forward any concrete plan for it. The industrialists have recommended improvement in transport, rationalisation of labour, introduction of third shifts where possible, special depreciation allowance, special tax concessions to new industries, re-annunciation of Government's industrial policy to restore confidence, ensuring easy and quick availability of essential raw materials at economic prices, uniform labour legislation and ending of labour intransigence.

The bankers have recommended the removal of transport bottlenecks, increase in internal food supplies, better procurement machinery, establishment of new factories, increase in the hours of work, tax relief for new enterprises for first few years, banning of strikes and lock-outs and correlating of wages to the quantity and quality of output.

The nine economists have suggested that the Government should lay down for each major industry and establishments a production programme and a production target, working parties for suggesting improvements in efficiency, development of small-scale and cottage industries with a view to mitigating the essential shortages.

The economists of the Government of India have suggested that the industrial policy be so refashioned as to eliminate "technical bottlenecks" and to provide incentive to private enterprise, and that efforts be made to procure capital equipment not only from the leading industrial countries but also from other countries. They have also suggested that foreign private investment should be encouraged in order to accelerate industrialisation. It is surprising to find that with the examples of China and South-East Asia before us this suggestion has been strongly approved by Shri Jai Prakash Narain. He has also suggested grant of a rebate in taxation for extra production.

Surprisingly enough, the labour leaders have not put forward any notable suggestion on the question of ensuring the support of labour to an increased production drive. This is not unexpected. The Communist labour leaders and their stooges in the A.I.T.U.C. have gone all out in attempting the sabotage of industrialisation and our I.N.T.U.C. have been competing with the Communists to gain popularity among labour by promising them the moon. The interest of the masses, of whom organised labour forms only a minute fraction, seems to have been lost in this unholy Congress-Communist competition in winning their favour which has definitely hampered production instead of accelerating it. The only sensible suggestion in this sphere comes from Miss Maniben Kara, who has suggested the setting up of commissions or joint councils of experts consisting of representatives of management and labour which should constantly review the progress of production, find out the causes of the fall in production and direct the activities of the units in such a manner as to attain the maximum possible production.

In respect of foreign trade, the nine economists want controls on imports and exports to be remodelled. Imports of essential consumer goods should be given preference. This suggestion carries the support of the industrialists as well as the Government of India economists.

The nine economists have suggested certain fiscal measures of a far-reaching character which deserve special consideration. The most important amongst these are as follows:

(1) Grants to provinces out of the Central Budget, itself in deficit, are openly inflationary and should therefore be discontinued except where it could be demonstrated that they would add to the production of essential commodities in the short period.

(2) Refund of E. P. T. deposits should be postponed except where such refunds are demonstrably

required for investment likely to add production in the near future.

(3) All capital expenditure should be financed by genuine borrowing and the existing commitments of capital expenditure which cannot be covered by loans should be reviewed and expenditure of postponable character suspended.

(4) The Income Tax Investigation Commission should be armed with powers to collect all necessary information from all sources in order that their work may come to early fruition. Stringent measures should be devised to prevent tax evasion.

(5) The introduction of a graduated surcharge on income tax on personal incomes above Rs. 5,000 should be considered.

(6) The rate of Business Profits Tax should be raised to 25 per cent.

(7) The rates of personal super-tax should be raised to the levels of 1947-48.

(8) Steeply graduated death duties should be introduced without delay.

While the industrialists are in favour of balanced budgets and cutting down of unproductive expenditure, they have opposed any increase in income-tax and other similar direct taxes. On the other hand, they have suggested the abolition of the capital gains tax. In order to augment the Central revenues, the industrialists have suggested the following steps:

A purchase tax on luxuries and a special graduated surcharge on railway, shipping, and air fares should be imposed.

Considerable economy in Government expenditure is possible and these economies should be effected as soon as possible.

Machinery of tax assessment and collection should be improved, and arrears realised.

While long-term projects of a productive character need not be shelved, it is necessary in the present emergency that expenditure on other new projects should be curtailed to the minimum extent possible.

All new expenditure on social services should be avoided in the immediate future.

Irrespective of the merits of the prohibition policy, its implementation should be delayed or suspended to enable Provincial Governments to restore budgetary equilibrium.

The Government of India economists have suggested that capital expenditure in connection with such projects as the Damodar Valley Project and Sindri Fertiliser Factory should not be withheld. This view is also supported by Shri Jai Prakash Narain, who however, feels that, as an antidote to the inflationary effect of such capital expenditure, production must be increased at any cost.

As in the case of production, everyone has emphasised the need for more borrowings and more savings, though there is some difference of opinion on the question whether it should be compulsory. Both the economists and the industrialists have suggested

a country-wide savings campaign to attract the surplus money from farmers and factory workers. In regard to rate of interest, the industrialists, the bankers, and the nine economists are not in favour of increasing it, though the latter have recommended a slightly higher rate of interest in the case of National Savings Certificates. Another interesting suggestion made by the industrialists, as well as the economists, is that Treasury Bills, of a longer duration, say six months or one year, should be issued. The bankers have made the novel suggestion of issuing bearer bonds carrying a nominal rate of interest at one per cent, and repayable after five years. The issue of these bonds is to be made by some of the banks authorised by the Government and the sale-proceeds are to be invested in Government of India loans. Shri Jai Prakash Narain also is in favour of issue of such bearer bonds. The object of issuing bearer bonds is that they will provide an outlet for black-market money.

Among other suggested monetary measures which fall under borrowings, mention must be made of the nine economists' proposals that the proceeds of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund should, for the time being, be invested in Government securities or held in deposit with the Government and that terminable Government loans which mature should not be repaid immediately if, under the terms of the loan, the repayment can be postponed. The nine economists have also suggested that a ceiling on the note issue of the Reserve Bank should be placed at the existing level and that all banks should be required to hold Government securities to the extent of 25 per cent of their total demand liabilities. The bankers and the industrialists have proposed that some restrictions on bank credits, which are of an inflationary nature, may be imposed by the Reserve Bank in consultation with banks.

Practically everyone has advocated reimposition of price control on all the necessities of life, especially foodgrains, sugar, cloth, kerosene, domestic fuel, etc. Control of the prices of essential raw materials also has been recommended. In addition, the nine economists have suggested a tightening of capital issues control. They also favour the freeing of all personal incomes, such as wages, salaries, and dividends. The industrialists too have advocated this step, but they have stressed that it should be followed by efforts to bring them down by gradual stages. In this connection, they observe as follows:

"Earnings of industrial labour, comprising wages and dearness allowance, have reached a level which must be considered reasonable. With the fixation of prices and wages, the level of profits would be automatically controlled. But what affects the economy of the country, and particularly the inflationary situation, is the distribution of profits. Industrialists undertake voluntarily not to distribute dividends above the average of the last three years. In the case of companies which have not yet paid dividends, or have

paid dividends lower than six per cent, they undertake that dividends distributed shall be limited to six per cent. If Government are not satisfied with the implementation of this undertaking by industry, they should take such action as effectively to enforce the proposed limitations."

While the interests of labour are silent on the issue of prohibition, all economists, bankers and industrialists are in favour of dropping it. In regard to abolition of samindari, while the industrialists are in favour of postponement, the nine economists have merely stated that the compensation payable should be so devised as not to lead to an addition of cash into circulation.

Kautilyan Studies in Calcutta University

The Board of Studies in Economics of the Calcutta University has adopted a proposal for the inclusion of Kautilyan studies in the curricula of the Intermediate and B.A. Examination. At present it has been proposed to include Kautilyan Economics as one of the subjects to be taught in Civics in I.A., and Economics in B.A. The suggestion emanated from Prof. H. C. Ghosh of the Bangabasi College and Calcutta University and the Note that he had circulated amongst the members of the Board of Studies in Economics deserves special attention. It has been a misfortune for us to graft Western Economics, suited to serve the needs of an Industrial civilisation, to our country whose economic foundation lies in agriculture. It is now high time that our own system of economics which has given the civilisation of India the longest lease of life in the world, should be studied in greater detail and with deeper attention. The post-war reconstruction schemes in the Mahabharata, the economic and political systems developed by Manu, Kautilya, Sukra, Brihaspati, Parasara and by a host of other seers of this country should now receive adequate attention, specially now that we are free. Universities of Berlin, Munich, Paris, Oxford, Harvard, St. Petersburg, etc., have, during the past two centuries, studied them when we neglected our own national wealth. Even Communist Russia today pays greater attention to our Mahabharata than we ourselves do. The move of the Calcutta University has been in the right direction and we hope other Universities of India will also follow the example.

In view of the thought-provoking nature of the Note, we reproduce it substantially :

"At the present moment, the courses of studies in Economics in I.A. and B.A. (Pass and Honours) are practically based on what we usually know as Cambridge School of Economics. The modern economic organisations and institutions throughout the world are mainly based on these principles. I have tried to show very briefly in the following note, that these are fair weather organisations and they can hardly stand any social cataclysm or political revolution or devastating wars. Whereas institutions embodying Kautilyan principles successfully survived the onslaught of several devastating wars and far-reaching social changes.

"Now that we are freed from political bondage we can shape the destiny of our country entirely according to our own plan. We are at crossways and must make up our mind as to whether we shall render India an eastern district of New York or London or develop India on her own lines. . . .

"Marshall has defined Economics as a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life which examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and use of the material requisites of well-being. The key to Marshall's synthesis is his concept of the science of Economics as a two-sided study of wealth and man. Marshall has thus limited economic science to dealings with one side of man's life, studying individuals as members of industrial groups. He separated from Economics the goals or ends of life and the quality of human motives which he considered more the concern of the philosopher than of the economist. He fully appreciated the importance of the latter but failed to synthesise it with economic activity.

"Marshall gave no new theory, he sought to supplement the Classical Economics of Smith, Ricardo and Mill. The militant socialism and the organised labour movement of the mid-nineteenth century had attacked the Classical Economic doctrines of Ricardo and Mill and had seriously undermined them. Adam Smith's doctrine of *laissez faire* also could not stand the test of time and was buried in the first World War with a revival of Mercantilism. The Physiocrats had equally failed to give a solution to the economic problems of the time. Adam Smith had brought labour and capital into prominence, but could not solve the problem. The Classical Economics was developed to suit the needs of an industrial civilisation in England after the Industrial Revolution. Ricardo's theories of Iron Law of wages and Non-Interference of the state in the fixation of wages were seized by the capitalists as most suitable to them. Ricardo's real contributions were his theories of taxation and distribution, but they were not favoured. . . .

"Following the Classical School, Marshall and Keynes put much importance on "business," "individual action" and "material requisites." The conscience element in economic activity and the doctrine of just price were ignored. Material wealth was lifted up as the *summum bonum* of human life and no means were considered too mean for the acquisition of wealth. The inevitable result was unholy monopolistic combinations, cut-throat competitions and war. Instead of solving the 'problem,' the Classical School evolved the theory of trade cycles to explain away the evil.

"The idea of a just price lay at the root of economic theories from ancient times down to the days of Mercantilism. In medieval days, Thomas Aquinas developed the idea. Industrial developments led the mercantilists to abandon the doctrine of just price and they gave more consideration than their predecessors to extrinsic or market values. A cost theory of value, with

emphasis on the labour element, replaced the concept of intrinsic value. The value of precious metals was over-estimated and the balance of trade idea lay at its back. Thus developed a body of policies, designed, by government regulation of trade and industry, to secure a large net profit for the State as a trader—or better, perhaps, the traders in a State—in the shape of treasure. No distinction was made between the profit of the merchant and the gain of the kingdom, which are so far from being always parallel, rather they run counter to one another. Mercantilism has again developed following the depression of the nineties and has become thoroughly established after the first World War. This is illustrated by the emphasis on the actual and attempted gold hoards of various nations, and related policies as to tariffs, import quotas and exchange restrictions. After the first World War, Keynes declared the end of *laissez faire* and a return to Mercantilism. The only material change that took place was a combination of the functions of the merchant and the industrialist. Keynes was the soul of neo-Mercantilism which may better be called Industrialism.

"The three centuries of classicism in Western Economics solved no problem but created many. It saw several devastating wars, the Napoleonic wars, the Balkan wars, and the two world wars, all of which were attended with economic warfare which either preceded or followed them. The problems of production, distribution, value, exchange and employment all remained unsolved. While wealth gathered at the top, the masses suffered. Poverty remained as acute as ever. Poor laws, unemployment Insurance and such other social benefit schemes failed to touch even a fringe of the problem. Over-production followed under-production, long depressions followed short-term booms giving rise to periodical economic crashes which brought about untold suffering for the multitude. Classical Economics failed to guarantee a stable price and steady income structure for the people. It could not bring about peace and happiness.

"Here lies the success of Kautilya. He saw that great riches and happiness were incompatible ; because the rich man could not be a perfectly good man as part of his wealth must necessarily be acquired and spent unjustly. He realised that out of a false good arises a true evil, since the encroachments of the rich are more destructive to the State than those of the people. His regulations all point toward conception of just price. The things forbidden were false weights, false money values (usury), false commodity values (monopoly, underselling, cornering, etc.), false profits and the like. The following subjects to him were the most important : occupations, agriculture, interest and usury, labour and wages, property rights, taxation, inheritance, weights and measures, adulteration, monopoly and the poor. Kautilya condemned poverty as the root of all crimes but, like the classical Economists did not separate human values into intrinsic and extrinsic ; he grounded all economic activities on ethics and duties. He set

dharma as goal or end of life and subordinated *artha* to it. His economic theories secured a full state of employment through an organised decentralisation of industries and prices were stabilised by monopolising key industries and subjecting private enterprise to competition with the State. Merchants and industrialists were looked upon as thieves though not in name and concentration of wealth in their hands was rigidly controlled. Ricardo, Mill and their successors have all failed to solve the labour problem because their interests lay with capital. Kautilya solved it so successfully by enforcing just wages properly balanced with just profit and just prices that through three millenniums, class struggle and strikes remained unknown in India. Agricultural production was secured by giving the cultivator a real interest in land. Money was strictly looked upon as a means of exchange. Value of money was kept at a controlled level by maintaining prices low and real wealth high. Kautilyan Economy, besides being the most scientific Economics, both Applied and Theoretical, successfully survived the onslaught of several devastating wars, specially during the thousand years of Muslim Rule. Besides conferring full material benefits, it had a religious significance. In that society, one gained primarily not only economic wellbeing, but a right life, a clear conscience and a spiritual perfection. Kautilya foresaw the danger of increasing wants and strictly regulated wants. By standard of life he did not mean more money or more material wealth, but more independence, more energy and more self-respect. He aimed at reducing wants and increasing employment and made clearness of conscience the pole star of economic activity. In Kautilya has been codified the economic thought of India as enunciated by Manu, Parasara, Vasistha, Brihaspati and other sages like them ; and in the Puranas and the Mahabharata. .

"Acceptance of Kautilyan economics by us today will not lead us to any insular position in the modern world. Following him we can build up our consumption industries and agriculture on a thoroughly decentralised basis and by rigidly preventing big industries, as he did, from competing with them. The ideal position may be achieved through the enforcement of the principle that the finished product of the big industry must be the raw material of the cottage industry. The two must be complementary and not competitive. A pyramidal all-India marketing organisation will ensure regional self-sufficiency as also inter-village, inter-district and inter-provincial flow. Consumption industries like textiles, sugar, shoes, umbrellas, paper, soap, agricultural implements, cutlery, etc., may be organised on a decentralised cottage industry scale and cordoned off by an all-India trade barrier. The defence and heavy industries may be developed on full governmental or big capital plan under government control. Limitation of our international trade to this top-sphere alone will relieve most of our trade complexities and foreign exchange headache. The commercial geography of India fully warrants the adoption of such a policy. . . .

The First Year of Education

As we believe that the future of this country depends on a sound education, we have kept an anxious watch on the activities of the Central Ministry of Education. Education being a 'provincial subject' it is all the more desirable that at the Centre there should be a policy of intelligent co-ordination and a progressive lead, in the present state of development of the country. When the Congress Government took over at the Centre last year, they found a fairly adequate administrative machinery already set up for education. The Central Advisory Board of Education, consisting mostly of Indian educationists and administrators, had worked hard and a plan to cover the entire field of education was ready. The stage was set for a start to be made and no Government could complain that they were being held up by uncertainty as to what should be done or how it should be done.

One of the first moves made by the present Education Minister was to convene a Conference of Educationists last January. He pleaded with the Conference for a 'sense of urgency' and an entirely new outlook. He thought the entire education plan which had received an overwhelming popular support should be implemented within a decade. Forty years, as calculated by the Central Advisory Board, was too long a period for the new Education Minister to wait. The Moulana Sahib's views were acclaimed in the Congress Press, more so amongst his close followers. Since then a good amount of public money has been expended on Committees and Conferences and columns galore of newspaper space has been consumed by "statements" on new policies and reports of various committees of educationists and politicians. It is understood that Moulana Sahib has since been advised that the plans he wanted to implement in ten years will take not less than twenty, if the bulk of the resources of the country were made available for Education and if the Education Scheme were given the top priority. It has also been made public that the Central Minister of Education propose to recommend nearly a hundred per cent increase in the salary of Basic School teachers and a fifty per cent increase in the salary scales of High School teachers, which were proposed in the C.A.B. Report. We have always pleaded for the improvement of the conditions of service of teachers along with the improvement of the quality of new recruits. It is to be noted that the scales (minimum) recommended in the Board's report are based on pre-war figures and are not too generous. It would however be well to remember that even on the basis of those scales the scheme, when in full operation, would cost the country about 250 crores excluding Pakistan. The question therefore arises, is it practicable or even possible for India to expend annually say 400 crores within a period of twenty years? The Central Education Ministry seem to imagine so and would like us to believe so. Circulars have been issued to Provincial Governments to prepare

estimates on the new basis and Committees are meeting frequently to find out 'ways and means' to implement Moulana Sahib's emergency schemes. In pathetic contrast to this propaganda of the Education Ministry, the Central Government are urging on the provinces the immediate need of drastic economy, even at the cost of nation-building services; they have also warned the provinces that the Centre can only contribute half of what they originally promised for the development programme. It is also being stressed that nation-building schemes—Health, Education, etc.—may have to wait for the present. The public has hardly ever seen any worse confusion in Government policy or perhaps, one should say, in Government propaganda.

Amongst the notable achievements of the Ministry during the year under review, the following may perhaps be mentioned: Firstly, the establishment of the Central Institute of Education. This Institute, which we were told, would give a lead to provinces in the modern methods of training teachers and higher research in educational technique, was inaugurated with a great flourish by H. E. Lady Mountbatten, soon after the Hon'ble Moulana Sahib took over. It is now functioning in a rented residential building of the University, and experts consider that the quality of training is far below that already attained by existing Provincial Training Colleges. Secondly, there is the scheme of writing a History of Indian Philosophy and Culture. Public are not aware what amounts have already been spent on the project. A scheme like this should have been left to voluntary enterprise, particularly when funds for urgent educational development are not superabundant. Thirdly, there is the scheme of introduction of "Social Education" in the Centrally administered area. No noticeable change or improvement has yet been noticed by the residents of the Delhi City or the Province in the field of education. Does the Ministry want the public to believe that by mere changing the 'label' they were making their 'products' more market-worthy? It is high time that present educational facilities of Delhi Province were improved to meet the normal requirements of the area. The facilities available at some provincial capitals are at a much higher-level. Fourthly, we have the project of producing literature on communal harmony. One wonders if it is a legitimate function of an Education Ministry. When there is a separate full-fledged Ministry for Propaganda and Publicity, we have yet to learn what this section of Ministry has produced to justify its maintenance from public funds.

The main functions of the Central Ministry of Education is to advise and co-ordinate. It is doubtful if the Ministry with its present staff is in a position to give any effective guidance to the Provincial Governments. The newly recruited Adviser and Joint Adviser seem to have been brought in—and that through devious means—more for their political sagacity than their experience of educational administration. The educational administration at the Centre appears to

have gone down to a lower level than that obtaining in the major provinces and most of the provinces will have little to gain in the way of expert guidance from the Centre. Finally, the country may pertinently ask, is the present Minister with his personal antecedents and cultural background at all equipped to build up an educational system to suit the requirements of young India—a system which will derive its inspiration from the moral traditions of ancient India and yet will be capable of receiving and assimilating all the worthy gifts of modern civilisation?

Adult Education

The Central Government of the Indian Union has been working at a scheme which is proposed to make 50 per cent of the adult illiterates literate and socially conscious in course of the next five years. A summary of the recommendations that we have seen said that in the case of these adult illiterates "emphasis will be more on Social Education than on mere literacy." And in the pursuit of this ideal of more extensive facilities for the spread of education amongst the widest commonalty of the land, the Government of India is prepared to bear half the expenses of the experiment. It appears that they have been concentrating their attention on the centrally-administered areas thus setting an example to the provinces. And we see in the daily press announcements now and then of the progress in the provinces of plans for this education. The Ministry of Education in Bengal has appointed a Committee with Shri Atul Chandra Gupta as Chairman to frame and submit a scheme in this behalf. Other provincial Ministries have been as equally busy, though we may not be as equally informed of their activities.

It appears that the Bengal Adult Education Committee has submitted an Interim Report to the Ministry through the Director of Instruction who is a member of this Committee. Since the last week of July, the Committee have had two meetings every week for about a month and a half. The general principles discussed as we find from a summary published in the *Nirnay*, a Bengali-language weekly, are all right; the concrete plan of organisation of this new campaign, as embodied in the report, waits for the approval of the Ministry though it was submitted more than two weeks back.

When we remember that the campaign is to start by the end of January next, it is hardly possible to congratulate the Education Minister on his enthusiasm for the education of his "masters," the people. The Director of Public Instruction is generally a person who is burdened with departmental technicalities and duties. But Rai Harendra Chandra Chowdhury has in the department under his charge a number of Special Officers one of whom could have been easily diverted to the organisation of this new education. But knowing the congenital dilatoriness of bureau-

cracies, we are not sure that any officer, almost on the retired list, will be able to bring to the conduct of this campaign of enlightenment the necessary drive and inspiration.

We do not know what the concrete proposals of the Interim Report are. But from what we hear we are led to think that the Committee would have been well-advised to propose an autonomous body under non-official direction to launch out this scheme of Adult Education. In every country it is not the Government that pioneers reform and reconstruction. In the history of education in India since the days of Ram Mohun Roy and Radha Kanta Deb in Bengal, we have seen the Government following from a distance non-official initiative. Even in a free India we cannot expect a change in human nature quickly brought about in course of twelve months.

Reform of Import Control Administration

Commending the Note prepared by Mr. R. D. Shah of the Eastern Commercial Trading Co., Bombay, on the question of reform of import control to the attention of the Government of India, the *Commerce* stated in its issue dated May 29, 1948 that "the Government would be well-advised to inquire into the working of the department in order to set matters right, before public criticism swells in volume, as well as in tempo." In its issue dated September 4, the *Commerce* points out that public criticism has already swelled in volume and in tempo, a clear evidence of which has been found at the recent special meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber convened to consider the problems relating to import control. The meeting discussed the many inconveniences which the business community has to undergo in its dealings with the Department and indicated remedies which would put an end to such inconveniences. Instances have also come to our notice where measures are being taken by this department the result of which will be a strengthening of the British merchants in this country and a weakening of our own economy. This has been clearly demonstrated in the allotment of import quota for tea chests which has been done in a way that will not only benefit the British planters in this country who, even today, represent about 85 per cent in the trade but also will place them in a position which may be utilised to crush the Indian side of the plantation. The Indian Tea Association is a misnomer, it represents primarily the British planters in this country and represents their interest. A deputation of Indian merchants had recently visited New Delhi and we have reason to believe that they had failed to obtain even a sympathetic hearing from the luminaries of the department. The Minister for Commerce leaned on the side of the bureaucrats and almost summarily dismissed the deputation.

The declaration of the import policy of the Government of India should be reviewed at regular

intervals, preferably twice a year, instead of declaring it at the whim of the department. This will give sufficient time to the importers to get ready with their applications and to represent the Indian viewpoint to the government in time so that measures may not be taken in the name of Indian interest but in fact, for pandering up British capital in this country. Licenses should be ready in the importers' hands before the quota period begins instead of confronting them with a *fait accompli* by handing over the maximum quota to British commercial interests.

The application forms should be simplified. They must be made available in all important towns and cities. The *Handbook of Import Trade Control* should be reprinted whenever necessary and should remain widely in circulation. The unnecessary and irksome details in the application forms, sometimes demanding trade secrets, the disclosure of which is injurious to the trade but of no benefit to the Government, should be eliminated.

These are only some of the numerous grievances that have piled up against the Commerce Department of the Government of India. The public discontent regarding the manner in which import controls are being administered should be looked into and remedied instead of brushing them aside and ignoring them as is being done at present. Unplanned and un-co-ordinated action taken by the Commerce Department is bound to do harm not only to trade and commerce but also to the industrial life of the nation as well. Government of India owes it to the public to see that the administration of import controls is carried on with just the minimum of official formalities necessary to express the purpose of the regulation and with the object of serving genuine national interests.

Development of South India's Resources

The *Business Week*, the commercial weekly of Madras, has been filling a long-felt gap in the sphere of news in the Southern Presidency. The articles published and the information these carry deal, however, with all-India economic measures and tendencies, and these evidence the watchfulness of the conductors of the journal. In a special supplement, dated August 21 last, it featured a special article on the *Resource Development in South India*. It was the product of intensive study by the "Kerala Round Table Group," a body of earnest students of affairs, and their plan, if "completely developed," would, it is hoped, lead to the fuller development of the agricultural and industrial resources of South-West India. The article lays stress on the importance that the South has gained by the partition of India. The biggest irrigation works in India were placed in the West Punjab and Sind—now lost to us. It is now the turn of South India to pioneer activities that would help build a better India materially and intellectually. For, South India "possesses an extensive sea-board and several extensive harbours. Strategically

South India is best suited for the location of essential war industries . . . In the place of coal there are almost unlimited water power resources in the region, if the numerous rivers of South India are fully harnessed." Reference is made to the Periyar River Project No. I and Project No. II which, harnessing the waters of the River Periyar in the high ranges of Travancore, are estimated to produce about five lakhs K. W. electric energy, equal to the total requirement of industrial and other purposes for the whole of South India in the near future. The projects already functioning in Mysore and in contemplation in connection with the Tungabhadra Project, open out vast possibilities as well.

Kandla as a Major Port

The Government of India, in a Resolution published in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, dated September 6, have accepted the recommendation of the West Coast Major Port Development Committee that the major port on the stretch of coast covering Kathiawar and Cutch should be sited at Kandla. The Government of India agree that the need for a major port is immediate and imperative in order to compensate the loss of Karachi and that the port should be sited at Kandla. The Government have also agreed with the committee that all the existing ports of Kathiawar should be placed under one Port Commission which should include Okha and Veraval. The Government have accepted the recommendation of the Committee that a concentrated effort must be made to get better dredging results at Bhavnagar, so as to maintain adequate depth of water at the berths. After satisfactory dredging results have been obtained, one extra berth should be constructed at Bhavnagar.

The Kandla Creek, situated at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cutch, constitutes a natural sheltered harbour and is easily navigable. It has maintained a depth of water of over 30 feet since 1851 although a bar has formed at the entrance in recent years. The land on the west bank is only two or three feet below high water and presents no serious reclamation problem.

The geographical position of Kandla is best suited to replace the port of Karachi in its service to the hinterland. As between Kandla and Karachi, Delhi is 656 miles from Kandla as against 783 miles from Karachi. Similarly, Hissar is 688 miles from Kandla as against 733 miles from Karachi. The other advantages of Kandla are :

(1) The deep water sheltered harbour in close proximity to high land affords quick and economical development into a major port.

(2) Economy of construction and maintenance ; low cost of reclamation and comparatively little dredging.

(3) Considerably shorter rail leads to the hinterland.

(4) The undeveloped and unexploited nature of the territory of Cutch, covering 1700 square miles of

which the two Ranns of Cutch comprise 900 sq. miles. There are great potentialities for the development of industries such as salt, cement, glass and fishing, and development of vast mineral resources like gypsum, lignite, bauxite, etc.

(5) Unlimited availability of land for the port area.

Kandla can be developed, in the first instance, to handle 2.3 million tons of cargo per annum by the construction of berths facing the creek. The site lends itself to the construction of an impounded dock if necessary.

The Committee points out certain disadvantages in respect of Kandla which, however, are remediable without much difficulty and at an economic cost. They are the bar at the entrance to the creek, non-existence of rail communications and inadequate water supply at present. In regard to the bar, the Committee is of the opinion that it could be removed by dredging. Further, the water in the creek is only very slightly silt-laden, and the fact that the remainder of the creek has maintained a great depth of water for many years is a further indication that the bar could be removed.

As regards the second defect the Committee has proposed two rail connections—a broad-gauge line from Jhund to Kandla, a distance of 137 miles, at an approximate cost of Rs. 6 crores and a metre-gauge railway line, 174 miles long connecting Deesa, Radhanpur, Piprala and Kandla at a cost of roughly Rs. 4½ crores. Traffic surveys made in this connection show that immediate returns will be 2 to 3 per cent on the capital outlay. The proposed railway lines will run through vast virgin tracts of territory and will be of considerable strategic importance.

In regard to water supply, the Committee made an exhaustive study of all the relevant data and thorough investigations and is of the opinion that there are resources for an adequate water supply both to the port and port town at Kandla.

In conclusion, the Committee refers to the future of minor ports in Kathiawar. Emphasising the need for co-ordination of operation in each of these ports under one Port Commission, it suggests that the procedure and charges at the various ports should be similar, storage charges should be reasonable and the total available space should be utilised by all the ports to the best advantage. "Although we recommend the construction of a major port at Kandla, we believe it to be essential to maintain in efficient condition the existing ports in Kathiawar, namely, Navlakhi, Bedi, Okha, Porbunder, Verawal and Bhavnagar. These ports are very necessary for the country's economic life."

In order that Bhavnagar Port in Kathiawar may be able to handle increased traffic and be self-supporting, the Committee has recommended a "concentrated effort" to get better dredging results at Bhavnagar and, after satisfactory results are obtained, the construction of one extra berth at the port.

The State and Our Scientists

The scientists of India represented in the Indian Science News Association have been expressing dissatisfaction in their monthly organ *Science and Culture* with the way in which "those in power" in the Indian Union have been managing things. In the opening article of the July (1948) number, a catalogue of the evils that infest our life has been given. It is a formidable list—"poverty, hunger and disease, low productivity in industry and agriculture, . . . and emergence of new problems like those of extreme provincialism, and the threat of babelism, . . . the growth of the spirit of intolerance and indiscipline amongst the masses." The writer appears to have grown impatient with those who raise "the cry of Nationalization to cover their own failure to meet a problem," and asks why even those nationalized industries, such as rail-road communications, the telephonic service and the armament industries which were "very efficient before the war" should have now become "bye-words of inefficiency"? We in our own way have been critical of the Nehru Government and to a large degree share the feelings given expression to by our contemporary. But we doubt whether the remedy suggested in the article—"all problems must be studied in an objective way and operations to be taken should be decided after objective study of facts and figures, and a careful consideration of the consequences to which these operations may lead"—will bring forth the universally prayed-for result. It cannot be contended that the Central Administration in India have been lacking in sympathy towards "objective" studies and plans and programmes that follow therefrom. Rather, we have often felt submerged under the flood of "literature" that issue out of New Delhi on every conceivable subject concerned with the re-making of India. The analyses that have been thrown out have created confusion, and "the native hue of resolution" has been "sicklied over with the pale cast of thought." Why this should have been so, we do not claim to know. We think the trouble lies in the obduracy of those in whom lies the power for the final decisions. Executive authority has as yet a tendency to sway towards the dictates of vested interests. This must be remedied.

Western India's New Set-up

Spread from Cutch to Travancore, this vast stretch of territory is in the throes of a more constructive future. The people inhabiting it, of many languages and habits, have been reinforced by the arrival of a new element constituted by the Hindus from Sind. We cannot say what proportion of the 14 lakhs of Sindhi Hindus and Sikhs have been forced into moving into this area. But we are sure that they will introduce a new richness into its life.

There have been other forces at work to stir to activity many a feeling and ambition seeking out-let into political and social life. Of these, the strongest has

been the demand for the re-constitution of units in the Union of India based on linguistic affinities. We are familiar with demand for Marhatta, Karnataka, Kerala and Gujarat provinces. Arguments for and against are being bandied about with regard to the wisdom of this move for linguistic States; the prospect of Bombay going into the Maharashtra Province appears to have excited the greatest controversy, some even going so far as to suggest that the island of Bombay should be constituted into a separate province with a cosmopolitan set-up.

But this is not the end of the story. In the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* has been elaborated a new scheme proposing the division of the whole coastal area south of Daman to Cape Comorin into two provinces of 500 miles each. Thus we have a picture where Western India is presented as divided into a 1,000 miles area from the borders of Sind across the Gulf of Cutch to Daman; the other 1,000 miles will appear equally divided into two maritime Provinces with a depth of about 200 miles west of the Ghats. The writer signing under the pen-name of "A Nationalist" builds his scheme principally on the defence requirements of the Western Coast of the Indian Union. Naval stations, ship-building yards and other accessory needs are referred to. The southern province, Kerala, about 500 miles of coastal territory predominantly, will be linguistically compact. The northern unit will be a composite one speaking Kannada, Konkani and Marhatti.

This proposal will make Bombay the capital of the northern province linked up with the hinterland. But we do not see why Bombay in the Maharashtra Province-to-be will fail to play the same role in the scheme of things in Western India. It may be that there are intricacies that we do not understand as the writer has not cared to bring these out. But the two articles leave the impression in the mind that there are influential circles who find it hard to reconcile themselves to the idea of living in a province where the Marhatta-speaking people are likely to be dominant.

East Punjab Developments

It is difficult to analyse the trends in East Punjab, the new province that confronts West Pakistan, a centre of storm that may burst over and overturn arrangements that were agreed to between the two States' rulers. During the British regime the Punjab was called the sword-arm of India; with its disappearance, East Punjab has acquired a new significance in our country's life as the majority of the millions of Sikhs, uprooted from their ancestral homes, deprived of the majority of their sacred places, have by choice and circumstances been concentrated within its boundaries. This virile element in our composite life threatens to develop into a problem that will challenge the sense of proportion of all of us, if we accept the writings in the *Khalasa* and the *Liberator* as giving expression to the authentic voice of the Sikhs of India. The insistence on

special consideration for Sikh interests opens out the doors of an ugly memory associated with the growth of Muslim separation that has disrupted our country's unity and integrity. The leaders of thought and action amongst the Sikhs have been finding it difficult to give a lead to their people suffering from a frustration of immeasurable dimension. They appear divided into so many groups that we are at a loss to differentiate between their conceits and demands.

As far as we understand things, all the groups amongst the Sikhs appear to have one mind on the question of having in the East Punjab Province the recognition of Punjabee in the Gurumukhi script as the language of the State. The followers of the Arya Samaj who, by their service to the people's education and the emancipation of their social conscience, have acquired an importance out of proportion to their number appear to be opposed to this ambition; they insist on Hindi in the Devnagri script as the language of the State. Their opposition appears to be inspired by the consideration that the recognition of Punjabee in the Gurumukhi script would be transforming the province into a Sikh enclave where no other will have freedom to follow their values of life. This fear forms part of whole *malaise* in thought and life in the modern world, specially in India where the Muslim League has taught us to beware of tolerating differences.

We can not persuade ourselves to say that the Sikhs come under this category. Circumstances being as they are, their leaders should be conscious of the danger of encouraging and inflaming separatist feelings and ambitions. The tragedy of their recent experience is responsible for the spirit of unbalance that characterizes their activities and utterances. We are sure that they will regain the heritage of reconciliation that was the special contribution of Guru Nanak to India's evolution. The present discontents are a temporary phase which it should be easy to get over by the Sikhs with their traditions and aptitudes.

Agrarian Reform in Bihar

The President of the Congress has appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee with Prof. J. C. Kumarappa as its Chairman. The Committee has been moving from province to province collecting necessary facts, hearing evidence of representative citizens that throws light on the intricacies of the problem with which is bound up the life's work of 80 per cent of our population. The Committee has already visited Bombay, the Central Provinces, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam, and it is now in Bihar going through its routine. The Legislature of the Province has passed an Abolition of Zamindari Bill that has been awaiting for the sanction of the Governor-General to make it effective. The Bill's handling of the problem of mines forming parts of zamindaries has created difficulties, and the heated discussions in the Bihar Legislature may prove to be mere sound and fury. We hear that

the Ministry in the province has been thinking of an Interim Land Reform Scheme alternate to the one which was embodied in the Bill. This scheme touches on such immediately necessary measures for facilitating the reclamation of waste lands, provision of irrigational facilities, distribution of loans and improved seeds to cultivators and other operations interconnected with the agriculturists' life. But, for the new system of land ownership and superintendence over it to be exercised by the State, the Bihar Government appears to be waiting for the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee's recommendations.

This delay goes towards emphasising that the question of agrarian reform in India has yet to secure unanimity in methods of advance, that while the abolition of the Zamindari system is a job easy enough for any Legislature, the adoption of a satisfying substitute is a task that will exercise wisdom of the wisest amongst us. The reformers have been finding that out. In the case of Bihar, the Zamindars, small and great, play such a dominant part in the province's social life that there is nothing unnatural if they should put up a last-ditch fight for the defence of their interests. And, in the organization of this fight caste feelings are being mobilized, Brahmin zamindars organizing their people, Khatri zamindars doing the same, Muslim zamindars seeking the co-operation of their credal followers. As in other fields of activities, everything being in a flux, the abolition of zamindari will create a vacuum of which we appear to be getting afraid.

Bihar and Bengal

Shri Kishorelal Musluwala, editor of *Harjan*, has addressed us the following letter, dated September 8, 1948, which we publish below :

"Dear friend,

My attention has been drawn to your Note—"Bihar's Dilemma"—in your current issue.

You have confused two different articles and circulars. My article in *Harjan* of June 27, refers to the 'Mines Circular.' That circular has not been denied, nor have I made any 'amends' for my criticism upon it. My criticism upon it stands, and I am still pursuing that matter to the extent I can.

The Circular which has been denied by the Bihar Government and which necessitated my 'Amends' is the one referred to in my article "Unclean Means" in *Harjan*, dated, July 11. As this matter will be further discussed in *Harjan* in due course as space permits, I need not refer to the subject here in greater detail.

While I am not satisfied with the policies pursued by the Bihar and Assam Governments towards Bengalis and other immigrants in their areas, I must also say that the leaders of Bengal proper—both East and West—are not helpful in the matter. If the provincialism of the Biharis and Assamese is an evil arising out of narrowness, it cannot be cured by the adoption of the same policy by Bengalis. Please do not consider that when I refer to Bihar, Assam and Bengal by name, I express any satisfaction for other provinces. As a matter of fact, like asthma

succeeding constant attacks of cold, provincialism has succeeded communalism based on religion, and the evil has spread all over India. Let us all co-operate in fighting it by encouraging the adoption of a wider outlook."

We stand corrected. We were led into this confusion by memories of Circulars issued by Bihar Administrations during the last 35 years since Bihar was helped to set up separate household for herself in 1911-12. These Circulars, breathing a spirit of administrative discrimination against non-Biharis or non-Hindi-speaking Biharis, have poisoned relations between the units of communities and classes that inhabit Bihar. Kishorelalji will have understood the genesis of this evil from the extract from the article published in the *Bihar Herald* of June 12, 1948, which we quoted in our last issue. The full article entitled "The Rarhy Community" will enable him to get inside the skin of the problem better than anything that we may write.

We have been writing on the subject of "Provincialism" and inter-connected issues. Speaking for ourselves, we are not inclined to accept the criticism implicit in the words that "the leaders of Bengal proper—both East and West—are not helpful in the matter." We cannot say that we fully understand the significance of this criticism. We have often felt that publicists and public men in Bengal have been too patient with the caucus that rules the roost in Bihar today. In that province, Ministers and publicists have not scrupled to join in baiting the Bengalee. Has anything like this happened in Bengal? The Bengal Ministry—we mean the West Bengal Ministry—has been silent; the Bengali member of the Congress Working Committee has been most markedly dumb in this campaign of silence. It was almost at the last moment that the Bengali members of the Central Legislature and of the Constituent Assembly picked up courage to present a Memorandum to the President of the Constituent Assembly, requesting the extension of the reference to the Linguistic Provinces Commission so that the question of Bengali-speaking areas may be taken up for solution while that of Andhra, Maharastra and Karnatak is under consideration. The letter of Sri Atul Chandra Ghosh published in September 19, 1948, of *Harjan* brings to a focus the spirit of sweet reasonableness that has been maintained all through the discussion of this problem. We are the last persons to claim any special excellence for Bengalis. But it would be patently unjust if the idea is accepted that Bengalis have been aggressive in pressing their claims to their heritage.

We do not propose, however, to close this month's discussion of this matter with this note of impatience. We share Kishorelalji's sorrow that narrowness should be on the ascendant in India today. But we cannot say that we have any "open sesame" that will open the gates of amity to our people. The letter of Sri Atul Chandra Ghosh is an indication of how the people of Manbhum, predominantly Bengali, have been waiting to have the problem solved.

"Our stand all along has been that we should not be participant to any move for(?) demand for any particular province, that the question should rest with the High Command to judge the principle and do the needful . . . I would ask anybody to prove our complicity with any move for amalgamation. . . ."

We have also been prepared to leave the solution to the wisdom of the Congress, and we have been trying to bring out all the elements of the problem that have been aggravating feelings between two neighbouring provinces. We have been trying to remove the impression that the Bengalis in Manbhum and its neighbourhood are "strangers" and "newcomers" to the areas. History tells us that they have been there for over a thousand years; they have merged themselves into the area's life maintaining their own traditions; they helped to create conditions of modern life in these areas, as in all north India. The 1912 leaders of Bihar recognized this status of theirs when they indicated with meticulous care the areas that should go to Bengal when the eventual formation of provinces on linguistic basis took place. We reproduced from their statement of January, 1912, the portion relevant to this problem, in our August (1948) number under Notes entitled "Babu Rajendra Prasad's Apologia." This declaration constituted the charter of Bengali demands in the matter. The 1911 Congress session registered a resolution praying for placing "all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

It was expected that the Congress would take the initiative in doing the right thing by the people affected by the 1911-12 re-partition of Bengal. Why the present generation of Congress leaders in Bihar have been repudiating the undertaking of their predecessors we do not know; why the all-India leadership of the Congress has been sitting on the fence we have not been told. Even so influential an organ of public opinion as *Harijan* has not been able to enlighten us in the matter. But what we see is that the idleness or unwillingness of the Congress High Command has not been able to throw oil on the troubled waters of inter-provincial relations. This should not have been so. What the States Ministry has been able to do with 603 States could not be beyond its competence in the matter of re-drawing the boundary-lines of half a dozen provinces. If the Nehru Government is alert, people will settle down to constructive activities, and cultivate the "wider outlook" for which Kishorelalji pleads and for which we pray and work.

Developments in Indonesia

Things have been getting a little confused from the viewpoint of the world public in general, in the islands of Indonesia. The scanty and infrequent news items in the press are hard to reconcile. The Dutch Government have announced the setting up of "independent" States in Indonesia while the position of the Republic

of Indonesia in this new set-up remains indeterminate. There is a "Good Offices Committee" sent by the Security Council of the United Nations consequent to enforce their "Cease Fire" Order issued on August 4, 1947. This Committee appears to have been trying to straighten matters out between the Imperial Government and the Republic with as little success as their opposite numbers in the U.N.O. Kashmir Commission. And during these months the Dutch imperialists have been straining hard to push on with their scheme of a come-back to irresponsible authority over these rich islands, rich in natural resources and rich in the labour power of about 7 crores of people. A review of the position in the third anniversary number of the *Merdeka*, Delhi organ of the Indonesian Information Service, Pritvi Raj Road, New Delhi, tells the world that the Republic was stripped of "nearly half of Java, half of Madura, and about one-tenth of Sumatra, and had to withdraw about 35,000 of her troops from those areas." The whole of Madura has since then been annexed by the Dutch.

All this has happened when the United Nations Organisation had been apprised of the whole issue of Dutch Imperialism and Indonesian Nationalism. We are, therefore, not taken in by the news from the Hague, the Dutch capital, about the granting of "independent" status to certain Dutch-sponsored States in Indonesia—East Indonesia, West Java, East Sumatra, Madura, West Borneo, Banka-Beliton, Palembang, South Sumatra, Padang, etc., etc. Hot on the heels of the decision of the Dutch Parliament on August 20 last with regard to Indonesia's "independence," comes the story of a Communist rising which has established a Government in the city and province of Maduin in East Java. The name of an ex-Premier of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Sharifuddin, has become associated with this adventure. The Republic is thus being forced to fight on two fronts—an "undeclared war" with the Dutch imperialists, and thus fight against the Communist menace.

Leaving to the future the decisions on the fields of battle, the world should be told of the nature of the "independent" status granted by the Dutch ruling classes to the Indonesians. We have got some details by the courtesy of the Publicity Section of the Royal Netherlands Embassy at New Delhi, whose September 1, (1948) News-Bulletin presents thus the status of "a sovereign Federal United States of Indonesia."

A High Commissioner of the Crown is to be appointed in agreement with whom all appointments are to be made. He is to be consulted in matters relating to foreign relations, finances and similar affairs. For instance, the Federal Government, in consultation with the High Commissioner, regulates the organisation and work of the foreign services. Foreign relations in Indonesia and foreign policy are also matters in which the Netherlands government decides. Another matter which the Federal Government takes care of in consultation with the High Commissioner is the organisation and training of the federal armed forces. Authority over the Royal

Netherlands Navy, the Royal Netherlands Indies Army and the Royal Netherlands Air Force remains with the Crown.

The High Commissioner of the Crown is Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces in Indonesia. The army and navy Commanders have a vote in the Executive Council for matters concerning their field of work.

If no agreement is reached between the High Commissioner and the Federal Government on certain points, a decision of the Netherlands government can be requested.

We in India who have passed through the various devices of our late rulers to reconcile their supremacy with our aspirations find no difficulty in seeing through all the illusions sought to be created by Dutch propaganda in this matter of their generosity to the Indonesians. We have often wondered why the Dutch could not learn anything from the Britisher.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

On the 11th of September, 1948, departed from the field of his mundane activities a great Indian who had helped to disrupt the unity and integrity of his fatherland.

History will assess the good and the evil of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's life, of the elements that went to the making of this great Indian going out of his fatherland's leadership to preside over the foundation of the greatest Muslim State in the modern world.

We will not say as it is the habit for writers of obituary notices to say that we are too near the tragedy of a man's death to be able to rightly judge the good and the evil of his life, of his greatness and smallness. We know that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was not the initiator of the idea of a separate State for Indian Muslims. When the poet Mohammad Iqbal first threw out the suggestion in course of his address as President of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930, he thought only of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province, constituting a predominantly Muslim bloc and thus capable of forming the nucleus of a State on "the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities." There were other dreamers—Rahamat Ali Chowdhury, for example, Moulana Abdul Wadood of Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Sarhad, Prof. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, who had their different plans for the division of India to suit the convenience of Indian Muslims. About ten years later Mohammad Ali Jinnah adopted the second of these "affinities" as the platform of his campaign. Thereby he halved the Muslim population of India, and elected to remain satisfied with the allegiance of one of these two. The other half, left out of Pakistan, finds itself in an equivocal position today, and it will take them long to reconcile themselves to the disruption of the values of their life.

It is in the light of this analysis that the life and

work of Mohammad Ali Jinnah should be studied. Whether or not the achievement of a separate statehood for a section of Indian Muslims has any intrinsic or enduring value of its own, only time will testify; and then will come the time to pass judgment on his astuteness as a politician. Till 1937, we do not think that he knew his own political mind. By that time he appears to have realized the value of exploiting the British policy of "divide and rule" for the advancement of the class interests of the upper class Muslims who were prepared to accept this plebian for their leader. A child of Western rationalism, the custodians of orthodoxy amongst Indian Muslims made no appeal to him; his habits of life repelled them. And it is a curious phenomenon that a *Shari'at*-inspired State has been created by one who was the least influenced by the traditions of Islam, that the frenzy of the masses of Indian Muslims could be roused by a man who was more akin to Sir Syed Ahmed, whom the Muslim divines of Mecca and Medina had stigmatized as a "Nature-worshipper"; the scholarship of an Abul Kalam Azad and the piety of a Hossain Ahmad Madani could not stand against Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a product of the agnostic West. The reason why of this contradiction to the accepted view of things that the Muslims are a people under the thumb of their religious leaders has to be found.

Shoebullah Khan

The name of this young Muslim journalist will live in India's history as that of one who dedicated his life to the cause of India's unity and integrity. He was editor of the Urdu daily in the State of Hyderabad, the *Imroz* (Today). He fell a victim to the frenzy of the Razakars, the murder-gangs that were organized by the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (Union of Muslims) organization. He braved their fury by his consistent condemnation of the Nizam's misrule, of the communalism and the fanaticism nurtured and patronized by it. It required no small courage and the utmost self-forgetfulness to go forward against the rising tide of barbarism released over the State by the Razakars and their patrons. The faith that had upheld Shoebullah Khan extorts homage from us; for, he by his supreme sacrifice and dedication testified to the fact that the "two-nations" theory of the fevered imagination of the Muslim Leaguers was a delusion and a snare.

Kaka-Saheb Khadilkar

The death of one of the most intimate of Balawant Gangadhar Tilak's followers creates a void in journalism and literature in Maharashtra that will be hard to fill up in the near future. Trained under Lokamanya's spacious eyes in the office of the *Keshari* which was the harbinger of militant nationalism in Western India, Kaka Saheb shared along with Narasimha Chintamon

Kelkar the responsibility for the conduct of this paper when the Master had to divert his attention to politics. For about 20 years these two men were companion-at-arms. But the parting came with the Gandhi era when Kaka Saheb elected to follow the new way of life and thought blazed away by Gandhiji. He started a new paper, *Nava-Kal* (New Times) which was the organ-voice of the new politics that gave a new meaning to our strivings for *Swaraj*. The controversy that ensued between the Tilak School and the Gandhi School made public life in Western India during the third decade of the present century.

Kaka Saheb has carved for himself a distinct place in Marhatta literature also. He was a great dramatist adopting our Mahabharatan episodes to give point to our political struggles against alien authority. The British bureaucracy frowned upon these efforts of his and put under ban his dramas. But his *flair* was in journalism, and in his hands the *Nava-Kal* attained eminence in Marhatta journalism. During the last few years paralysis forced idleness on this body, but his mind was as active as ever.

Raj Narain Basu

Under the auspices of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and of the Raj Narain Basu Memorial Committee, a meeting was held on September 8 last at the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Hall in celebration of the 122nd birth anniversary of this maker of new Bengal and new India. When Aurobindo Ghosh rose over the horizon in India's political firmament, his maternal grandfather, Raj Narain Basu, came to be known as "the grandfather of Indian Nationalism," thus justifying and bringing towards fruition the renaissance in India of which Ram Mohun Roy was the morning star. The President of the meeting, Sri Sarat Chandra Basu, and the speakers in their own way tried to bring out the various phases of the developments towards national self-respect and self-assertion of which Raj Narain Basu was both propagator and symbol. He, one of the generation of "Young Bengal," vowed to the destruction of the traditional norms and forms of Indian life, lived to assert the superiority of these in the face of aggressive Westernism. In this he represented what has been called the "Return Movement" in India's recent history under the British regime. He had his fellow workers in other parts of India. In "Young Bombay," for instance, we remember the names of Naoroji Fardoonji, popularly known as "Naoroji Master" to distinguish him from Dadabhai Naoroji known as "Naoroji Professor," and of Dr. Bhau Daji.

Dr. Subba Row Dead

The *New York Herald Tribune* has announced the death of Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row, Director of Research for Lederle Laboratories Division of the American Cyanamid Company at the early age of 52. Dr. Subba Row was regarded as one of the most

eminent medical minds of the present century. Among his exploits were investigations which helped to revolutionise the modern concept of muscular contraction, research in that component of liver extract effective in the treatment of pernicious anemia, work with folic acid derivatives which, among other things, has made available a new approach to the study of cancer; and more recently, the development of a new drug, aureo-mycin, which promises to treat serious infections in human beings which do not respond either to penicillin or strepto-mycin.

Dr. Subba Row was born in Madras. He received his M.B. and M.Sc. degrees at the Madras University and received a degree of Doctor of Tropical Medicine at the London University, where he met Dr. Richard Strong, then Head of the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine. It was at Dr. Strong's invitation that Dr. Subba Row went to the United States in 1923. At Harvard, he worked, under Dr. Otto Folin, in biochemistry, and took a Ph.D. degree in the field. Some of his earliest work was under the direction of Prof. Cyrus H. Fiske, Harvard Professor of Bio-Chemistry. They devised a method for the determination of phosphorus, a procedure widely used today, which helped to lead eventually to the discovery of a substance known as phosphocreatine and other organic phosphorus compounds in muscle which has revolutionised man's understanding of the mechanism of muscular contraction.

During the investigation of phosphorus compounds of muscle and liver, Dr. Subba Row became interested in the component of liver extract that was effective in the treatment of pernicious anemia. His attempts to isolate this active component introduced a series of studies in animal and bacterial nutrition which added much to the fundamental knowledge of vitamin chemistry. Fractioning the liver extract in the course of his investigation he isolated hundreds of chemical substances; and testing these substances, he demonstrated that some were valuable in the field of animal nutrition and others were valuable in the field of bacterial nutrition. His researches carried Dr. Subba Row into a teaching fellowship at Harvard, then to an instructorship and an associate professorship. He was also a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow and in 1940 he joined Lederle.

Dr. Subba Row started work on the folic acid problem a few years ago. A number of substances known as vitamin M, Factors U. R. S., etc., vitamin B₁₂, vitamin B-10, B-11, and others, were reported on by investigators and soon it became apparent that all were related to one compound, folic acid. Dr. Subba Row's study of this compound and his synthesis of it added a weapon in the fight against such diseases as pernicious anemia and sprue, which is a type of anemia. The study of folic acid also yielded a new approach to the cancer problem and the problem of leukemia. Dr. Subba Row's untimely death makes a great set-back in the attempt to discover a remedy for cancer.

Fight for Berlin

The story of the crisis over Berlin could be traced to February, 1945, when Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill agreed at Yalta (Crimea) to inaugurate "co-ordination, administration and control" of Germany after her expected defeat. On June 5, 1945, the American, Soviet, British and French Governments announced that

"The area of Greater Berlin will be occupied by the forces of each of the four powers."

The Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, confirmed this arrangement, re-emphasising the right of the Western Powers to share in the administration of Berlin. But with the surrender of Germany there has come a change over the spirit of the dreams of all the victorious powers, their camaraderie evaporating in the piping times of peace. This goes to prove once again of the instability of arrangements devised by human intelligence. Not all the commandments of religions nor the exhortations of prophets or the living examples of saints have been able to transform this "original sin" of human beings and lead them to paths of sanity or amity. And the modern world appears to be preparing itself for another world war when, it is being prophesied, that it will be finished within 40 hours by the killing of millions within that short space of time.

Chartered Accountants Bill

The Chartered Accountants' Bill is on the legislative anvil in the Indian Parliament. In this connection, the Accountants' Association of India has addressed a memorandum to the Commerce Minister of the Government of India, which, we believe, deserve special attention and sympathetic consideration. The memorandum makes out a special case for the unregistered G. D. A.'s and requests an exemption for them from the three years' articulated clerkship. We fully agree with the Association's request for granting the experienced but unregistered G. D. A.'s full facilities for enrolment as associate members in the Register of Chartered Accountants contemplated in the Bill. In the Income Tax and other taxation departments of the Central and provincial governments, as well as in many of the audit offices, the efficiency of the G. D. A.'s in handling the accounts of our indigenous merchants has been proved beyond doubt. Where the British-educated Chartered and Incorporated Accountants have failed, the Indian trained R. A.'s and G. D. A.'s have come out successful.

When the Indian Companies Act of 1913 was enacted, the restricted certificate-holders in the profession were allowed to practise as auditors in view of their long and varied experience in the line. Even as late as 1945-46, the certified Accountants' Association of London, the third largest body of professional Accountants in the British Commonwealth, were recognised as practising Auditors and Accountants. Many members of the above association had not undergone the articles but won recognition by sheer weight of their

experience in the profession. It is also well known that some of the oldest veterans of the Chartered and Incorporated Accountants' Association of England are men with years of practical experience, on whom the honorary memberships of the Associations were bestowed. In consonance with the traditions and established practice of the accountancy profession in England, it is quite reasonable that similar concessions should be granted to veterans in the profession in this country as well instead of compelling them to serve as article clerks under men who might take lessons from them. Like the practice of medicine and law, experience plays a very prominent part in the practice of accountancy as well.

The G. D. A. Board was in existence up to 1933 when it was abolished. So the last G. D. A. is a person with 15 years experience in the profession. The high standards and stiff tests in the G. D. A. Board are well-known and examinations were at par with the Chartered or Incorporated Accountants' test in London. Along with their mastery of the theory, the G. D. A.'s have proved their efficiency and integrity in the practical field also. The books of different types of commercial concerns maintained by the G. D. A.'s have passed the scrutinising eyes of the practising auditors and the Income Tax authorities throughout India. Among the G. D. A.'s there are many who are holding high and responsible positions as Accountants, Secretaries, Cost Accountants and Income Tax Consultants.

The Accountants' Association have suggested the following amendment to Sub-clause 3 of Rule 4 under the caption "Members of the Institute," which, if accepted, would fully meet the situation :

The Council of the Institute shall have the power to recognise in fit cases persons who have passed the G.D.A. examination and who have put in at least 10 years' responsible service in the Accountancy profession, in Government, semi-Government or in business houses as either responsible Assistants or Accountants or Secretaries. Such a recognition will be at the absolute discretion of the Council and the Council will have the power to enrol such persons as Associate Members of the Institute, provided such applications are made within a period of five years from the date of coming into force of this Act.

India's National Anthem

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a statement on India's National Anthem, said in the Indian Parliament that when a provisional decision became essential the Cabinet after consulting the Provincial Governors came to the decision that provisionally "Jana-Gana-Mana" should be used as the tune for the National Anthem, till such time as the Constituent Assembly came to a final decision.

Everyone of the Governors except the Governor of the Central Provinces had signified his approval of "Jana-Gana-Mana", the Prime Minister said. Subsequently the new Premier of West Bengal informed the

Government of India that he and his Government preferred "Vande Mataram."

It was thought by some people, said Pandit Nehru, that the "Vande Mataram" tune with all its very great attraction and historical background was not easily suitable for being played by orchestras in foreign countries and there was no movement in it.

It seemed, therefore, that while "Vande Mataram" should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Anthem tune should be that of "Jana-Gana-Mana", the wording to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances.

This question had to be considered by the Constituent Assembly and it was open to that Assembly to decide as it chose. It might decide on a completely new song or tune if such was available.

Pandit Nehru, who was replying to Mr. V. C. Kesava Rao, said, "The question of having a National Anthem tune to be played by orchestras and bands became an urgent one for us immediately after August 15, 1947. It was an important from the point of view of our Defence Services and our foreign embassies and legations and other establishments. It was obviously not suitable for "God Save the King" to be played by our army bands abroad, after the changeover to independence. We were constantly being asked as to what tune should be played on such occasions. We could not give an answer because the decision could only be made ultimately by the Constituent Assembly.

"The 'Jana-Gana-Mana' tune, slightly varied, had been adopted as National Anthem by the Indian National Army in South-East Asia and had subsequently attained a degree of popularity in India also.

"The matter came to a head on the occasion of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 in New York. Our delegation was asked for our National Anthem for the orchestra to play on a particular occasion. The delegation possessed a record of 'Jana-Gana-Mana' and they gave this to the orchestra who practised it. When they played it before a large gathering it was very greatly appreciated, and representatives of many nations asked for a musical score of this new tune which struck them as distinctive and dignified. This orchestral rendering of "Jana-Gana-Mana" was recorded and sent to India. The practice grew for our Defence Services bands to play this tune, and foreign embassies and legations also used it whenever occasion required. From various countries we received messages of appreciation and congratulation of this tune, which was considered by experts and others as superior to most of the National Anthems which they had heard. Many expert musicians in India and abroad, as well as many bands and orchestras practised it, and sometimes slightly varied it, with the result that the All-India Radio collected quite a number of renderings.

"Apart from the general appreciation with which this tune was received, there was at the time not much choice for us, as there was no proper musical rendering available to us of any other national song which we could

send abroad. At that stage, I wrote to all the Provincial Governors and asked their views about our adopting "Jana-Gana-Mana" or any other song as the National Anthem. I asked them to consult their Premiers before replying. I made it perfectly clear to them that the final decision rested with the Constituent Assembly, but owing to the urgency of some directions being sent to foreign embassies and the Defence Services, a provisional decision had become essential. Every one of these Governors, except one (the Governor of the Central Provinces) signified their approval of "Jana-Gana-Mana." Thereupon, the Cabinet considered the matter and came to the decision that provisionally "Jana-Gana-Mana" should be used as the tune for the National Anthem till such time as the Constituent Assembly came to a final decision.

"Instructions were issued accordingly to the Provincial Governors. It was very clear that the wording of "Jana-Gana-Mana" was not wholly appropriate and some changes would be necessary. What was important was the tune to be played by bands and orchestras, and not by the wording.

"Subsequently the new Premier of West Bengal informed us that he and his Government preferred "Vande Mataram."

"That is the position at present. It is unfortunate that some kind of argument has arisen as between "Vande Mataram" and "Jana-Gana-Mana." "Vande Mataram" is obviously and indisputably the premier national song of India, with great historical tradition and intimately connected with our struggle for freedom. That position it is bound to retain and no other song can displace it. It represents the passion and poignancy of that struggle, but perhaps not so much the culmination of it.

"In regard to the National Anthem tune, it was felt that the tune was more important than the words, and that this tune should be such as to represent the Indian musical genius as well as to some extent the western, so that it might equally be adaptable to orchestral and band music, and for being played abroad. The real significance of the National Anthem is perhaps more abroad than in the Home country. Past experience has shown us that "Jana-Gana-Mana" tune has been greatly appreciated and admired abroad. It is very distinctive and there is a certain life and movement in it. It was thought by some people that the "Vande Mataram" tune with all its very great attraction and historical background was not easily suitable for being played by orchestras in foreign countries, and there was not enough movement in it. It seemed, therefore, that while "Vande Mataram" should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Anthem tune should be that of "Jana-Gana-Mana." The wording of "Jana-Gana-Mana" is to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances.

"This question has to be considered by the Constituent Assembly, and it is open to that Assembly to decide as it chooses. It may decide on a completely new song or tune if such is available."

The Chukai Fibre

Sj. Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, had, in July last, drawn attention to the *chukai* plant which might serve as a jute substitute and requested the Government of West Bengal and the Central Government to follow the matter up. We had also the pleasure of publishing the Note Sj. Das Gupta had prepared on the subject. We are rather surprised to find that the Government of Bengal have come out with a press-note with the apparent object of contradicting the idea that Sj. Das Gupta had "discovered" a substitute for jute, but the real object of this entirely unnecessary press-note seems to be to do propaganda for a particular functionary of the Indian Central Jute Committee at public cost. Sri Jut Das Gupta had never claimed any "discovery;" he merely published his personal observations on the plant with some suggestions about its possibilities as a jute substitute. The following lines constitute the material portion of the press-note:

As a result of the decision of the Indian Central Jute Committee at its last meeting research work on this and other substitute fibres have already been taken up by the Agricultural Research Institute of the Committee.

When was this last meeting held? The press-note published on September 30, gives a long schoolboy compilation of the history of the plant but is silent about the date of the meeting which decided to start research work on the *chukai* plant. If it was after July last, Sj. Das Gupta can certainly claim public approbation for having rousing our fat-salaried functionaries from slumber.

Recognition for National College Graduates

Kalikata Vidyapith of the Gaudiya Sarva Vidyayatan had been the national college and University which had been founded in Calcutta in January 1921 by Deshabandhu C. R. Das for higher education on national lines under the direction of the Congress and was opened by Mahatma Gandhi. During the non-co-operation movement many students who had boycotted the Government schools and colleges had joined this institution. Sri Suktas Chandra Bose was the Principal of the Vidyapith and Sri Kiran Sankar Roy was the Secretary of the Gaudiya Sarva Vidyayatan. The instructive staff of the college included some of the best professors of Bengal. The students of this National College and University were as meritorious as the best students of other Universities. They sacrificed their life's career and by joining the National University maintained the dignity and standard of the Congress and the Nation. After passing through regular examinations, the students received their degrees and diplomas of Adya (equivalent to Matriculation), Madhya (equivalent to Intermediate Arts), Upadhy (equivalent to B.A.) and Bishes (equivalent to M.A.).

The ex-students of the Kalikata Vidyapith have submitted a memorial to the Central and Provincial Governments praying for recognition but no head

has as yet been paid to it. They have also drawn the attention of the All-India Congress Committee in this respect.

"The First Year"

This is the title of a publication issued by the Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Union of India commemorating the first year of freedom from "British control." It is a superb volume, 88 pages, superb in its make-up. To the tax-payer of India, the duplication of propaganda literature issued on behalf of their Government is a little difficult to justify. The *Indian Information's* "Independence Number" of 140 pages covers almost the same ground. *The First Year*, however, presents us with articles that are more interpretative than informative as in the *Indian Information*. Krishnalal Shridharani's character-sketch of the first Indian Governor-General tells us the familiar story of Rajaji's political life, but it does not explain the psychology of the change that came over the high-priest of Gandhism of the twenties. The other articles just touch the surface of the problems discussed in them. The only exception is K. M. Panikkar's (India's ambassador to China) article entitled *Indian History as It Should Be*; it takes us to the heart of the subject as it has evolved through the centuries maintaining the original bias given to our people's thoughts and activities. What we have felt to be lacking is a background story that would explain the developments of this "Year," our reaching towards the ideal and our falling back on our brute heritage. We do not know the reasons which stood in the way of the editor, otherwise wide-awake and competent.

In Memoriam

At the memorial meeting held on the 29th September in Calcutta, Sj. Makhan Lal Sen said that Ramananda was one of those great sons of Bengal of nineteenth century who had devoted their versatile genius for all-round progress of the country. His strength of character and religious devotion was unsurpassed. He had dedicated his whole life to awaken the national consciousness which Indians seemed to have lost at that time.

Rai Bahadur Bejoy Behari Mukherjee said that Ramananda had a unique capacity for righteous judgment. Honest in every sphere of life, he maintained a high standard of journalism against all odds.

Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh said that Ramananda had left a standard for every journalist in Bengal. Gifted with a high sense of journalistic honesty and courage of conviction, he never failed to adhere to what he believed to be true.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays "The Modern Review" Office and "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from the 8th October to the 21st October, 1948, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJEE,
Editor.

OUR IMMEDIATE FUTURE

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., Hony. B.Litt.

THE LAW OF OUR BEING

INDIA has been often called a continent (and not one country), in view of her diversity of climate and natural products. But she does not possess the advantages of a true continent, in which each country is marked off from all the others by strong physical barriers, compactness of territory, homogeneity of civilisation, and a commonness of tradition and spirit born of one uniform government within its particular limits during many centuries. The peculiar geography of India makes the defence of her frontier against foreign aggression impossible unless the armed strength and material resources of the entire country are concentrated for the purpose. No Indian province acting in isolation can long make a stand against an invader from outside. Provincial defence must be a Central subject, a concern of the Federal Government. The extremities of the Indian Dominion must be joined to its heart by an ever-present sense of vital connection and sameness of fortune.

But that is not possible unless the provinces realise that the law of their being enjoins on them mutual co-operation amounting to fusion, under one common sovereign authority, and that they must cheerfully subordinate their local interests and parochial pride to the needs of the Central Government.

At the same time the Central Government must be a true father to its numerous children. There must be a living and beneficent contact between it and the provinces. The Central leaders must frequently tour the provinces, and the provincial leaders must frequently come in contact with the Centre by means of political, economic and cultural missions of common concern to the whole land. The Central Government must be felt by the provinces almost as a part and parcel of their daily existence.

INTEGRATION OF INDIA'S PROVINCES

Our military defence and economic advance alike require not only that all the parts of the Indian Union should be merged under one common Central authority, but also that they should be fused into one by developing uniformity of life and thought, by giving them the same system of administration and law, one official language, and a common and mutually interchangeable system of education and set of directing officers and technical experts. This is no doubt an ideal and its realisation will take time. But to forget it or to check the operation of any centre-moving force would be suicidal. Insistence on the special culture or characteristic of any province, or fanning its parochial pride would be a crime against the greater Indian nationalism.

Look at the map of India as it was under British Imperialism. The portion under the rule of the

Central Government of India was usually coloured red, and embraced two-thirds of the surface-area of this country. The remaining one-third was covered by nearly six hundred Native States, some as large as France, others containing only a square mile or two; and yet all of them were entitled to sovereignty and independence of the Central administration of India, with varying degrees of autonomy and presenting "a veritable jig-saw puzzle of conflicting political and economic factors." On the map they look like peck-marks on the fair face of India. Some of them were too small even to be represented by dots on our maps; e.g., in Kathiawar there were 449 States in an area of 22,000 square miles, or 50 square miles each on an average, and yet each was ruled by a His Highness, the political equal of the Governor of Bombay or Calcutta! Today they have all merged, with the exception of Hyderabad, which still stands as a large leprosy patch on the skin of India and continues its independence as a "feudal anachronism" in the midst of the modernised rapidly progressive Indian Union. This is the first gain of our first year of freedom; the partitioning of India rigidly maintained by the British during the two centuries of their paramountcy has been quickly undone, though not wholly as yet.

All great countries have grown great only by this process of geographical union and the consolidation of that union through uniformity of education, administration and life. This is the lesson of history. England, France, Germany and the United States, besides Italy and Switzerland have all followed the same course.

UNION MAKES STATES STRONG

England before the Norman conquest, consisted of England only without Wales, Scotland or Ireland; and even in England the nobles who administered its different districts tried to assert their local independence; hence Harold could not offer a united defence against William the Conqueror. But in a few centuries the whole country—and finally the British Isles, were fused into one State, which could successfully defeat France, a country nearly six times its size. France was at first a bundle of separate provinces, each with its peculiar laws, constitution, traditions and local pride,—and sometimes local dialect. But Louis XI by long patience and artful policy united most parts of the country under the Central Government of Paris. The administrative concentration was completed by Louis XIV, and the full unification of all parts of France was effected by the French Revolution, which swept away the old provinces, with their separatist barriers, systems of government, and traditions. The country was now finally divided into 83 uniform divisions called *Departments*, which were subdivided into districts (*arrondissements*) and further into Cantons.

The French Constitutional Assembly made this change in 1790, because the "provincial spirit is the enemy of public spirit, and the attachment of the citizen to any smaller group conflicts with allegiance to the Commonwealth. . . . The new Departments . . . presented a smooth blank surface upon which the legislator might impress whatever pattern he thought proper."—*Cambridge Modern History*, VIII, 190.

Thus France became strong, because one, and she could defy the whole of the Continent. One law, the *Code Napoleon*, was imposed on the whole of it.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA WONDERFULLY SIMPLIFIED

The case of Germany is exactly parallel to that of India. Here, before 1806, there were more than 400 separate sovereign authorities (comparable to 600 for British India) over an area about one-fourth of India's size.

But Napoleon effected a wonderful "simplification of the political geography of the country, which . . . entitles him to be called one of the makers of modern Germany." "The smaller princes who had habitually looked to Austria [the paramount Power] were swept away. . . . The French armies (in 1805-6) shattered the political fabric which had so long kept Germany disunited and strangled all efforts at reform. . . . The process of reform would never have been completed had not the Holy Roman Empire been dissolved."—*Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 407, 91.

Here if you read *British for Roman* and M. Gandhi's epithet for *Holy*, you will get an exact picture of India's disunion and stagnation during the two centuries before 1917. Physically the unification of Germany thus begun by Napoleon in 1806, was completed by the "blood and iron" policy of Prussia in 1866 and 1870. But the gain was made permanent only because it was something greater and deeper than a change in the colouring of the map. Ever since Napoleon's Confederacy of the Rhine (1806), many parts of Germany felt the revivifying touch of the modern doctrines which the French Revolution had brought to Europe. The *Code Napoleon* was adopted, sweeping away the old feudal system, the peasants were freed from serfdom, and the people began to taste some (local) political freedom. See H. A. L. Fisher's *Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany*, for the little-studied details of this momentous change. Within fifty years of the death of Napoleon the reunited Germany became unconquerable. Geographical fusion was followed by the uniform training, equipment, and control of the armies of its different constituent States under Prussia's central authority, which made the French disasters at Sedan and Metz (1870) possible and easy.

The United States, too, have grown by the coalescence of parts. At first each of the 13 States was jealous of its "independence" and resisted every attempt of the Federal Government to effect reform. Hence the bloody Civil War of 1861-65, in which Union triumphed over provincialism at the cost of millions of

lives. India has (as yet) been spared this havoc. But since 1865, the whole trend of American history has been to strengthen the authority of the Central Government and curb the "State rights," i.e., local laws, where they oppose modern progress or liberal administration. The greatest authority on the United States, James Bryce, thus describes this change in public opinion:

"It is clear that the nation feels itself more than ever before to be one for all commercial and social purposes, every part of it more interlaced with and dependent on all the other parts than in any previous epoch of its history. This feeling . . . steadily gaining ground, cannot but have its effect upon political institutions (i.e., the American constitution). It presages some further extensions of Federal authority."—*American Commonwealth*, ed. of 1910.

In India we have to educate public opinion on these lines if we are to combat provincialism.

ESTABLISH UNIFORMITY THROUGHOUT INDIAN UNION

India's geographical merger will fail to save her unless it is followed—and followed quickly—by administrative, educational, social and military standardisation, by the evolution of a common body of citizens and soldiers. It is no good denying the fact that the administration of many "independent Native States," like that of Hyderabad, is a "feudal anachronism," while certain neighbouring British-administered provinces have reached a high level of education and political experience. How to pull the bad boys up to the level of the good ones if they are to sit in the same class of the administrative school?

A fully-planned scheme of the development of "backward areas"—provinces and ex-States,—must be drawn up by the Centre and relentlessly pursued by its own agency, because there is in such provinces no local staff fit for the work and none will be found till the next generation, after receiving this training, comes into the field. The trainers will be not only school masters, but also judges, police prefects, transport officers, mechanical directors and even doctors. And they will have to work in the teeth of the most ignorant and fanatical local jealousy. This—even more than the final settlement with Pakistan—is the most difficult and vital problem before Indian statesmanship today. Success is possible if there is not only persistent drive from the Centre, but also active co-operation by preaching and voluntary service on the part of every Indian of goodwill and real patriotism.

HOW TO EDUCATE BACKWARD PROVINCES AND STATES

Let us now consider what this administrative unification of India implies. From the over-riding need of a common defence of the Indian continent follows the inevitable necessity that high officers,—whether military commanders, organisers of supply, technical experts, transport directors, educationists, and specialists of every particular branch,—must be freely interchangeable between one province and another at the nation's need, and the local conditions should be so

arranged that they can feel quite at home and work with their maximum capacity in the province to which they have been deputed by Centre. This is a *sine qua non*, not only in respect of our armed defence, but also in that of development and organisation, for modern defence presupposes a complex and diversified mass of adjuncts to the mere soldiers. Here provincial exclusiveness—or insistence on *quotas* and domiciles, would be suicidal. The whole educational level of a backward province must be raised quickly by importing an army of teachers from more advanced provinces. The natural bitterness of such “foreign” importation in the hearts of the local population will be softened at the outset if only exceptionally able men are taken from outside, and it will entirely disappear if all the imported talent is replaced by local men in the next generation as a statutory obligation.

Lord Cromer raised Egypt out of the misery and degradation into which it had sunk under the Khedive's misrule, by modernising the administration, economy, education, and defence of the country. He imported Britishers for the key-posts of direction and even many lesser posts of importance, but he replaced them by Egyptians as soon as trained for these offices. It was his rule never to employ a foreigner as soon as a native of nearly equal ability was available. (No doubt the good effect of his system was spoiled by the infamous sentence in the Denshawei case). Cromer had full 23 years of continuous service at the head of the Egyptian administration to complete this training. Will our provinces and ex-States have the patience for such a long course of tutelage?

UNIQUE PLACE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

This brings me to the last point of our future programme. For years to come the English language

must continue to be used as the medium of communication at the top level (in the Centre and the Provinces alike and also between province and province). It should continue as the medium of instruction and examination for the *highest* stage of learning in the country. Furthermore, for the benefit of the inevitable and gradually expanding all-India services, there should be maintained in *every* province *some* schools and colleges with English as the principal language and one Indian vernacular (preferably a simplified gender-less Hindustani) as a compulsory second language,—exactly on the lines of the schools in India teaching for the Cambridge Senior and Junior examinations. These have been found most useful for their sons by the military, railway, engineer and other officers of high rank who, as members of all-India services, have to be transferred to widely distant places. This is a matter of common experience.

It is a foolish and ignorant patriotism that hates English as a foreign language, or a badge of servility to the British oppressors. Let me pour a little cool air into the heated atmosphere of the nationalist debating hall. The *Times* writes (19th June, 1948) :

“Millions of people in Europe and Asia speak our language with fluency and precision. The two World Wars have caused us to realize the benefits of a common tongue. . . . As travel becomes swifter and commoner the need for easy communication of minds will grow. English is the easiest language to learn, so simple that, a Frenchman once remarked, it is scarcely entitled to be called a language. It is the nearest of all languages to the rank of a *world-speech*, and is more likely than any other to fulfil the world's need. . . . One of the most delusive of popular superstitions is the belief that its language is a nation's soul.”

:O:-

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

IV

In this section we propose to discuss the question of citizenship so far as it has been dealt with in the Draft Constitution. Although who should be citizens is an important matter for a state, the question is usually left to the legislatures to be determined by laws enacted after the constitution comes into force. Here in this country the question has assumed added importance because of the division of the country and the problems that it has given rise to, such as large-scale migrations of population, the psychological maladjustment of many people with the new set-up, etc. So the authors of the Draft Constitution have thought it fit to devote a section to this question so as to determine who should be treated as the citizens of the Indian Union at the commencement of the constitution. This, of course, is just a tentative arrangement and does not exclude the

authority of Indian Parliament to deal with the matter as they deem fit subsequently. (Section 6).

Modern States usually follow two principles in determining citizenship—(a) territory (*jus soli*) and (b) descent (*jus sanguinis*). Under the first principle all those who are born within the territory of the state become *ipso facto* its citizens, whether they are born of citizen parents or foreigners. Under the second principle persons born of parents who are citizens of a state get its citizenship wherever they may be born.

The authors of the Draft Constitution had a difficulty in adopting either of these principles as the basis of citizenship in India. Both these principles may determine the citizenship of those who would be born after the constitution comes into force, but the immediate problem was to lay down some specific qualifica-

tions for determining who should be treated as citizens of the Indian Union at its inception. The problem was complicated by the fact that some parts of what constituted "India" before August 15, 1947, were detached from what is now "Indian Union" without ascertaining their wishes. It was felt therefore that in all fairness the door should be kept open to admit as many as chose to adopt Indian citizenship. If residence within Indian territory was made the only criterion the door would be shut against the large body of persons in Pakistan who would like to adopt Indian citizenship. The same result would follow if descent from parents or grandparents born within the territory of what now constitutes "India" was made the sole criterion. At the same time the Drafting Committee felt that a person should have some sort of territorial connection with the Union either by birth or descent or domicile in order to be a citizen at the commencement of the constitution. They observe :

"The Committee doubts whether it will be wise to admit as citizens those who, without any such connection with the territory of India, may be prepared to swear allegiance to the Union."

Their reason for this insistence on such territorial connection is stated as follows :

"If other States were to copy such a provision, we might have within the Union a large number of persons who, though born and permanently resident therein, would owe allegiance to a foreign state."

So they made a compromise between the two principles in laying down qualifications for citizenship at the inception of the Union and made a special provision for the easy accession of persons 'displaced' from Pakistan to the 'citizenship' of Indian Union.

They have therefore recommended that the following two categories of persons are to be citizens at the commencement of the constitution :

(1) "Every person *who* or *either of whose* parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in the territory of India as defined in this (i.e., the Draft) Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947."

[The territory referred to in this clause is the territory of Indian Union after the partition.]

(2) "Every person *who* or *either of whose* parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon, or Malaya and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution."

Both these are subject to the proviso that such persons must not have acquired the citizenship of any foreign state before the date of commencement of the Constitution.

It will be noticed that the provisions in the second clause regarding requirements of citizenship have been made more liberal and purposely so. A person in order to be a citizen of India needs be (1) either (a) himself born, or (b) have either of his parents or grand-parents

born in undivided India i.e., including those parts that are now Pakistan or even in outlying parts such as Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and (2) have his *domicile* in what now constitutes "India." The "domicile" required is explained as follows : A person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India—if either

- (1) he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, that is, he would not only reside in India for a certain period but also demonstrate his intention, to the satisfaction of a competent authority to continue his Indian residence to the exclusion of residence in Pakistan or any other foreign country, or
- (2) if he has, before the date of commencement of the constitution, made a declaration before a District Magistrate, a declaration in writing that he desires to acquire domicile in India and has resided in Indian territory for *at least one month before the date of declaration*.

It is obvious that the second clause relating to the determination of citizenship at the commencement of the constitution has been formulated with the avowed object of roping in the large number of 'displaced' persons popularly called the 'refugees' from Pakistan within the category of "citizens" of the Indian Union, thus offering them the benefits of membership of the new State on equal terms with those who are nationals of present-day "India" both by birth and domicile.

Nobody would perhaps question the *bona-fides* of the authors of the Draft in their genuine effort to accommodate the displaced persons from Pakistan or accuse them of lack of sympathy and consideration for the latter, although how far they have been able to meet their special requirements, admits of difference of opinion. Criticism has been made in many quarters that the concessions recommended do not go far enough.

Here it is necessary to point out that the problem is quite different so far as Western and Eastern Pakistan are concerned. In the West the problem has been practically solved, at a great cost though, by the wholesale exchange of population carried out under compulsion of events. As regards those who have come over from Western Pakistan their case is satisfactorily met by the second clause discussed above. It is otherwise, however, with Eastern Pakistan. A large section of the population there, for some reasons or other feel that they cannot adjust themselves to the new situation in which they find themselves due to the partition of India the decision for which was taken without reference to them. Many of them are valiant fighters in the struggle for freedom of India. Such persons may justifiably claim that they should get the citizenship of their choice. Some of them have managed to come over to India on their own. With regard to them there is not much difficulty. Simply by making a declaration before a Magistrate as stated above they would acquire

citizenship of India. Exception was taken to the practical difficulty for the great majority of refugees for getting such a declaration and getting it registered, but the objection has been met by further simplification of such procedure to which we shall refer presently. The procedure might be further simplified to accommodate them, if necessary. But there are others and they constitute a majority who have not been able to migrate to India. There may be some among these who may be able and willing to adjust themselves to conditions in Pakistan. Such persons will in due course adopt the citizenship of Pakistan. With regard to them also there is hardly any difficulty. The real difficulty arises with regard to those—a very large section—who have not been able to migrate on their own, but at the same time cannot adjust themselves to Pakistan State. It would have been well if the Government of the Indian Dominion could effect a planned evacuation of such persons and thus admit them to Indian citizenship. But the Government is not at all willing to encourage the idea, as they find the problem too huge for their resources. As a matter of fact, both the Governments of West Bengal and of India refused to acknowledge the existence of a "refugee" problem at all until it was borne in upon them by continuous exodus of non-Muslim population from East Bengal to West Bengal which created serious problems for the West Bengal Government. Even now the policy that is being pursued is to provide for relief and rehabilitation of those who are coming into the province on their own and discouraging further exodus and to make all possible attempts to induce them to stay on in East Bengal by bringing pressure on Pakistan Government to accord just and fair treatment to minorities through Inter-Dominion Conferences, etc. How far this policy has succeeded in its object or whether it is not time to

effect a planned evacuation of all those who want to settle in India or to negotiate for at least a partial exchange of population are questions which are not quite germane to our present discussion except in an indirect way. But supposing things remain where they are, the question is how far it is possible to offer facilities of Indian citizenship to those persons in East Pakistan who want it. On this point, we think the Drafting Committee is perfectly right to insist on some form of territorial connection, whether by birth or descent, or domicile, as the condition of citizenship, as otherwise if other States, in particular, Pakistan, were to imitate the same principle we may have in our State a large number of persons who, though born and permanently resident therein, would owe allegiance to a foreign State. Much adverse criticism has been directed against this view of the Committee, as it excludes the minorities in Pakistan from benefits of Indian citizenship. However unpalatable the position may be, it appears to us to be inevitable, as no State can allow a large part of its inhabitants permanently resident therein to owe allegiance to a foreign state, nor is it possible for a person to have dual citizenship. There is another danger also in throwing open citizenship indiscriminately to habitual residents of a foreign state, as it might be abused by interested groups to influence elections in the country detrimentally to its best interests. The only solution of the problem is either to arrange for planned evacuation of such persons to Indian Union before the commencement of the constitution or to leave the door open for them to easily acquire citizenship of the Indian Union whenever they may come over, taking due precaution against admission of undesirable elements to citizenship.

(To be continued)

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MINORITY SAFEGUARDS IN PAKISTAN

By PRINCIPAL DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

THE problem of minorities has been very much to the fore during recent years both in India and abroad.

In Europe, after the conclusion of the Great War of 1914-18, when numerous new States were set up as a result of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian Empires, the interests of the minorities in these various "Succession States" were sought to be safeguarded by the "Minorities Guarantee Treaties" drafted under the auspices of the League of Nations. About a score of such States (like Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Yugo-slavia, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, etc.) entered into these arrangements for the protection of the "racial, linguistic and religious minorities" resident within their respective borders.

In India, ever since the days now about half-a-century ago, when the Muslim community (the biggest minority in India considered as a whole) began agitating for separate representation and weightage in order

to safeguard their rights and interests, the necessity has been felt of providing for such safeguards in some shape or other in the various stages of constitutional reforms through which India passed during this period, viz., the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909), the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919), and the Government of India Act (1935) following upon the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences.

Latterly, the Muslim leadership felt—whether rightly or wrongly is beside the point in the present context—that the differences, racial, cultural and religious, that divided the Muslims from the Hindus, were such as to amount to altogether distinct nationalities.

It will be interesting to recall in this connection what Mr. Jinnah wrote in September, 1944, in course of a letter to the late Mahatma Gandhi :

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or

test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation."

As a result of the development of this outlook, there has been a cataclysmic change in the political set-up of the Indian sub-continent. The State of India has been partitioned into two separate and independent Dominions, the Indian Union and Pakistan. Thus the *raison d'être* of the emergence of Pakistan as an entity independent of the rest of India has been the recognition of the distinction in the rights, interests and culture of the Hindus and Muslims considered as distinct Nations. Much might be said, theoretically speaking, both for and against the recognition of such distinctions as calculated to foster dissensions, stereotype differences, retard the growth of a sense of common nationality, etc. etc., but considered in the light of the actual historical developments up-to-date in India, such discussions would be of merely academic interest; for the plain blunt fact is that the new State of Pakistan has been ushered into existence on the basis of Hindus and Muslims as distinct nationalities, and upon that basis it must rest; otherwise, that is to say, if that basis is to be given up and if the concept of a composite nationality in Pakistan be now sought to be developed instead, the State of Pakistan itself will have no moral basis to stand upon as an entity separate from the rest of India, with which it is economically, culturally, geographically, connected in an indissoluble manner.

It is therefore hardly necessary at this stage to indulge in elaborate argumentation on the necessity of safeguards for the minorities in Pakistan, for it is an agreed proposition. I would therefore content myself with attempting to make some suggestions as to how such safeguards, political, economic and cultural, can be effectively secured.

It is a trite saying that the best and surest safeguard for a minority lies in the good-will of the majority. Undoubtedly so. If the majority so behaves and comports itself that the minority instinctively feels that although belonging to a different community or even nationality, its members are looked upon as co-equal and honoured citizens of the State with no mark of inferiority branded upon them; and if the high policy of the State itself be to treat all its citizens on a footing of perfect equality with the fundamental rights of free speech, free press, free association, free exercise of social customs and usages, religious rites and ceremonies, etc. etc., guaranteed to all—then the minority will have no cause for complaint and will naturally develop a sense of loyalty to the State that no amount of coercion and admonition can evoke.

It must be said to the credit of the first Governor-

General of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, that in his inaugural speech at the first session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he struck the right chord and made this heartening declaration:

"We are starting the State with no discrimination, no distinction, between one community and another, between caste or creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of our State. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal; and you will find that in course of time, the Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the State."

It is a good beginning and an excellent ideal; but in the hard work-a-day world of stern realities, there are fallings-off from the ideal, as a result of communal bickerings and jealousies, individual preferences and idiosyncrasies, lust for domination and supremacy, and such-like tendencies. And against such fallings-off, there must be safeguards for minorities embodied in the written constitution.

Particularly so in the present circumstances; for the feelings of hostility on the one hand and nervousness on the other, roused by the intensive political campaigning of the last few years that ushered in the advent of Pakistan, though happily on the wane, will take a long time to disappear altogether; and in the meantime, for at least a generation (or, say, a quarter of a century) very definite measures will have to be taken, if this nervousness and sense of helplessness and insecurity on the part of the Hindu minority in Pakistan are to be effectively removed. And this restoration of the sense of confidence in the minds of the minorities so very essential in the present circumstances can only be brought about by adequate safeguards for them.

I am accordingly proceeding to suggest some such safeguards below:

First, as to political safeguards for the minorities.

In Pakistan, the Hindus (including the Depressed Classes) constitute the biggest minority. Among the smaller minorities (in fact, they are exceedingly small) might be mentioned the Buddhists, the Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. What I am going to suggest with regard to the Hindus may be taken to apply *mutatis mutandis* to all these smaller minorities.

In all constitutions based upon the principle of responsible Government, it is the Legislature (or Parliament) representing the people which wields supreme political power, for the Executive is responsible to itself. Consequently, for any safeguards to be politically effective, the composition of the Legislature must be such that the minorities have adequate and effective representation therein. Many methods of such minority representation are known to political science; and one or more of such methods have found their way to actual practice in various constitutions all the world over; e.g., separate electorates, joint electorates with reservation of seats, proportional representation (on the

Hare or Andrae or other models), cumulative vote, limited vote, etc.

In India, in the actual development of its constitutional history, proportional representation (with its variants) has hardly been made use of, except on a very limited scale (e.g., in the election of members to the Upper House from the Lower House in the Provinces, for instance). The main reason for its non-adoption has been that the "choices" or "preferences" in the multi-member constituencies involved in this system are hardly understood by the vast majority of the electorate who are mostly ignorant and uninformed, and also because of the great complexities in counting votes on the "single transferable vote" system, with its "quotas" and "surpluses" and "transfers" to the "continuing" candidates. The cumulative vote and the limited vote system, too, have been rejected as unsatisfactory.

Practically, the choice has lain between separate electorates on the one hand, and joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities on the other.

There are arguments on both sides. Those who prefer separate electorates for the minorities do so on the ground that the candidates returned on this basis will really represent the minds, the ideals and the interests of the minorities concerned; while, on the joint electorates with reservation basis, the candidates returned with the help of the majority community votes are likely to be merely "stooges" or "puppets" of the latter, and will not be real representatives of the minorities concerned. There is much substance in this point of view. And as a matter of historical fact, the Muslim League has been the stoutest champions of this point of view ever since the days of the Morley-Minto Reforms; it has consistently rejected joint electorates with reservation of seats for the safeguarding of Muslim interests. Even the modified form of such joint electorates with reservation—suggested by the late Maulana Muhammad Ali—to the effect that the candidate must obtain at least 40 per cent of the votes cast by his own community, did not find favour with the Muslim League. The Muslim League stood firm in its demand for separate electorates with weightage in its favour, and got it sanctioned both by the Indian National Congress and the British Government (*vide*, the Lucknow Pact and the Communal Award).

Those who dislike the system of separate communal electorates do so on the ground that it is likely to stimulate and perpetuate communal separatism and retard the growth of the sentiment of a common nationality. This argument, too, has great force, but only in a State like the Indian Union, for instance, which is professedly and (one might say) almost ostentatiously a Secular State, but not in a State like Pakistan, which is admittedly based upon the fundamental concept of Hindus and Muslims as distinct Nationalities and is thus in effect a multi-national State with only the bond of common citizenship bind-

ing them together. Hence the system of separate electorates with weightage for the Hindu minority forms the only logical basis of communal representation in Pakistan.

With respect to the Depressed Classes among the Hindus (now styled the Scheduled Castes), they constitute an integral part of the Hindu community, upon which devolves the responsibility of improving their condition and removing their social disabilities, if any. As the Donoughmore report put it pithily, "The enfranchisement of the Depressed Classes and the provision of equal adequate educational facilities are the true remedies for their condition." Untouchability, as such, might be declared unlawful, and not recognized by the State as being inconsistent with human dignity. If that be done, only the minor social disabilities would remain. These too would fast disappear under the impact of enlightened public opinion amongst the Upper Caste Hindus, who will naturally try to remove the backwardness of their depressed brethren, if for nothing else, at least in their own interests to strengthen the Hindu minority as a whole. Consequently, it is not necessary to have safeguards separately for the Scheduled Castes of the Hindu community, and the safeguards suggested are accordingly intended for the Hindu community as a whole (including its Scheduled Castes).

As to the precise figures for such separate electorates and weightage for the minorities, I shall confine myself to the Central Pakistan Dominion and the province of East Bengal; for I am not conversant with the present state of things in the provinces of West Pakistan, radically modified as their population-figures have been on account of the disturbances in that region.

In East Bengal, the Hindus constitute about 30 per cent of the entire population, and at the Centre, about 20 per cent. I would accordingly suggest that Hindu representation in the Legislature of East Bengal should be 40 per cent, and in that of the Centre 33½ per cent of the entire strength. The weightages in favour of the Hindus implied by these figures are exceedingly moderate compared to the weightages enjoyed by the Muslims (where they were in a minority) for the last thirty years. The following figures of Muslim representation in the various Assemblies, Provincial and Central, under the Government of India Act (1935) will bear out the above statement:

	Seats due on population basis	Seats allotted under the Act
Madras	17	29
Bombay	16	30
U. P.	35	66
Bihar	20	40
C. P. (with Berar)	5	14
Orissa	1	4
Centre	67	33

As to the other minorities (e.g., Buddhists, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc.), I would suggest 3

per cent seats for all of them taken together, both in East Bengal and at the Centre. These allocations would still leave the majority of seats (55 per cent in East Bengal and about 62 per cent at the Centre) for the Muslim majority community.

These figures should as far as possible be reflected in the formation of the Cabinet Executive also—the ratio of Hindu Ministers to Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet should be 40 : 60 in East Bengal and 1 : 2 at the Centre. If the Legislature and the Executive are constituted on this basis, there will be a returning sense of confidence, fair-play and self-respect in the minds of the Hindu minority which at the present moment is so sadly lacking.

Secondly, as to economic safeguards.

In the economic sphere, much can be done to safeguard the interests of the minorities and instil a sense of confidence into them if the Fundamental Rights of equal and impartial treatment of all citizens are strictly enforced. If there is no discrimination in the matter, say, of granting permits and trade licenses, of the assessment of income-taxes and other rates, of arranging trade facilities and banking transactions, etc., then the sense of uneasiness that is sitting like a nightmare upon the Hindu minority will disappear over-night. But these are matters of administration and can be hardly embodied in a constitution; these really depend upon the spirit in which the administration is actually carried on by the officers concerned.

But something can be done regarding the manner in which these officers are recruited by the State. As in the Legislature and Executive, so in the matter of officer recruitment, subject of course to the primary requirement of efficiency and qualifications, communal ratios can be laid down. And in this connection, too, I would suggest the same ratios as before, *viz.*, the ratio of Hindu to Muslim officers recruited every year to be in the ratio of 40 : 60 in East Bengal, and in the ratio of 1 : 2 in the Central Services. How the absence of officers belonging to one's own community affects the morale of that community hardly needs any stressing, in view of the utter demoralization that set in in the wake of the partition as a result of the ill-advised "option" that was practically forced upon the officers of both the new-born Dominions.

Thirdly, as to religious, educational, social and cultural safeguards.

In this domain, too, if the Fundamental Rights guarantee freedom of worship, freedom in the practice of religious rites and ceremonies, social customs and usages, cultural and educational activities, and complete religious toleration, and these rights are enforced in an impartial manner, the religious, educational, social and cultural interests of the Hindu nation will be adequately safeguarded.

Besides these Fundamental Rights embodied in the constitution, another safeguard for the cultural and religious interests and personal laws and usages of the minority may be devised. In fact, such a safeguard was

demanding on behalf of the Muslim League by its President, Mr. Jinnah, in one of his famous "Fourteen points"; and it runs thus :

"No Bill or Resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such Bill or Resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community."

The Cabinet Mission sent out by the British Government in 1946, too, embodied such a safeguard in its proposals of May 16, 1946, in paragraph 15, clause (2), as follows :

"Any question raising a communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

Fourthly, as to methods that might make the safeguards effective, there might be brought into existence a "Communal Council" to protect the cultural interests of the minority community (as discussed in the Nehru Report of 1928)—a standing Minority Board, whose function would be the supervision of educational institutions, orphanages, widows' homes, temples and *Maths*, *Dharamshalas* and *Serais*, etc., of the Hindu community; and the encouragement of their languages, scripts, literature and other cultural activities; and its other important duty would be to bring to the immediate notice of the authorities any instances of injustice, oppression, unfair discrimination, etc., that may be done to the Hindus, so that their grievances may be remedied without delay.

Fifthly, these safeguards, political, economic and cultural, will have to be continued for a pretty long time, at least for a generation (or, say, twenty-five years) to come; and the question of their elimination (or of some of them) can only be seriously considered when the feeling of nervousness and the sense of inferiority have been totally removed from the minds of the Hindu minority as a result of the continued good and sympathetic attitude of the Muslim majority.

Sixthly, with respect to other safeguards for the minorities, I would suggest that in all elective bodies, like Municipalities, District Boards, etc., the same system of separate electorates be followed; and the formula recommended in the late Deshabandhu Das's famous Bengal Hindu-Muslim Pact of 1923 be adopted; *viz.*, that the minority seats and the majority seats be in the ratio of 40 : 60 throughout the Municipalities, District Boards, etc., whichever community may be in the minority.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the very emphatic manner in which the rights of the minorities were sought to be safeguarded in the celebrated resolution of the Muslim League at its Lahore session, held on the 26th March, 1940—the session which marked an epoch in modern Indian history by its adoption of Pakistan as the constitutional goal of the Indian Muslims; and it runs thus :

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for the minorities in Pakistan for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

Brave and generous and re-assuring words these ; and if the leaders of the majority community in the Dominion of Pakistan act up to the spirit of this declaration and ensure by their attitude and conduct that all the legitimate safeguards that the minorities want

will be vouchsafed unto them, and that the minorities will have nothing to fear in the pursuit of their normal avocations with dignity and self-respect, then one can hope that in the fulness of time all the uneasiness, the defeatism, the bitterness that is poisoning the political atmosphere today will pass away, and the new Dominion will launch upon a progressive and prosperous career with the goodwill of all its citizens and the blessings of Providence.*

* Memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

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LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By SUDHANSU MUKHERJI, Advocate, High Court

UNDER Section 290 of the Government of India Act of 1935, as adapted by the India (Provincial Constitution) Order of 1947, the Governor-General may by Order create a new Province, increase the area of any province, diminish the area of any province and alter the boundaries of any province, provided that before making any such Order the Governor-General shall ascertain the views of the Government of any province which will be affected by the Order, both with respect to proposal to make the Order and with respect to the provisions to be inserted therein. And it is provided by Section 8 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, that except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion, each of the new Dominions (i.e., India and Pakistan) and all provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that the provisions of that Act shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of Indian Independence Act, 1947, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General, have effect accordingly.

Thus, under the law as it stands at present, the Governor-General has ample powers to increase the area of or to alter the boundaries of a province. There is only one restriction, that is to say, he has got to ascertain the views of the Government of the province that may be affected. It does not mean that the Governor-General is bound by such views.

In the case of West Bengal and Bihar, the matter of the alteration of the boundaries should be beyond the pale of controversy.

The Congress is now in office and can put the saddle on the right horse. The Congress unanimously passed in the 1911 Sessions a resolution stating *inter alia* that

"In readjusting the provincial boundaries the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

There is no reason why the Congress should not in 1948 swear by the 1911 resolution. If there can be no opposition between reason and common sense, the

dismemberment of Bengal should make it clear that there is great reason in what West Bengal claims for.

On top of it the leading lights of the province of Bihar (to be affected by the Order of the Governor-General) published a statement in 1912 suggesting that "the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal."

If still any one in Bihar now recant the Congress resolution and show truculence, India should not lose a moment to restore the recalcitrant to reason, and also take immediate action under Section 290 of the Government of India Act.

Dr. Ambedkar points out the necessity of taking such steps in his letter to the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly. This is what he writes in paragraph 20 of his letter :

"I would invite special attention to Part I of the First Schedule and the foot-note thereto. If Andhra or any other linguistic region is to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governors' provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the Draft Constitution is finally passed. Of course, the new Constitution itself contains provisions for the creation of new States but this will be after the new Constitution comes into operation."

Part I of the First Schedule enumerates the present nine Governors' Provinces and states that these are the territories known immediately before the commencement of this Constitution as the Governors' provinces. There is a long foot-note which will at once show that the "clamour" of West Bengal is not at all inopportune. Nor can it be said that her claim is anyway extravagant.

The foot-note reads as follows :

"The Committee has anxiously considered the question whether Andhra should be specifically mentioned as a separate State in this Schedule. There was recently a statement by the Government on this subject, in which it was said that Andhra could be included among the provinces in the Constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act, 1935. Accordingly, the Committee was at one stage inclined to mention Andhra as a distinct State in

the Schedule. On fuller consideration, however, the Committee feels that the bare mention of the State in the Schedule will not suffice to bring it into being from the commencement of the new Constitution. Preparatory steps will have to be taken immediately under the present Constitution in order that the new State, with all the machinery of Government, may be in being from the commencement of the new Constitution. This was what was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Act of 1935; they were made into separate provinces with effect from April 1, 1936, while the Act came into operation on April 1, 1937. The Committee therefore recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new States whose formation it may recommend to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted."

Dr. Ambedkar as Chairman of the Drafting Committee made these observations on 21.2.48 when he submitted the Draft of the new Constitution of India to the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly of India.

Have Government of India, in accordance with the recommendation of the Draft Committee, appointed any Commission "to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions"? If no such Commission have yet been appointed as regards "other linguistic region," do not our National Government owe an explanation to us? It cannot be said that the recommendation emanated from a handful of wicked agitators. The recommendation emanated from distinguished and responsible men of the day like Ambedkar, Gopalaswami Ayengar, Alladi and Munshi and others who constituted the Draft Committee and who had a long session before they forwarded their views to the authorities. If Government have not yet taken any steps, let us hope that it is not due to any disinclination on their part to accept the recommendation of that illustrious Committee.

Pandit Nehru in one of his Ooty speeches declared that he refused to be rushed. But Dr. Ambedkar and the other members of the Draft Committee took a different view and recommended the appointment of a Commission to work out all relevant matters and to submit its report before the Constitution is finally adopted.

With respect to Panditji, I should like to submit that there should be no further adjournment of the case of West Bengal and my reason are as follows :

(i) Hindi is being disseminated so vigorously that it is apprehended that by the time Panditji may take up the claim of West Bengal (as I stated on another occasion) he will perhaps find no vestiges of Bengali in any part of Bihar. So long Bihar is only an additional Court language in Manbhum. Bengali really occupied the pride of place. It is now understood that henceforth Bihari is the only language

that will hold the field in the law-courts of those places.

(ii) The provisions contained in the New Draft are far more complicated than those stated in Section 290 of the Government of India Act. They are thus bound to cause enormous delay. But West Bengal cannot afford to wait any longer.

(iii) The Draft Constitution contains provisions relating to the creation and administration of Scheduled and Tribal areas and it is obvious that the Singbhum and Santhal Parganas districts are bound to present a number of very hard nuts to crack.

I should like to take just a bird's-eye view of the provisions of the Draft Constitution corresponding to Section 290 of the present Act in order to impress upon all that if you postpone the case of West Bengal, you will perhaps defeat her claims altogether.

Under Article 3 of the Draft Constitution Parliament may by law increase or decrease the area of any State or alter the boundaries thereof : Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House except by the Government of India and unless (a) either

(i) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State from which the territory is to be separated or excluded ; or

(ii) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any State whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill ; and

(b) Where the views of the Legislature of the State whose boundaries or name would be affected by the Bill are ascertained by the President both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof.

A bare reading of these draft provisions and of the existing provisions embodied in Section 290 of the Government of India Act hereinbefore reproduced should make it crystal clear that to put off West Bengal's case is practically to smother a decision thereof.

There are now two mighty sons of Bengal in the New Delhi Cabinet. It is their sacred duty to take up the cudgels for West Bengal with courage and tact. They must not fail their country in need. If any of their colleagues take a mistaken view of West Bengal's claim, it is their bounden duty to take their courage in both hands and point out his mistake then and there.

West Bengal is down on her luck. Radcliffe has ripped her up. Her troubles are too many. If she want to live, her lost territories must forthwith be restituted to her.

The authorities at New Delhi should realise that this is a very live issue in West Bengal. They must not touch her on the raw. They must show sympathy and they must proceed boldly and decide justly.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GREAT POWERS' VETO

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.,

Deputy Secretary, Calcutta Association for the United Nations

If the United Nations, like its predecessor, the League of Nations, fails to achieve its purposes, the failure, I think, will mainly be due to its provisions relating to the rule of "Great Power Unanimity," more popularly known as the "Veto." In fact, recent comments on the United Nations are mostly directed against this Veto.

But what is this Veto?

To understand this we must refer ourselves to the Charter of the United Nations. There in the Article 27 we find that

"Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote," that "Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members" and that "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."

The same Article further provides that

"In decisions under Chapter VI and under paragraph 3 of Article 52," that is to say, when the Council is taking measures for pacific settlement, "a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting."

Now, as it is well-known, the Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations. Of them, the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America are permanent members of the Security Council and the General Assembly elects six other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council for a term of two years.¹ Thus it appears that under Article 27 of the Charter any one of the Big Five could block any action by the Security Council except in two cases: First, no Great Power may veto decisions on matters which are recognised as 'procedural'; and secondly, no Great Power may even vote on decisions solely concerned with pacific settlement, if it is itself a party to the dispute; for in such a case the disputant Great Power is required to abstain from voting at all.

But these limits on the right of veto are not at all substantial. There is no official definition of 'procedural matters.' It is, of course, true that on June 7, 1945, at the San Francisco Conference, the delegations of the four sponsoring Governments of Britain, China, U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. in a statement suggested that procedural matters include the following: adoption and alteration of the rules of procedure of the Security Council, selection of times and places of special and regular meetings of the Security Council, establishment of such agencies as the Council may deem necessary for the performance

of its functions, organising the Council in such a way as to enable it to function continuously, determination of the method of selecting the President of the Council, invitation of a member of the organisation not represented on the Security Council to participate in its discussions when that member's interests are specially affected, and invitation of any state when it is a party to a dispute being considered by the Council to participate in the discussion relating to that dispute.² But since this statement was not formally accepted by the San Francisco Conference as the official interpretation of Article 27, it is obvious that any of the Great Powers may consider themselves as not bound by that interpretation. The Delegations of the sponsoring Governments believed that the Charter itself contained an indication of the application of the voting procedures to the various functions of the Council and thought it unlikely that there would arise in the future any matters of great importance on which a decision would have to be made as to whether a procedural vote would apply.

"Should, however, such a matter arise" they maintained, "the decision regarding the preliminary question as to whether or not such a matter is procedural must be taken by a vote of seven members of Security Council, including the concurring votes of the permanent members."³

If we turn to the Provisional rules of Procedure of the Security Council adopted by it at its first meeting and amended at its forty-eighth meeting, there also we do not find further clarification of 'procedural matters.' There it is only stated that

"Voting in the Security Council shall be in accordance with the relevant Articles of the Charter and of the Statute of the International Court of Justice."⁴

Let us then study the different Articles of the Charter and the Statute to get an idea as to the extent of the right of the Big Five to exercise a veto in the decisions of the Security Council. Now any one who studies the Articles from this point of view will simply be surprised by the bewildering variety of matters which may be and in many cases have already been considered as non-procedural or substantive:

(1) A state may be admitted to the membership of the United Nations, expelled from it and have its rights and privileges suspended and later on restored only on the basis of a decision of the Security Council and any one of the Big Five may exercise a veto in all these cases.⁵

1. United Nations Charter, Art. 23.

2. Yearbook of the United Nations, p. 24 and United Nations Charter, Arts. 23-32.

3. Yearbook of the United Nations, p. 25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

5. United Nations Charter, Arts. 4, 5, 6.

(2) Special sessions of the General Assembly may be convoked by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the request of the Security Council and any one of the Big Five may exercise a Veto.⁶

(3) The Security Council deals only with those disputes or situations which if allowed to continue are "likely to endanger" in its opinion the maintenance of international peace and security. Any one of the Big Five may claim a veto on decisions as to this likelihood.⁷

(4) When the Security Council deals with a dispute as a problem of pacific settlement under Chapter VI of the Charter, it is true that the disputant Great Power may not vote; but obviously any Great Power could have its veto right if it is not disputant, that is to say, not a party to the dispute.

(5) When however the Security Council deals with a dispute not as a matter for pacific settlement but as a matter requiring action on its part to enforce its decisions under Chapter VII of the Charter, then a Great Power, even though party to the dispute, recovers its right of veto, which it might have lost during the discussion of the subject in the Security Council as a matter for pacific settlement.

(6) "All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreement and of their alteration and amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council" and "The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas."⁸ In all these decisions of the Security Council any one of the Big Five could exercise its veto.

(7) "A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."⁹ But there could be no recommendation of the Security Council, if any one of the Big Five liked to exercise its right of veto.

(8) The Security Council may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment of the International Court of Justice, if any party to a case fails to perform the obligations imposed upon it under the judgment.¹⁰ But then there might be no agreement among the Big Five and any one of them might exercise its right of veto.

(9) The Security Council may approach the International Court of Justice with a request to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.¹¹ But on account of the veto right of the Big Five there might be no such request to facilitate action in international affairs.

(10) Even the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations might not be filled as a result of a veto in the Security Council.¹²

(11) Any amendment or alteration of the Charter of the United Nations may not be possible, if only any one of the Big Five did not like any amendment or alteration and therefore exercised its right of veto.¹³

(12) The Security Council could, where appropriate, utilise regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no use could be made of such regional bodies, if there were no unanimity among the Big Five.¹⁴

(13) The conditions under which a state which is a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice but is not a Member of the United Nations may participate in electing the Court are, in the absence of a special agreement, to be laid down by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.¹⁵ Here also the veto might be applied by any one of the Big Five.

(14) Under certain circumstances the Security Council is required to fix a period within which elections to the International Court of Justice are to be held. But any one of the Big Five might so apply its veto that no such date could be fixed.¹⁶

(16) The Security Council could lay down conditions under which the International Court of Justice would be open to the states which are not parties to the Statutes of the International Court of Justice. Here also the Veto might apply.¹⁷

This is a fairly exhaustive list of matters which under the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice may be considered as non-procedural or substantive and therefore subject to the veto power of the Big Five.

The second limitation upon the Great Powers' veto is not at all important. It simply states that when the Security Council is dealing with a dispute as a problem of pacific settlement under Chapter VI of the Charter, a Great Power which is a party to the dispute may not vote. But obviously the Great Power will have its right of veto, if it is not a party to the dispute. Besides, when the Security Council's decision would involve action under Chapter VII of the Charter, then the Great Power, even though party to the dispute, recovers its right of veto. Moreover, as the Russians

6. *Ibid.*, Art. 20.

7. *Ibid.*, Arts. 23, 24.

8. *Ibid.*, Art. 25.

9. *Ibid.*, Art. 26.

10. *Ibid.*, Art. 24.

11. *Ibid.*, Art. 96.

12. *Ibid.*, Art. 97.

13. *Ibid.*, Arts. 106 and 109.

14. *Ibid.*, Art. 53.

15. Statute of the International Court of Justice, Art. 4.

16. *Ibid.*, Arts. 12 and 14.

17. *Ibid.*, Art. 55.

have pointed out, Art. 27 of the Charter refers only to a 'dispute' but not to a 'situation', and under Arts. 34 and 35 the Security Council is empowered to investigate 'any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. The Russians have, therefore, claimed that the limitation of the veto right applies only to disputes, and not to situations, and further that decisions as to which label should be stuck on are not procedural, but substantive and, therefore, subject to the veto.

One is almost tempted to say that there is veto here, there and everywhere in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Let it be remembered further that the matters in respect to which the Security Council is expected to decide and therefore the veto may be applied are not only numerous but also of vital importance to the United Nations. The Security Council has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security",¹⁸ and in view of this importance of the functions of the Security Council the Members of the United Nations have agreed to accept and carry out its decisions in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.¹⁹ The decisions of all other bodies of the United Nations are nothing more than recommendations. It is only the decisions of the Security Council which are binding, even though these decisions may relate to matters which may be considered by a Member State as falling within its domestic jurisdiction.²⁰

I do not deny that the United Nations experiment in respect of the veto represents a definite improvement upon the League of Nations. Under Art. XV of the League Covenant substantive decisions of the League of Nations Council could be taken only by the unanimous vote of all its members, permanent or non-permanent with the exception only of parties to a dispute. However, it was under Art. XI of the Covenant that most of the disputes brought before the League were dealt with and decisions to make investigations taken, and there the unanimity rule was invariably interpreted to include even the votes of the parties to a dispute. The voting formula under the Charter of the United Nations substitutes for the rule of complete unanimity of the League Council a system of qualified majority voting in the Security Council. Under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations non-permanent members of the Security Council individually can have no veto. There is nothing new in the veto right which the Great Powers now possess under the Charter of the United Nations. It is a right which the permanent members of League Council always had. It

right, therefore, be reasonably expected that, other things being equal, the voting formula in the Security Council would make the operation of the Council less subject to obstruction than was the case under the League of Nations rule of complete unanimity.²¹

I do not even forget that the Charter of the United Nations does not allow the Big Five to act in complete independence of all the rest in the Security Council. Even under the unanimity requirement, the Big Five must be able to carry with them at least two of the non-permanent members in the Security Council. Thus if the non-permanent members in the Security Council could act as a group, they also could exercise a veto.²²

I even concede that some sort of an argument could be put forward on behalf of the Big Five for their possession of the right of veto. The Charter of the United Nations gives the Security Council a governmental responsibility for taking decisions that might involve major political consequences for all the members, especially for those who command great power in international politics. The Great Powers, especially U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom thought that it would be an excessive dose of "world government" to allow the Security Council to decide and act on the basis of the usual democratic principle of majority rule, because the structure of the Security Council did not recognise the greatness of the Great Powers whether in respect of population or in respect of real power. This view was clearly stated by the British Government in their Foreign Office commentary on the Charter of the United Nations.²³

"At least until some system is worked out and accepted by the majority of States ensuring that votes in a Council represent both the population and the real power of State, the special position which has been granted to the Great Powers for more than a century must be maintained."

After all this has been said I find it still difficult to accept the view that the voting formula in the Security Council affords any sound basis for the building up of a reliable system of collective security in the modern world. There is an inherent defect in the formula adopted. Disputes in international politics may not be always pacifically settled. It is obviously necessary that in some cases at least decisions about pacific settlement should be followed by enforcement action. As Mr. W. Arnold Foster has said:

"The Council ought not to make corporate decisions of importance unless it can be reasonably sure of being able to follow them through without being blocked at a later stage by the veto. Thus the fear of the veto permeates the whole system. Such a system has paralysis in its blood. It is like a car whose starter is apt at any time to engage the mechanism for switching the engine off."²⁴

The machine for maintaining peace is thus very ill-designed. In fact, it has been also very ill-used. The

18. United Nations Charter, Art. 24 (1).

19. *Ibid.*, Art. 25.

20. *Ibid.*, Art. 25 and Art. 2 (7).

21. *Yearbook of the United Nations*, p. 24.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

23. *Cmnd. 6646*.

24. *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 1.

Russians have already used their veto power for about twenty-five times.

There is not only paralysis in the system; it is based on the vicious anarchical principle of conceding to each Great Power a wide license to be judge in its own cause, and thus violates the principle of 'equality before law.'²⁵

Finally, the formula is such that sanctions are now possible only when they are least likely to be necessary. The Charter allows any Great Power to veto all decisions on disputes to which it is not directly a party. Obviously a Great Power may choose a 'client' state and proceed to shield it by the veto.²⁶ The ill-will that has already been generated between the communist East and the non-communist West does not encourage us to believe in the hypothesis that in a critical situation the Great Powers would agree "in lifting the Charter's sword to protect the common peace."²⁷

What then should we do in relation to the Veto?

I think there are four alternative courses of action. First, we might simply do nothing for the present and take up rather an attitude of "wait and see." Secondly, we might ask the Great Powers to agree among themselves to regard certain subjects as procedural, not substantive, and thus liberalise the veto. Thirdly, failing such an agreement among the Great Powers, we might attempt to circumvent the veto so that peace at any rate could be maintained and aggression stopped. Finally, we could even take steps of changing the Charter itself.

Those who advise us to "wait and see" believe that time is not yet for any change at this early stage in the life of the United Nations. They argue that we are passing through a period of dangerous tension between the communist East and the non-communist West and that in a critical situation like this we should do all that is possible to limit the burden put on the Security Council and to discourage all forms of challenge to veto lest tension between the two blocs might be increased.

But I think the argument advanced for a policy of "wait and see" ought to lead us to a contrary conclusion of doing something urgently for establishing a reliable basis of collective security. If the faith of the peoples in the United Nations is not to wither away, if in fact, U.N.O. is not to fiddle, while the world burns, something must be done to remove the veto. Otherwise, the system that is designed to act as a brake may suddenly break the machine, throw the world into flames and leave us completely helpless.

The Interim Committee, more popularly known as the Little Assembly, appointed by the General Assembly at its second session in 1947 to consider among other things also the question of veto has received from the Governments of China, Britain, U.S.A. and Canada certain suggestions based apparently

on a policy of liberalising the veto. The Chinese proposal lists four decisions which should be regarded as procedural and therefore not subject to veto. These are: (a) The determination of whether a question brought before the Council is a situation or a dispute; (b) the determination of whether a member of the Council is party to a dispute and thereby required to abstain from voting; (c) the fixing of conditions under which a state not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice; and (d) a request to the Court to give an advisory opinion. It is also suggested in the Chinese proposal that the Assembly should make a recommendation to the permanent members of the Security Council to waive their veto right in all proceedings arising under Chapter VI of the Charter, the pacific settlement of disputes. It is further proposed that whenever the Council fails to adopt a resolution voted for by a majority of seven or more members, including four of the permanent members, a special session of the Assembly to consider the question might be called at the request of such a majority, provided the question is removed from the agenda of the Council.²⁸

The essence of the British proposal is also a similar "code of conduct". The British suggestions are in fact a revised version of a memorandum submitted by the Foreign Secretary Bevin at the Council of Foreign Ministers in November 1946. The point in the original memorandum dealing with an abstention not being considered as a veto has been omitted, because that practice is now recognised in the Council. It is now proposed that there should be an agreement among the Big Five to consult each other where possible before a vote is taken, if their unanimity is required to enable the Council to function effectively. If unanimity is not achieved, it might be agreed that the minority of the permanent members would exercise the veto only where they consider the question of vital importance to the United Nations as a whole, and they would explain on what grounds they consider this condition to be present. Further, the United Kingdom proposes that the permanent members might agree not to exercise their veto against a proposal simply because it does not go far enough to satisfy them. It is also proposed that another agreement among the permanent members might be to the effect that questions should be brought before the Council only after other means of settlement have been tried, and that they must then be presented in proper form. The permanent members might also agree, according to the United Kingdom proposal, that they would support further rules to provide that for the consideration of any question the Council should appoint a rapporteur or a committee of some of its members to make a further attempt at conciliation before resorting to the final discussion and voting. The last point in the United Kingdom proposal suggests a formula for the definition of a "dispute."²⁹

25. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

28. *United Nations Weekly Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 7, p. 271.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 271-2.

The United States also considers that to liberalise the veto is a more practical procedure than to amend the Charter and that on the most important decisions on enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter unanimity is a necessity and corresponds to the political realities of the international situation. The United States therefore proposes that the Interim Committee should study the categories of decisions which the Council is required to make and should submit to the General Assembly a list of categories of decisions which should be taken by an affirmative vote of any seven members of the Council, whether or not they are regarded as procedural or non-procedural. In a provisional list of 31 such categories the United States includes decisions with respect to such matters as the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the pacific settlement of disputes, and obtaining the assistance of other organs such as the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice. The United States further favours mutual agreement by the permanent members of the Security Council to follow such voting procedures, and consultation among themselves wherever feasible concerning important decisions to be taken by the Council.³⁰

Canada also does not favour any attempt to amend the Charter until the possibilities of reforming the Voting procedure within the present frame-work are exhausted. Nor does it like to accept indefinite postponement of any solution or the ignoring of all proposals put forward in the General Assembly. Canada wants that not only should the means of restricting the veto be considered, but also that positive steps should be taken to improve the over-all procedures of the Council. Canada therefore proposes that (a) when a state brings a dispute or situation to the attention of the Council, it should submit a written statement showing how continuance of the dispute or situation might endanger international peace and security, and what steps the parties had taken on their own toward a peaceful solution; (b) that the Council should work out agreed procedures to ensure that the question of its jurisdiction in a dispute or situation which is restricted by the Charter to those which are likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, is settled at an early stage; (c) that the rules and practices of the Council should be based on a recognition of its obligation to deal with disputes and situations within its jurisdiction, for the Council's primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security was conferred on it by the Members of the United Nations in order to ensure prompt and effective action; and (d) that the Council should work out agreed procedures to ensure that no state is judge in its own cause.³¹

It is easy to see that in none of these proposals there is any suggestion of abolishing the veto altogether. The essential merit of all these suggestions is that they

could be easily accepted by the Great Powers, if they so liked. In fact, the Great Powers are not being asked in any of these suggestions to surrender their vital privilege of veto. But this privilege of the few may mean disaster for the many, if in a critical situation requiring urgent action the machine designed to establish peace is paralysed by the use of veto by any of the Big Five. Even if a country be subject to aggression by another country, nothing could be done by the Security Council, if the Big Five could not agree among themselves.

Here comes the proposals for "circumventing the veto." One such proposal has come from the directors of the American Association for the United Nations. They propose that the U.S.A., "pursuant to its freedom under Article 51," should declare as a national policy that, if the Assembly finds that a Member is the victim of armed attack and that the Security Council has failed to discharge its responsibilities for maintaining peace, the U.S.A. will "in co-operation with other nations so inclined, take measures which it deems necessary in support of the nation so attacked. In case the U.S. deems action necessary before the General Assembly can meet, and gives assistance to the nation attacked, it will report both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. It will be prepared to abide by the General Assembly's decision as to whether such aid should be continued."³² I think this freedom of action is permissible under Article 51 of the Charter, which says that

Nothing in the Charter "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The paralysis in the system is thus being removed by removing the centre of decision and action from the Security Council to an outside authority.

But the difficulty is that in the modern world this type of action in self-defence is possible only when great nations like U.S.A. are prepared to help the victim or victims of aggression. Besides, it may not be safe to transfer the judgment whether aggression is being prepared or committed from the Centre of the United Nations, that is, the Security Council to the individual Members or the majority vote in a Committee less representative than the Security Council.

We are thus left with the last alternative of changing the Charter. But perhaps the Great Powers will not agree to any textual amendment of the Charter. The veto is for them a privilege, and the privileged never give up their privilege unless they are forced to do so.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

32. *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 1.

If we turn to Articles 106 and 109 we will find that veto is being guarded by veto. It is not even possible to expel any of the Big Five from the United Nations nor to suspend the rights and privileges of any one of them.³³

From this point of view it is easy to see that the New Zealand proposal for an amendment of the Charter with the specific purpose of providing that the concurring votes of only four of the five permanent members of the Council would be required in reaching a Council decision is an impractical proposition.³⁴ Argentine makes a peculiar suggestion for amending the Charter. It proposes the summoning of a General Conference of the Members of the United Nations in order to study the privilege of veto with a view to its abolition. Under Article 109 of the Charter any alteration of the Charter recommended by a two-third vote of such a Conference would take effect when ratified by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Dr. Jose Arce, representative of Argentine, however, argues that once an amendment is ratified by two-thirds of the Member States, "it should then become the law of the United Nations. Those nations which do not agree will have their sovereign right of withdrawing from the organisation, if they so desire."³⁵

But what Dr. Jose Arce seems to have forgotten is that the Members who do not agree to the amendment proposed have also the sovereign right of staying in the United Nations.

33. United Nations Charter, Arts. 5 and 6.

34. United Nations Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 7, p. 271.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

It seems to me that some political action on an international scale, it may be some form of non-co-operation against the permanent members of the Security Council, may have to be restored to to bring them to a reasonable frame of mind so that they agree to surrender their veto power. Here two courses of action could be suggested. First, the non-permanent members of the Security Council could approach the permanent members with the proposal that if the latter did not surrender their veto power, the former might as a matter of policy decide to veto all the decisions of the Security Council.

Thus we could meet the Great Powers' veto (which each of the Great Powers is entitled to even individually) by the Small Powers' veto (which they can exercise if they act together as a group). Secondly, if the Small Powers' veto was not sufficient to change the attitude of the Big Five, or if in any case, the Small Powers in the Security Council did not act together, the Members who want to break the deadlock might notify their intention of withdrawing from the United Nations.

Let me state it clearly that I am not an enemy of the United Nations. But I am convinced that unless something is done to reform the machine and to make it more effective for international action, peoples' faith in it will wither away. Once the veto is removed it will not be difficult to introduce further changes with a view to make it more and more democratic. What I want is a democratic world-state, which the United Nations is not, and which it also cannot be so long as the veto remains to stem the growth of this international organism.

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THE NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

By P. L. MEHRA, M.A.

EVEN as free India was being born out of the womb of time, she took a stride that surprised friend and foe alike. The raising of the Dutch-Indonesian question before the Security Council of the U.N.O. heralded indeed a new phase in Asian—nay in world history. On behalf of the down-trodden, submerged humanity in a far-flung corner of the Indian Ocean we took up cudgels. What is more, we followed this up with a clarion call: "Foreign armies have no business to stay on Asian soil. . . . we shall not tolerate foreign troops operating in Asian countries." Nehru's words were clear and emphatic. Here was a new Monroe Doctrine of the East, a driving of the first nail in the coffin of European Imperialism in this part of the globe.

A reference, however brief, to the Monroe Doctrine, in the context especially of events that led up to it, would help considerably in a more correct appraisal of its present version.

Much as 1945 with the defeat of Nazi Germany presented Europe with a skein of highly entangled and complex issues, issues that have baffled solution so far, 1815 with the defeat of Napoleonic France faced Europe and its "Big Four" (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria) with an equally bewildering variety of new problems. Not the least important among these was the question of the vast South-American possessions of Spain. Overrun by Napoleon and his proteges, honeycombed with Monarchist intrigues, beset with the most urgent problem of national rehabilitation, Wellington's Peninsular campaigns had spelled rack and ruin, Spain was diseased at once of limb and body. For her it was difficult, if not indeed impossible, to recover the dominions that sprawled across the span of oceans. In that hour of dire need, royalist and reurgent France, the old neighbour across the Pyrenees, aided and abetted by the powers of the Holy Alliance (Austria, Russia and Prussia), came to her

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lescope. It was decided that expeditionary forces be dispatched and Spain's lost possessions be reclaimed.

Just then President Monroe of the United States of America in a message to Congress made a veiled reference to these designs. His people, he declared, could not look with equanimity upon European Powers 'interfering' in any part of the American hemisphere. America, in other words, would not take it lying down. It was a brave, a revolutionary, declaration that set the European dovescots a-flutter. And yet for all their boldness the words of President Monroe or the sentiments of his people could not have stood in the way of the troops of the Holy Alliance. America then, a shrivelled-up state of hardly 20 colonies, was not what she is to-day. She hadn't the wherewithal to meet the challenge.

Britain came to America's aid. For motives, a jumble at once of altruistic and mundane, she decided to underwrite the Monroe doctrine. The naval squadrons of the 'Mistress of the Seas' blockaded the path of the expeditionary forces. What was more Britain hastened to recognise the 'independence' of the 'republics'. Canning could indeed say, as he did, that he had called a New World into being to redress the balance of the Old. What he forgot to say was that the rough outlines of his brave New World had been drawn by his great counterpart across the Atlantic.

It would be beyond the scope of this short essay to examine all that the Monroe doctrine has entailed in subsequent history; pan-Americanism, Yankee Imperialism, the Big Stick policy, the Dollar Diplomacy, to mention but a few. To our present purpose it would suffice to say that in 1822 President Monroe saw with a prophetic eye far into the future, foresaw fairly clearly all that European colonial expansion meant in the Americas. He was indeed a statesman, helped in a remarkable measure by fortuitous circumstance: the split of European Powers, Britain's break with her continental allies, her vision of trade prospects in the New World.

The problems in Asia to-day are in no wise different from those of the Americas in the early 19th century. They might indeed have been different if the Japanese, the first to raise the political stature of the Asiatic, had not been lured into the shadowy illusion of a Herrenvolk of the East. The quivers of hope which they sent into many a breast struggling against foreign domination proved false and illusory. The conquest of Korea and Manchuria in the early thirties, followed close on its heels by the attempted strangulation of China, came as bitter disillusionments to not a few. And long before Pearl Harbour, with the brilliant military campaigns in awning and what turned out to be the rout of the aliens from the sacred soil of Asia, it was plain that Asia's salvation lay not through the race of Nippon.

Asia to-day is a boiling cauldron, a seething mass of humanity struggling against colonial imperialism of the worst type. In certain parts—Iran or China—the struggle is not so apparent as in others—Indonesia and Indo-China. Essentially however, beyond the shady oil deals of the Kremlin in Iran, or the secretive help of the Yankees to parties and factions in China is the bare reality of Western powers controlling—or attempting to control—the economic life of these peoples. In Indonesia and Indo-China the outline is bolder and clearer. Here we are face to face with a naked 17th century colonial system trying to establish its stranglehold in the face of resurgent nationalist movements. These movements were seasoned in the fires of World War II, when the 'masters' abandoning their wards to the tender mercies of invading hordes took to flight. The invaders in turn for the economic slavery they imposed conferred the much clamoured-for 'independence'. But to-day the masters are come back again!

The pattern is closely akin to that of 1822. Then as now across the mighty oceans ply ships carrying men and munitions to help establish 'law and order' in the far-off colonies. These in turn show a strange reluctance to accept the gracious offers of 'equal partnership' with the Mother-country in a joint Commonwealth. And all the while independent India, her position in the present set-up not radically different from that of the United States in the twenties of the 19th century, makes it plain that she doesn't like European powers poking their little noses in the internal affairs of these nascent republics. What the pattern lacks is a guarantor, a someone who will underwrite India's Monroe Doctrine.

In the gloom that grows thick and fast as the Hollanders' 'Police Action' carries all before it, or as the Reds succeed in extorting oil concessions under duress, a glimmer of hope beckons too. A factor of no mean import is the voluntary quittance of the British from the field. Mr. Churchill's doughty successor is fast "liquidating" the "Empire," a course of action pregnant with vast potentialities. India's liberation, with that of Burma and Ceylon round the corner, will release progressive forces of no mean magnitude. What is more, Australia's consistent championing of the underdog in lands close to hers is something not to be lightly trifled with. And finally 1947 is not 1822; world opinion to-day could not be flouted with the callousness and impunity of the days of Metternich and Louis XVIII. What the future holds in store for Asia's awakened masses would be hard to presage, what is certain is that a New World is being born here in the East, to redress the balance of the old, war-torn, bankrupt West.



HOW HINDU CULTURE HAS INFLUENCED CHINA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

It was, I think, 15 years ago that on a moon-lit night in our home garden, my mother told me several Buddhist stories; she talked of the happiness of Western Paradise, how everything there was exquisitely adorned with gold and silver and precious gems; how the pure waters there, over the golden sands and surrounded by pleasant walks, were covered with large lotus flowers. Thus was this happy abode perfected and adorned. Moreover, heavenly music was always heard in this abode; flowers rained down three times a day; and the happy beings born there were able, on going to the other world, to wave their garments and scatter flowers in honour of countless other Buddhas dwelling therein. In the end she said that what we called the Western Paradise was the India of today. It made a deep impression on me in my boyhood.

When I had finished the senior middle school course and attended the university, I chose Classical Chinese as my subject and besides I took up a course in Buddhism as my optional subject. After my four years in the university it seemed quite clear to me that China and India were the only two very ancient countries whose living civilizations and cultures were truly venerable; that there had been a close contact of friendship between the two countries for many many centuries; that during the last two thousand years India has not coveted anything of China but instead, gave us the *sadhana* of freedom and *maitri*. Along with that message came the wealth of her literature, art and education. We had received inspiration from India in the fields of music, painting, drama and poetry. Her apostles had brought with them great gifts of Astronomy, of medicine and of educational institutions; nor had they ever been sparing in their gifts and all their gifts were accompanied by deep love and friendship which were based on Buddhism.

Now what is it that we thus received from India? In the spiritual plane, she taught us two important things:

(1) India taught us to embrace the idea of absolute freedom—that fundamental freedom of mind which enables it to shake off all the fetters of past tradition and habit as well as the customs of the particular contemporary age, that spiritual freedom which casts off the enslaving forces of material existence. In short, it was not merely that negative aspect of freedom which consists of ridding ourselves of outward oppression and slavery, but that emancipation of the individual from his own self, through which men attain great liberation, great ease and great fearlessness.

(2) India also taught us the idea of absolute love, that pure love towards all living beings which eliminates all obsessions of jealousy, anger, impatience, disgust and emulation, which expresses itself in deep pity and sympathy for the foolish, the wicked and the simple—that absolute love, which recognises the inseparability of all beings: "the equality of friend and enemy," "the oneness of myself and all things." This great gift is contained in the

Buddhist *Tripitaka*. The teachings of those seven thousand volumes can be summed up in one phrase: "Cultivate sympathy and intellect, in order to attain absolute freedom through wisdom and absolute love through pity."

In the cultural field, India brought us invaluable assistance. Of these influences I enumerate some.

Since India and China came into contact with each other more than two thousand years ago through Buddhism, it is natural that what has influenced Chinese culture should be through Buddhism. The translation of the Buddhist canons into Chinese gave us new ideas, new systems and new materials for our literature.

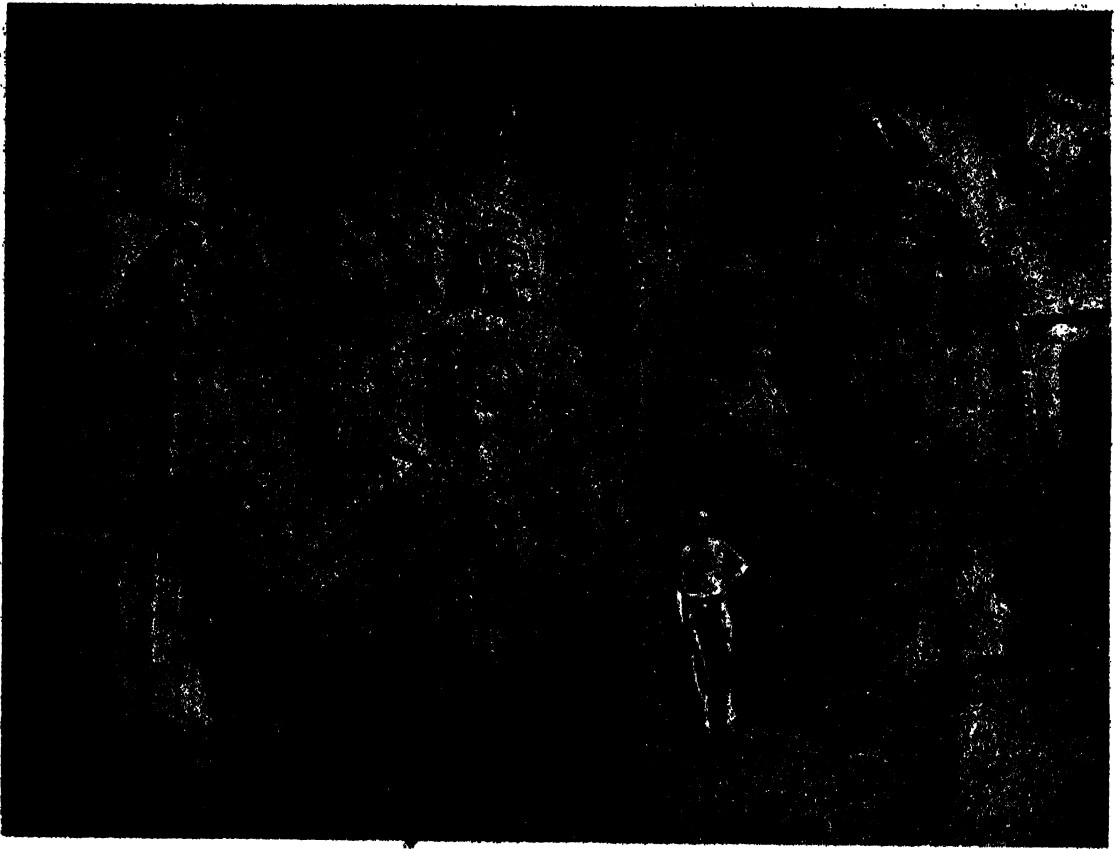
ENRICHMENT OF PHRASES

According to a Japanese Buddhist Dictionary, during the eight hundred years between the Han and the Tang dynasties prominent Chinese Buddhists created more than 35,000 new phrases and words. There were two methods: one was that of combining Chinese single words into another new meaning; such as *Chin-ju*. *Chin* means *real*, the word *Ju* means *likely*; their combination means *Bhuta-tathata*. The world is fundamental to Mahayana philosophy, implying the absolute, the ultimate source and character of all phenomena. Another example is the word *Chung-Sen*; *Chung* means *all* or *many*; *Sen* means *born*; and the combination is a new phrase meaning *Sattva*, all the living beings. A third example: the word *Ying* means *first cause*, *Yuan* means *second cause*; when these two words are combined it is translated as *Hetupratyaya*.

Another method was the adoption of a Sanskrit word with its original sound; an instance of this is the word *Ni-Pan* which is the rendering of the Sanskrit *Nirvana*. And *Cha-Na* came from the Sanskrit *Ksana*. At that time, the Buddhist translators not only created many new phrases but also saw to it that they were distinct and correct. This is truly a great contribution to our literature.

WIDENING THE CHINESE WRITERS' HORIZON

The Indian literature was so fraught with the exercise of imagination that it liberated our Chinese literature which was lacking in deep imagination. Indian writers when writing had a fund of thousands of verses of the two great epics the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the richest poems in the world, to draw upon. The Buddhist poet Sri Asvaghosa whose main poetic work is known as the *Buddha-Charita-Kavya-Sutra* which had been translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksa, exerted great influence not only on Chinese Buddhism but also on Chinese literature. As the late Prof. Lian Chi-chao said, our long poems of *A Heroine of Mo-lang* and *The Peacock Flying towards The South-east* belong to the style of the Buddhist literature. The novels and dramas of the Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties were influenced by Buddhism indirectly. *The Record of a Pillow* of the Tang dynasty, which narrates how there was a Taoist named *La-wei*



Buddha images in rock-cut caves

having once stayed at a *serai* had conversed with a scholar who deplored the poor conditions under which he laboured; and then the Taoist Lu gave him a pillow and asked him to go to bed. He immediately dreamt how he passed his time in good fortune throughout his whole life; awakening, he perceived that everything that had happened was illusory. Another popular novel *The Plum of the Golden Bottle* of the time of the Sung dynasty states that there was a young man, the son of See-men-Ching, whom a Buddhist priest Po-chen taught the noble preachings of Buddha; the boy then changed his surname from Hase-ko into *Ming-nu* and finally followed the priest as a *Sramana*. Such a religious novel bears obviously the influence of Buddhism.

The field of drama is complicated in itself; a famous writer of modern China Mr. Cheng Chin-tu divides a play into three parts: (a) the main body, (b) the minute details and (c) the local drama. Dramatic dancing and singing had their respective origins in ancient days, but a combination of the two does not seem to appear till after the period of the Wei and the Tsin dynasties. The earliest opera play we know of was called *Pu-tow* (Wedge). Modern research has shown that it was introduced from a country called *Bate* in South India. Till the end of the dynasties of Northern and Southern China, several

musical instruments introduced into China from India passed through Central Asia. The Yang Emperor of the Hsu dynasty collected all instruments and divided them into nine groups; among them, there were some instruments of Khotan and Indan.

The popular instrument of that time was the *Kon-ho*, a stringed musical instrument used by the ancients which came from India during the Han dynasty. An important musical instrument used during the Han and the Tang dynasties, was called the *Pi-Pa*, a guitar which came at that time from Egypt, Arabia and India, along with Buddhism down to China. We can therefore trace how both the literature and music of China have been deeply influenced by India. We also see that the stories of the Chinese plays, such as *A Record of South Trees*, *A Record of Soul Returning*, *A Play of Thunder-peak Pagoda* and *A Dream of Butterfly*, were Buddhist. A style of Chinese essays called *Prose* has been discovered from Tung-huang caves; it occupied an important place in Chinese literary field. A modern Chinese scholar Mr. Lu Chien-yu calls this the Buddhist lyric. Actually there are some differences between "Reading Prose" and "Buddhist lyrics"; the latter body consists of religious songs translated from Sanskrit. It was prevalent in the Tang dynasty; the former is a system of prose which consists of two parts,

both for reading and singing such as the "reading prose" of Vimalakirti. Another popular reading prose is known as *Mahamaudgalyayana Seeking his Mother from Hades*. It describes how Mahamaudgalyayana to save his mother from hell made all people be inspired with the sublime ideal of "universal love" of Buddhism.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHINESE LITERARY STYLES

Ancient Chinese written books do not show sufficient effect at organization and therefore lack clarity of presentation. With the advent of Buddhist classics, it began to be more systematic and consequently more lucid and logical in the exposition of ideas. Indian Hetuvidya and methodology ushered in a new era in China in the art of writing. At the same time, the Buddhist translations were being written both in verse and prose. It created a new field for Chinese literature. All translations of Buddhist literature were written simply, because in the study of Buddhist books the aim is to emphasize original meanings and not to fashion fine sentences. Dr. Hu-hsieh in his work, *The History of Dialect Literature of China*, states that the story of Jen-pan minister (see *Antasahasrika-Prajnaparamita*) was written in a style of revolutionary dialect in that age. He also says that the prose of Dharmaraksha and Kumarajiva were written in the then patois. Dharmaraksha and Po-yuan had translated several Buddhist Sutras in the literary style of the enigma, it was composed according to the rhyming tone of mass songs. During that time, poets wrote several poems containing Buddhist thoughts. For example, there was a great poet of the Tang dynasty named Lee-po whom his friends called "the god in exile" because he seemed to have come from a higher world than this one and to have looked into realms that most men cannot see. Here are his verses, full of Dhyana:

Why do I live among the green mountains?
I laugh, and answer not, my soul is serene; it
dwells in another heaven and earth belonging
to no man;

The peach trees are in flower, and the water
flows on.

Afterwards there was a development in the style of the proverb generally used by the Zen school and Neo-Confucians. This likewise was related to the Buddhist literary writing.

THE BIRTH OF THE CHINESE ALPHABET

Written Chinese consists of numerous symbols which in the earliest stage of their history were mainly pictographic in form. This was a great handicap. With the introduction of Buddhism and Sanskrit a number of Indian scholars attempted to invent an alphabetical system to solve our difficulties. The first alphabet that was thus introduced appears to have been one of 14 symbols. It is called "Si-yo-hu-shu" or "Foreign Writing of the Western Countries" and also named as "Ba-laman-shu" "Brahmanical Writing." It was then that the Indian Buddhists who had come to China assisted in forming, according to the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, a system of 36 initial

letters, and described the vocal organs by which they are formed. They also contributed tables, in which, by means of two sets of representative characters, one for the initials and another for the finale, a mode of spelling words was initiated. Shen-kung, a Buddhist priest, is said to have been the author of the system and the dictionary Yu-pien (Discrimination of Language) was one of the first extensive works in which it was employed. There was also a famous historian named Shen-yo, to whom has been attributed the discovery of the Four Tones. In his biography in the *History of Liang Dynasty* we find: "He wrote his *Treatise on the Four Tones* to make known what man for thousands of years had not understood; the wonderful fact which he alone in the silence of his breast came to perceive." When the Republic was established in 1911, our government introduced the alphabet of the standard language to the people. Although it was rather crude and did not yield very satisfactory results, it furnished us with valuable materials for further experiment.

In respect of the field of art which has been so much influenced by Buddhism, we know that Indian art was carried to China through Central Asia, where we had had trade with Indians during the early Han dynasty. Modern research has shown that the vestiges of Indian art have been discovered by archaeologists all along the Central Asian routes. In all the chief cultural outposts of China, such as Bamiya, Bactria, Khotan, Miran, Turfan and Tun-huang they have discovered remains of Buddhist grottos, sculptures, paintings, etc., which bear testimony to the great effort made by Buddhist India to bind China with lasting ties of cultural relationship.

Buddhist art reached China proper. It had strength enough to impose itself on the national art of the country and influenced it for several centuries. I think Buddhism gave a new life to the development of art in China. This art did not follow the Chinese classical traditions but represented a synthesis of strong Indian and Ser-Indian elements which gradually adapted themselves to Chinese genius. I shall give the following examples of various arts in China.

NEW STYLE OF BUDDHIST TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION

Indian architecture followed Buddhism to China; there were several new innovations, such as Buddhist temples, stupas and stone caves. Among them the temples were important to the common people for worship on the one hand and for the monks' meditation on the other. According to our tradition, those temples were built either by individuals or by prominent monks in ancient times. We have no details of architecture as there are now extant only a few ruins which tell us of the glory of those olden days. According to a Japanese engineer, the ancient construction of Pa-Ma-se (Monastery of White Horse) of Loyang was copied from the architectural style of Anathapindadarama in Kosala State. The *Records of the Nanking Buddhist Temples*, although they mention many events of note in temples, give no details. A better source of information in this matter is the *Records of the Loyang Temples*, in which are written details about the

construction of Yong-Ning-se (Monastery of Permanent Peace) which was built by an Empress of the Wei dynasty in 516 A.D. It was an enormous Buddhist stupa in nine stories, more than 90 Chang (about 900 feet) in height and the temple was 100 Chang in height. The entire construction was in wood and occupied more than 10,000 square feet of land. It was about 100 Li (about 30 miles) from the capital whence we can see that stupa. "On the top of the tower, there was a golden mast." This was a temple constructed in Indian style; we never had such a one before the days of Indian influence. The late Prof. Liang Chi-chao says that we do not always realise how much this particular form of architecture adds to the natural beauty of our landscape. We cannot think of the West Lake in Han-chow of Chekiang province without its two Pagodas, the grand Lucy-fong (Thunder Peak) and the graceful Po-su. The oldest piece of architecture in Peking is the Pagoda in front of the temple of Tien-ning (Heavenly Peace) built during the close of the 6th century A.D. What beauty of harmony does the island of Chung-Ihwang (Fairy Flower) in Pei, with the white Pagoda on its peak and the long verandah below reveal! This was what the combination of Chinese and Indian architecture alone could have achieved.

SCULPTURE OF CAVES

In ancient times we had carvings upon stone but never, I think, sculpture in three dimensions before the introduction of Buddhism. Modern research has shown that stone sculpture began with the Wei dynasty, as the King, Wen-chen, was in favour of Buddhism. Thereupon, later emperors and empresses wished to have a stone cave in the hills where there would be sculptured Buddha's statues for religious purposes. From the biographies of prominent monks of China, we learn that Tai An-tao of the Tsin dynasty, who was generally known as a painter and literary man, was also a sculptor. He and his brother worked together upon a large image of Buddha, which enjoyed great fame in its days. After that time, there are several records of famous sculpture being executed during the Six Dynasties and the Hsu and the Tang dynasties. Unfortunately all these were destroyed during the civil war between the Northern and the Southern dynasties; as well as by the deliberate vandalism of three emperors, who were bitterly opposed to Buddhism. We still possess today the great rock sculptures and reliefs, three or four thousand in number, at Ye-khu (near Lo-yang) and Lung-men (Dragon Door) executed during the Wei and the Tsin dynasties. But the great treasure we have is the group of figures at Yung-kuang (Clouds Hills) Datung (great Commonwealth) large and small, not less than a thousand in number. Yung-kuang caves were located 30 Li (about ten miles) off from Ping-chen, the old capital of the Wei dynasty. Yung-kuang is situated on the bank of the Chuang river of Wu-chow, and Ye-khu is on the bank of Yi river. Both of them are similar from the geographical point of view. Hence during the Wei dynasty, the people called Yung-kuang the Northern caves and Yi-khu the Southern caves of China. According

to the Book of Wei dynasty, there was a Sramana named Tan-yao who got permission from the king to carve out five caves in the Wu-chow, by the west side of the capital. There were two Buddha images carved on hill stone, one is 70 feet in height and another 60 feet. We thus come to know that cave-sculpture in the hills was introduced by Sramana Tan-yao.



The influence of Indian Art on Chinese sculpture

The Buddhist art of sculpture during the time of the Wei dynasty is best represented in the grottos of Yung-kuang and Lung-men. It is best to describe the art of Yung-kuang in the words of Chavannes, who was the first to explore the region:

"To appreciate the fineness and elegance of the art of the Northern Wei, we should study these statues

which are life-size. We shall see in them a gentleness of expression and a gracefulness of pose which other periods have not been able to render so successfully. Several of these statues are seated in a cross-legged posture in front of each other; this posture is no longer seen in the Buddhist carvings executed under the Tang dynasty."

But it has since then been recognized that the art of Yung-kuan and Lung-men is much more than what Chavannes held it to be.

Yi-khu caves were constructed by Emperor Hsiao-wen of the Wei dynasty when their capital was transferred to Lo-yang. By the west side of Yi-khu mountains is Lung-men. On the east of that mountain is Hsian Hills; several Buddhist caves were carved on those two hills, they were very like the Yung-kuan caves.

The Yung-kuan caves were completed during the Wei dynasty. The Yi-khu (or Lung-men) caves were being executed during the period extending from the Wei to the Tang dynasty. Because there was a civil war during the period of Hsiao-ming emperor of the Wei dynasty, it was natural that little attention was paid to the construction of Buddhist caves. During the emperor of Chin-Kuan's reign (Tang dynasty), there was a chieftain of Wei state named Tai, who carved three caves in the north side of Yi-khu. These exist to this day.

The third great seat of Buddhist art of sculpture in China is Tung-hwan caves, better known as the "Grottoes of the Thousand Buddhas" as there are a thousand Buddha images in them. Situated as it was at the meeting place of the Central Asian highways on the frontier of China, it has received almost all the Ser-Indian influences which have been observed in the art of Khotan, Kuchar and Turfan.

The construction of the grottoes was started in the 4th century A.D. but the oldest dated grottoes go back to the Wei dynasty. There are four different stages in the development of the art at Tung-hwan: (1) the art of the Wei dynasty (5th and 6th centuries A.D.), (2) the art of the early Tang dynasty (7th century), (3) the art of the late Tang dynasty (from the middle of 7th century to the 10th century A. D.), (4) restorations and additions were carried on up to the middle of the 11th century A.D.

FROM STUPA TO CHINESE TOWER

The construction of towers began after Buddhism has been introduced to China. In India, the purpose of the Stupa was to keep either Buddha's or a saint's relics. But the tower in China was used not only for keeping a saint's relics and the Buddhist Sutras, but also as a memorial to prominent personalities. The earliest Chinese tower was built at Po-ma-se of Lo-yang during the Han dynasty. By the time of the Hsu dynasty, it became a common constructional operation. For example, in the 1st year of Wen-ti reign of the Hsu dynasty (601 A.D.) the emperor gave a royal mandate to the 30 Chinese monks who were responsible for the construction of such towers in various districts of the country.

Another example is provided by the pair of the

so-called winged lions which guarded the gates of the Han graves, set up at the beginning of what is known as the "spirit path" which led up to the burial mound. It has been suggested that the impulse for the use of such guardian animals came to the Chinese from the West, probably by sea and through India, although they reshaped these impulses according to their own creative genius and stylistic tradition, which survived from the Han period. Again, the Chinese Shen-tao pillar (spirit path pillar) was also copied from the Indian Asoka pillar.

PAINTING

The paintings of the most ancient period of our history have disappeared. From several records, we only know that there was painting before the Han dynasty; when Confucius visited Lo-yang in about 526 B.C., he saw a picture of the Duck of Chou holding his young nephew Cheng on his knees. After Buddhism had been carried to China there was a new encouragement to our Chinese painting. Buddhism gave new ideas to the painters. The temple murals and Buddhist pictures might have been influenced by Ajanta's wall-paintings. The most renowned painters in our early history were Kuo Tan-wei and Kuo Ha-to. They were famous for their paintings of Buddha. For instance, a straight still figure of Buddha, his eyes half-closed in meditation, his face quiet with inner concentration, helped the beginner to meditate. A picture of heaven or of a procession of saints moving with stately steps from cloud to cloud showed people the grace and beauty of holiness. In China, many artists lived in the quiet Buddhist monasteries and the walls of the temple were filled with decorations that showed the life of Buddha or other saints, and even the western paradise.

The most famous Buddhist painter was Woo Tao-tze, who lived in the first part of the 8th century A.D. He was a Buddhist and worked a great deal in monasteries. He executed many paintings on the temple wall. It is learnt, that he painted three hundred frescoes on the wall, but, unfortunately, they have crumbled and disappeared, and his smaller paintings are lost, for even from the Tang dynasty, very few pictures have come down to us. Landscape painting was carried to its greatest perfection as the Chinese always loved Nature and felt very close to her. I think, it may be the influence of Buddhism which strengthened their love of nature, for did not Buddha say, "Truly, trees and plants, rocks and stones, all shall enter Nirvana."

We have cited enough examples in which the ideas of Indian art have deeply fertilized Chinese art.

The influences of Buddhism were also felt in the scientific field; there were four important influences:

ASTRONOMY AND THE CALENDAR

About the first part of 8th century A.D. there were some Indian monks employed to regulate the national calendar. The first mentioned is Gaudamara whose method of calculation was called "Kwang-Tao-Li" (the Calendar of the Bright House). It was used for three years only.

HOW HINDU CULTURE HAS INFLUENCED CHINA

Another Hindu monk named Siddhartha had presented a new calendar to the Tang Emperor in 718 A.D.; it was translated from an Indian calendar, which was called *Kia Che Li* or *Navagraha-Siddhanta*. It had greater success in China and was in use for four years. It contained a calculation of the moon's course and the eclipses. In 721 A. D. the Chinese Buddhist named Yi-hing adopted a new method of calculation which was evidently based on the Indian astronomy as it contains the nine planets in Indian fashion: the sun, the moon, the five planets and the two new ones, Rahu and Ketu by which the Indian astronomers represent the ascending and the descending nodes of the moon.

AYURVEDA CARRIED TO CHINA

The Indian Ayurvedic system was taken into China. The earliest date was the middle of 5th century A.D. when a Chinese noble named King-sheng, who was a Buddhist had gone up to Khotan State. He has left us a work which, although it does not seem to be an exact translation from any Indian source, is at any rate a compilation from different texts of the same origin. It is called *Che-Chan-Ping-Pi-Yao-Fa* or the method of curing the diseases concerning meditation.

During the Tang dynasty, Emperors and nobles of the court sent a special envoy to India to hunt for Indian Thaumaturges (*Tantrik Yogis*) who were supposed to be in possession of secret methods of curing the effects of old age.

In the 11th century A.D., an Indian Ayurvedic book named *Ravanakumara-tantra* was translated into Chinese from the original *Sanakrit*. It is a treatise on the method of the treatment of children's diseases. The book, *Kasyapa-samhita*, was also translated into Chinese at the same period and it deals with the treatment of pregnant women's diseases. Actually the Chinese had their own medical system and they took every care to enrich it from time to time with materials received from outside.

BLOCK PRINTING

In ancient times transcription of books was the only method to diffuse knowledge in China. It was so till the Ch'en and the Han dynasties. Though we had discovered a stone plate printing method, it was not so easy for printing purposes as the stone itself was rather heavy and it was also a clumsy thing. During the Hsu dynasty, the carved-wood plate printing method was introduced in China from India. Since then the Buddhist priests have been in the habit of giving people little paper charms, stamped with a picture of Buddha, to protect them from demons or illness. To have a quicker way of copying books and spread their teachings, Chinese Buddhists adopted this printing method and made experiments in the quiet and leisure of Buddhist monasteries. Thus the first book was printed in 868 A.D. It was one of the sacred books of Buddhism called the *Vajra-chedika-prajna-paramita-sutra*. A copy of it has been found recently, wall up in a temple in Chinese Turkestan. It is the oldest printed book in the world. Several other books

on Buddhism printed during the Tang and the Sung dynasties have also been brought out from Tung-hwang caves. Afterwards this wood-block printing method was taken over to Europe and it developed into fine copper printing, it has also become a wood-cut art at present.

NEW EDUCATIONAL METHOD

How education was exactly conducted in ancient China, no one is able to tell; but we are quite certain that Confucius and Mencius did not resort to the method of addressing a large number of audience for the preaching of their teachings, and it is quite likely, therefore, that the system of formal lecturing, with which we are so familiar to-day, came from India. For instance, several institutions were established during the Sung, the Ming and the Ching dynasties, called "*Shu-yuan*," each run by some prominent scholar, who collected round him a large number of pupils to be taught a certain course. This seems to have been the same as the system of *Gurukula* or *Asrama* of ancient India. The teaching of the *Shu-yuan* emphasized moral discipline as well as intellectual training; it specially gave instructions on how to encourage self-cultivation which had been introduced from the Buddhist meditational method. In the *Shu-yuan* system of the Sung and the Ming dynasties, great emphasis was laid on personal cultivation, contemplation, and introspection; and this was in fact the key point which brought the change in social ideas and customs. Our Chinese proverb states that we keep our mind only when we hold it fast, we lose it when we give up our hold. This is a course of mental hygiene in one of our educational methods and western scholars are going to realise the power of mind in the same way.

Furthermore, our educational method not only involves teaching of knowledge, but also the training of the spirit. Hsu Chin-yuan, the Neo-Confucian scholar of the Ming dynasty, said of learning:

"Learning is of great importance to man. One who is born intelligent would lose what one originally has without it. Without it one would not be able to maintain dignity. Without it moral transformation, as from weakness to strength or from evil to good, would be impossible. Without it one can never reach the state of perfection in moral virtues of love, righteousness, reasonableness, wisdom and truthfulness. It would be impossible, without it, for one to discharge dutifully one's function in this world of complicated relationship . . . Without it one would not know what would be the proper thing to do under different circumstances. . . ."

Thus we find that the definition of the word learning in China, consists of two things, one is knowledge and another is spiritual experience. That is exactly what Buddhism taught its followers.

What I have referred to above comprise the main elements of our Buddhist heritage and I am proud to say that we have made use of it to good purpose; Indian thought has been entirely assimilated into our own world of experience and has become an inalienable part of our consciousness. Indeed, Buddhism in China became much more than a second religion. It became the most

influential religion of the country and occupied the first seat of honour. Buddhism not only influenced China in the field of culture, in art, literature and science, etc., but also influenced Confucianism which as mixed with Buddhism during the Sung and the Ming dynasties developed into the school of Neo-Confucianism. The teaching of Neo-Confucianism was more spiritual than material, and more philosophical than political. It began with the Sung dynasty and ended with the Ming dynasty.

India and China have had such cultural ties for the last two thousand years. I love India, I admire India, as India has her own philosophy which made her stand and hold her head high in the world from the Vedic period till now. The Indians prized neither wealth, nor power, nor glory, nor martial prowess; the final criterion of human worth was knowledge,—knowledge not wealth, sacrifice not accumulation, beauty not ugliness, giving not taking, the seeking rather than the end of the search. These were the things that kept the spirit of man alive and related him to God. I also love China. I admire China, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have chanced to be born on her soil but because in China we possess a philosophy which has never asked people to cultivate the sense of individual comfort, and because China has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons, Confucius, Lao-tze, Mencius and Chaung-tze and others who taught

us the truth of universal wisdom, peace, goodness and the unity of all beings.

We have unfortunately been separated from one another for at least a few centuries, and the way of living in our two countries has been greatly affected by foreign influences both political and economic. We have to pave the way for new messengers. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China in 1924 and that of Pandit Nehru in 1939 on the one hand, and Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visits to India and His Holiness the late Tai-hsu's on the other hand have done a great deal to revive our old relation and our old friendship. Furthermore, we have been exchanging students and professors between our two countries since the war and recently our Chinese Government has appointed Prof. Tan Yun-shan as China's cultural and educational representative in India. Now that India has become an independent country, and China has also achieved her own freedom after this war, India and China should have a closer tie of friendship. I have no better words for expressing my feelings than the words which Pandit Nehru has used:

"And now the wheel of fate has turned full circle and again India and China look towards each other and past memories crowd in their minds; again pilgrims of a new kind cross or fly over the mountains that separate them, bringing their messages of cheer and good-will and creating fresh bonds of a friendship that will endure."—*The Discovery of India*.

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ANCIENT REFUGE HOUSES IN BRITAIN

By NORMAN HILLSON

ONE of the most attractive features of nearly every English town or village of any antiquity is the row of alma-houses—period cottages dating from the time of a generous bequest by a contemporary benefactor. At the same time, there are a number of larger hospitals for the poor which are worthy of attention, by reason of their ancient history and their beautiful buildings.

Let us start with the Royal Hospital at Chelsea in London. It is the work of Sir Christopher Wren, the designer of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was 10 years in building (1682—1692). From its foundation it has been a home for veterans of the wars who have fallen on evil days.

There is a picturesque legend that Nell Gwynne, the orange girl of Drury Lane, and favourite of King Charles II (1660—1685) was so moved by the spectacle of old soldiers about London without any means of support that she approached her royal lover.

The King said in jest that she could have just as much ground as could be enclosed by her handkerchief. Nell thereupon tore her handkerchief to bits, thread by thread, and found enough silk to enclose the broadacreage at Chelsea on which the hospital was built.

Alas! there is no truth in the legend; the only connection the King had with it was that he laid the foundation stone three years before his death in 1685.

The buildings contain a hall, a beautiful chapel, and extensive dormitories and recreation rooms for the old soldier inmates. The hall is now used as a reading room and contains in normal times a varied collection of medals and other military trophies.

In the chapel are preserved several of the Eagles captured at Waterloo and in the Peninsular War against Napoleon. It is almost exactly as Wren left it.

Today there are 550 in-pensioners. They are familiar figures in London in the characteristic long red frock coats they wear in summer.

Just outside the old City of London walls is the picturesque hospital of the Charterhouse, the survival of the original Carthusian foundation established by the French knight Walter de Manny in 1371. It became a monastery, but was dissolved at the time of the Reformation in 1536.

Here Queen Elizabeth lodged in 1558, before her coronation the following year, and King James I used it for his court when he came south from Scotland in 1603.

The buildings subsequently were acquired by the rich coal merchant Thomas Sutton in 1611. In his will he endowed the property as a home for pensioners and as a school.

timbered building was originally the hall of the United Guilds of the Holy Trinity and St. George, which was founded in 1383. After the Reformation the buildings were acquired by the famous Earl of Leicester in Queen Elizabeth's reign (1559-1603). He built the Tudor hospital which is now so familiar a local landmark.

Lord Leicester established his foundation for a Master and twelve brethren. Each pensioner was, and still is, required to wear in chapel a habit of blue-black, surcharged with the heraldic bear and ragged staff of the Warwick family with which the town has always been associated.

Each brother originally had to prove that he had not more than £50 a year of his own before he could be elected to the foundation. Also he had to come from Warwick, Kenilworth, Stratford-on-Avon, or Wooten-under-Edge, in Warwickshire, or Arlington in the neighbouring county of Gloucester. Today the brethren each receive an allowance of £80 a year and their quarters.

A little distance from Winchester, the ancient capital of England, set in pleasant gardens and amid fields, there



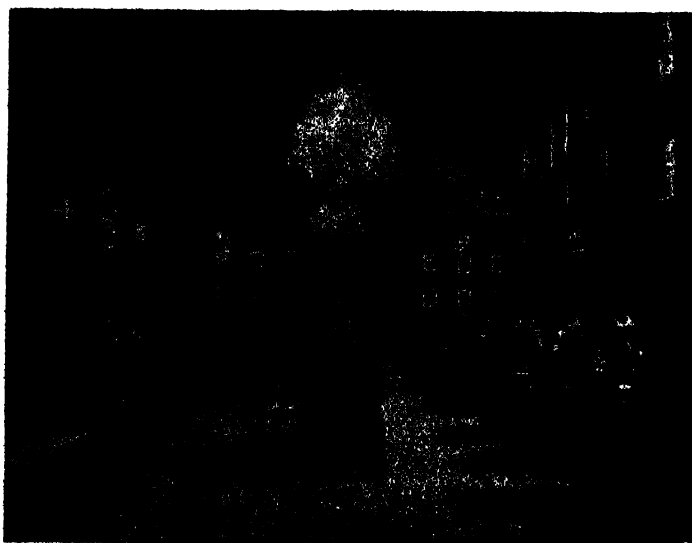
The main entrance and the fine Doric portico of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, London, designed by Sir Christopher Wren in 1682

The pensioners were to be 80 in number—"gentlemen by descent and in poverty, soldiers who had borne arms by sea and land, merchants decayed by piracy or shipwreck, or servants in household to the King or Queen's Majesty." The school was for 40 boys. It has grown considerably since that time, and now, in its new home in Surrey, is one of the most important public schools in England.

Until the outbreak of World War II, the Charterhouse still had its pensioners in their black gowns. They were accommodated in their own rooms, as their founder wished. Unfortunately the ancient buildings suffered considerably from fire during the air raids, but plans are on foot to re-establish their home exactly as it was.

The Midlands town of Warwick is one of the most perfectly preserved places in the country. Apart from the huge castle, there are some notable churches, remains of fortifications, a priory, and the two town gates.

The West Gate is a place of pilgrimage for travellers because of its proximity to the picturesque Lord Leicester's Hospital for impoverished citizens. This remarkable half-



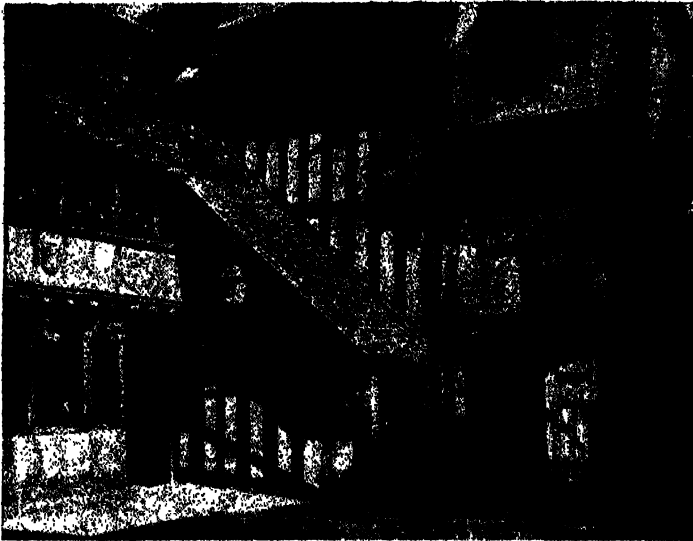
The great hall of the Royal Hospital is now used as a reading and writing room

is the ancient Hospital of Saint Cross. The genuine traveller may ring the bell at the great gate and be regaled with a piece of bread and a glass of beer, for this is the ancient tradition of this unique asylum.

It is perhaps the oldest hospital of its kind in the

kingdom, for it was founded by Hyde de Blois in 1136 for the relief of "thirteen men, so reduced in strength as rarely or never to be able to raise themselves without the assistance of one another."

In 1377 Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, re-established the Hospital as a "Brotherhood of Noble Poverty," but the pensioners were drawn for the most part from his own considerable retinue.



The Leycester Hospital in the city of Warwick is a fine specimen of Elizabethan half-timbered architecture, built in 1571

It escaped dissolution at the time of the Reformation, and continues to flourish. In 1857 it was organised on a trustee basis.

At the gateway is the hatchway erected by Cardinal Beaufort. Here the beer is dispensed to the Wayfarers in horn cups, and bread is served on wooden platters which were originally made in the hospital by the pensioners.

The brethren wear distinctive robes. Those who depend on the original charity of de Blois have black

gowns with prominent silver crosses on the shoulder. Those of the Beaufort foundation have a robe of Cardinal red.

In Windsor Castle immediately opposite the beautiful St. George's Chapel, you will find a row of charming old Tudor houses. Here live that select community known as the "Military Knights of Windsor."

This honourable body of veteran officers has an ancient history, and dates from the same time as the establishment of the famous Order of the Garter by King Edward III in 1348.

In those days the knights were called the "Milites Pauperes" and the King, in making the endowment, used these words:

"Out of great regard he had for the military honour and those who had bravely behaved themselves in his wars, yet chanced to fall into decay, made a provision for their relief and comfortable sustenance in old age providing for them in this his foundation."

Twenty-six poor knights were originally appointed; they wore a red mantle, with the escutcheon of St. George. After their election they received 12 pence a day, and 40 shillings a year for other needs, provided they fulfilled certain duties. They had to pray for the Sovereign and the Knights of the Garter. They had to be present each day at High Mass, at masses for the Blessed Virgin,

at vespers and at complin. If they failed in their religious obligations, then they lost their 12 pennies a day.

Since 1833 they have been called simply "Military Knights" and today they are chosen from impoverished senior officers of all three fighting services. They still attend services in St. George's Chapel and have special duties at Garter chapters and other functions. They wear a picturesque red tunic, blue overalls and cocked hat with red plume.



ADULT EDUCATION SETTLEMENTS

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

SIR RICHARD LIVINGSTONE, the most prominent among the creative educationalists of England, wrote in 1943, amidst the blissard and horrors of World War II :

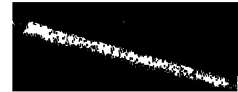
"Education cannot be completed by 18 or 21, and by failing to provide adequate facilities for its continuance, we deny in practice what we affirm in words, that it is a life-long process. One of the chief problems of the day is to make it life-long. Opportunities for systematic adult study are needed on a wider scale, and these must not be limited to lectures or classes given in any hall or schoolroom that happens to be available. They must have a 'local habitation,' a focus in the Latin sense of the word, a hearth where the fire remains continually lit, and where education can be more than isolated individual study and becomes a life shared with the others. The Educational Settlements which have grown up during the century show how such a hearth can be provided."

In his well-known book, *Education for a World Adrift*, Sir Richard Livingstone condemns in the most merciless and outspoken way the system of education in England with its examinations, specialisations, academic snobbery and public school touch-me-notism, with its growing indifference towards history, literature, philosophy and fine arts. The harsh criticism of the author will become a hundredfold true when we turn our eyes from England to India, where the basis for a healthy nationalistic education is still to be laid. The narrow idea that education is to be got through certain approved schools and colleges is so strongly rooted in our people. The diplomas, degrees and titles become ends in themselves to be worshipped and adored, even to the extent of discarding the formation of personal character, sense of civic duties and the creative development of personality.

But today the very fact that even mass-produced graduates and the glamorous Europe-returned gentlemen feel themselves compelled to hunt after jobs for a salary equal to, or a little lower than, what the office clerks get, has turned out to be a blessing in disguise for us to ponder dispassionately the inherent defects of our educational system and our educated mentality. The lack of self-reliance, self-respect and national pride, the lack of will-power, strength of character and unlimited creativity are all found to be inseparably linked up with our present mercenary education. Whatever might have been the causes and results of such an education in the past, we are all agreed that in Free India we need the substance and not semblance of a healthy, national and creative education, more particularly for the adult population of the country, which is usually left out of our vast educational paper schemes.

To supplement and integrate the State schemes of national education in England, there are separate University Departments of what are known as "Extramural studies and adult education." Then there are residential colleges for adult education, as the Ruskin

College for both men and women at Oxford, Avoncroft College, near Bromsgrove, Worcs, meant specially for the agricultural and rural workers and the Woodbrook Settlement in Birmingham managed by the Quakers for promoting social, religious and cultural studies. Non-residential colleges for adult education are numerous in England and are spread throughout the country, extending up to Wales and Scotland. Of these the principal adult educational settlements in London which are really doing pioneering work are the City Literary Institute, Mary Ward Settlement, Toynbee Hall, Walthamstow Educational Settlement, Oxford



The City Literary Institute, London

and Cambridge Settlements in the East End and the Working Men's College. As one who has attended and seen something about these settlements from inside, I must say that the real seminars for the future Peoples' Colleges are to be found in those settlements. There is hardly any trace of formalities and academic snobbery which is the essential pre-requisite for the free and full development of humanity in us.

Then there are various voluntary organisations and associations that are engaged in adult education, of which special mention should be made of the British Institute of Adult Education, International

Federation of Workers' Educational Association, National Adult School Union, Workers' Educational Association and the National Foundation for Adult Education, all having their headquarters in London.

the Adult Education schemes are still being materialised.

A great incentive to the Adult Education of the common man was given in Germany and Italy during the reign of the Dictators. Their ideal was to give the opportunities to all the citizens of the State to enable them to acquire that amount of useful knowledge that will make them the best citizens in their own sense. It may not be out of place to mention here the part played by the G.I.L. (*La gioventù italiana del littorio*) in Italy for the formation of the youths of either sex during the last decade of the Fascist rule in Italy. It is no exaggeration to say that the common man gained more knowledge and experience about the economic, political and social problems of the day from those non-academic and popular institutions than from the recognised schools and colleges of the Fascist State. The State Education of the children, and of the boys and girls should later on be integrated by the efficient working of the Adult Education schemes, which, if rightly and intelligently organised, can

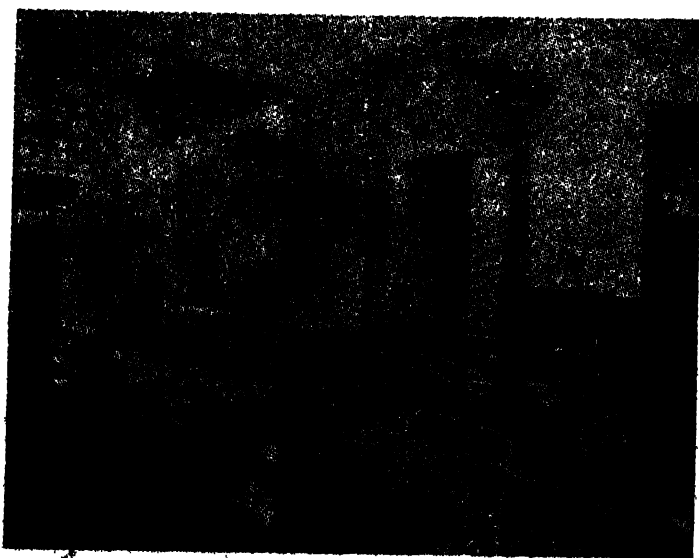


The theatre of the City Literary Institute

The settlements intended for improving the social status of the workers, the downtrodden and the unfortunate, the countrywide network of the Y. M. C. A.s and the Y. W. C. A.s—all co-operate and work together for the spread of creative education among the adult population in England.

Even with the most efficient system of general education as they have devised in England, challenging and creative minds like Sir Richard Livingstone, T. G. Williams, the present Principal of the City Literary Institute in London, are raising their voice so that the people of England may get freed from the glittering hollowness and arrogant snobbery of the Public School system and a new healthy, creative, national, all-sided, and, above all, life-long education may be provided for the common man in their country.

Of all the European countries, perhaps the Scandinavian peninsula has progressed most in the field of imparting adult education. In the beginning of the world war the Scandinavian countries had provided more than 200 Adult Education Colleges for their 16 million inhabitants. Proportionately and qualitatively England was lagging far behind the Scandinavians. In spite of the horrors of war in Norway, it is known



The corner of the canteen

benefit not only the illiterates and uneducated masses, but even University graduates and recognised professors.

Both the Wardha Scheme and the Sargent Scheme speak of the free and compulsory education of children between a certain age. The school-leaving age is fixed at fourteen or sixteen. So far well and good. Sir Richard Livingstone, in his book entitled *The Future*

in *Education* analyses this idea of fixing the age at fourteen, as it is fashionable in England, and says: "To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14." The argument holds good if we admit that what is physical death to our body that, in reality, is lack of education to the mind. Obviously, it is better to have compulsory education terminating at the age of 14 than to have no education at all. But in a more advanced society, as England is supposed to be, that argument holds ground as solidly as ever.



The library

But in a country like India adult education will have to serve many purposes. Its immediate and primary aim can be the uprooting of the curse of illiteracy from our land. Mass education of the adults, if undertaken immediately and wisely organised, can prove to be an effective remedy to the menacing cancer of illiteracy. Then, it is through bringing together the common man of all parts of the country that the living communion of minds and hearts takes place. What is fruitfully observed in our social clubs, debating and discussing groups of boys and girls, will prove to be more fruitful in these adult education centres.

It goes without saying that higher grades of Adult Education classes and courses given in advanced educational settlements, as the City Literary Institute or Mary Ward Settlement in London, can profit also the University graduates. Time will not be wasted and we discover that there is always something new and fresh to learn from those grand, living social and human phenomena, which are slowly being discovered, analysed, classified and interpreted through the co-operative interaction of the members and associates of the adult educational settlements.

Another very important aim of such educational residential settlements is to provide a periodic respite and salutary withdrawal for workers and men of action so fully engrossed in the busy turmoil of the world today. Karl Mannheim, the distinguished sociologist, says: "It will become more and more a question whether something corresponding to the monastic

seclusion, some form of complete or temporary withdrawal from the affairs of the world, will not be one of the great remedies for the dehumanising effects of a civilisation of busybodies." These settlements thus meet the profoundly human needs and creative urges for men and women who, unfortunately, fall a victim to the grinding wheels of the machine civilisation.

Dr. H. C. Dent, a man whose realistic approach towards modern life is as keen as it is critical and sympathetic, in his book entitled *A New Order in English Education*, says: "Men and women must have in future the opportunity to apply themselves uninterruptedly for a sufficiently long period of time to exploration of a selected field of knowledge, mastery of a desired skill, or enjoyment of a worthwhile form of recreation. Only thus can they be enabled to meet the ever-more exacting conditions of life in a modern industrialised society."

"The nearer we approach to full democracy the more numerous and more responsible will grow the common obligations of citizenship. The periodic withdrawal of the worker from the daily round and common task, that he may examine thoughtfully and objectively the nature of the society in the governance of which he takes so active a part will become more and more a necessity if muddle and mismanagement are to be avoided."



The gymnasium

Whatever the final form of national educational Plan for Free India and the provisions therein for the furtherance of vocational training is going to be, adult education, through residential or non-residential settlements, peoples' colleges, adult education centres, must form an integral part of our national life. They will become better and more efficient centres for creative education than the approved channels of the university syllabus system. They are enterprising experiments worth embarking upon, for the future of India will largely depend upon the sort of education we give to her people right now. In the great nation-building task that awaits us creative education through creative channels will be next in importance to the healthy economic development of the nation.

SOLVING HOUSING SHORTAGE IN BRITAIN

Factory-made Steel Houses

By PHILIP MURRAY

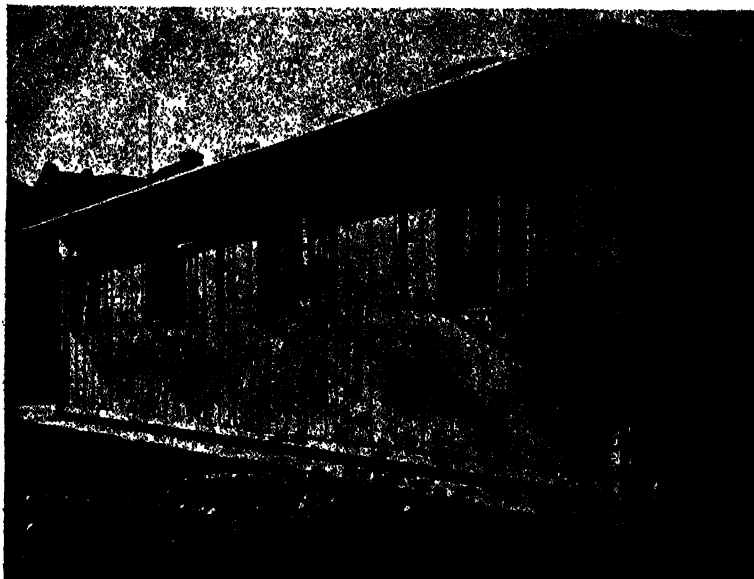
In Great Britain today plans are fast materialising for a huge co-ordinated building programme. There will first be an emergency period of two years during which the

can be turned out as quickly as airplane and tank parts have been during the war.

Although families will live in these houses only until they can find more permanent homes, no effort has been spared to provide them with all the benefits of modern science while keeping the rent as low as possible, and well within the means of even the poorest workers.

Although the house is small—it covers an area of but 616 square feet—it contains a living room 14 feet 3 inches by 10 feet 1½ inches; two bedrooms each 12 feet 5½ inches by 10 feet 1½ inches; a kitchen 10 feet 2½ inches by 7 feet 3½ inches; a bathroom, separate W. C., and a storage shed.

The house has been planned to give maximum areas to the rooms by avoiding corridors. Opening off the entrance hall are the kitchen, bathroom and W. C. One of the bedrooms opens off the kitchen, the other off the living room. The living room and kitchen are en suite, separated by a glazed screen

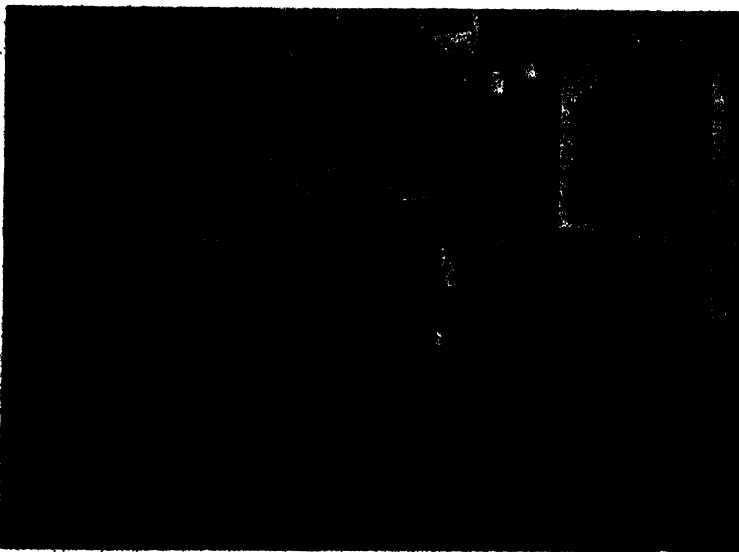


The exterior of a factory-made house fitted with ample windows with steel frames

accumulated and urgent demands will be met, and then a 10-year schedule of rapid building. One million homes must be built during the first two years of peace in Europe.

The builders that remain will not be able to build more than 300,000 traditional brick houses during this period. A new technique of building was required to bridge the gap, so the British Government has decided that half a million temporary houses must be mass-produced in factories—houses that can be put up quickly by trained men without retarding in any way the 12-year plan for 4,000,000 traditional brick houses.

Tens of thousands of men and women have become accustomed during the war to working with steel, of which there will be a surplus as soon as the munitions programme is cut. The prototype of the British Government's emergency house has, therefore, been designed to use steel so that parts



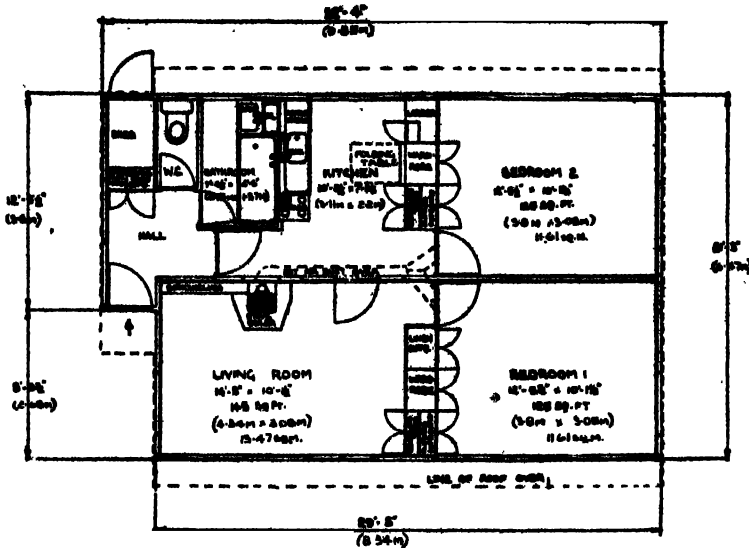
The comfortable interior of the living room

in the centre of which is a glazed door, giving an impression of space and light.

Realising that for sometime after the war it will be

difficult to obtain furniture, the designers of this house have built in several fittings. To-day these fittings would

On the kitchen side there is a combined assembled cooker, sink with two draining boards, and refrigerator, with drawers and cupboards below. On the bathroom side, the bath and combined clothes-washing boiler and hand-washing bowl are built into the steel unit. The hot and cold water pipes and waste pipes are in the middle of this unit, together with the hot water circulating cistern.



This plan shows the sensible use made of the area allotted and the compact arrangement of the domestic offices

be worth nearly £100 if they could be bought. Young housewives who have seen the prototype have all praised these fittings, which are, perhaps, the outstanding feature of the house. Indeed, it is in the interior of the house, rather than in the shell, that factory production has rendered its greatest service.

The two partitions between the kitchen and the first bedroom, and between the living room and the second bedroom, are arranged as cupboards. On the kitchen side there is a larder with divided horizontal shelves. The lower shelves are for dry goods, and the upper shelves have been ventilated for the storage of perishable foods. There is a second built-in cupboard on the kitchen side for brooms and other loose kitchen equipment. Between the two cupboards is a hinged table, which folds vertically against the partition when not in use. All these cupboards are made of pressed steel.

On the bedroom side of this partition there is a full-height hanging wardrobe, with horizontal hanging rail, and a short cupboard, shelved for containing personal linen. The bedroom side of this unit has mahogany plywood panels to the doors, which are framed in steel. The shelves are steel.

The cupboard unit between the living room and bedroom is also in steel, with plywood panels to the fronts. On the living room side is a shelved china cupboard with three drawers underneath, and on the bedroom side are three cupboards—one for soiled linen, one to serve as a wardrobe and the third for clean linen.

The partition between the bathroom and the kitchen conceals a mechanism which is a miracle of modern science.

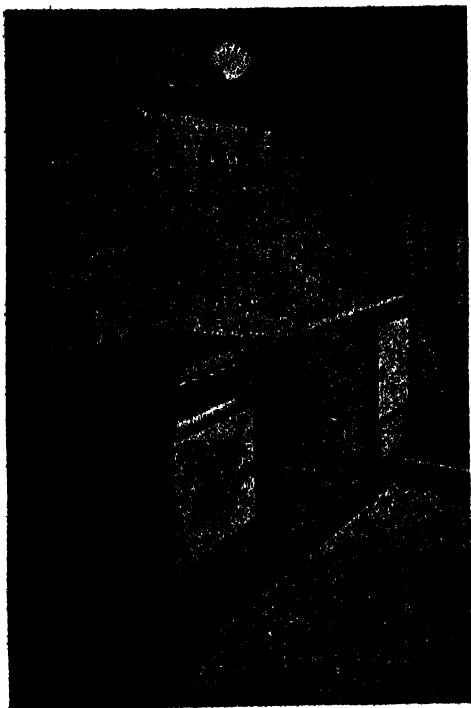
Water is heated by a boiler fixed to the back of the heating stove in the living-room. This stove burns either coal, coke or anthracite. An electric immersion heater, thermostatically controlled, is also fixed in the cistern to heat about seven gallons of water when the living-room fire is not in use. The living-room stove also heats the kitchen and bedrooms by hot air ducts between the walls of the various rooms.

The method of construction of these houses has been planned so that over 90 per cent. of the work is done in the factory. The wooden floors are in sections, screwed direct to sheet steel joists. The walls are in panels



The bathroom side, which has bath, basin and clothes-washing boiler built into the steel wall of equal widths (except at the corners) into which are built the steel-framed windows. The panels are

set on a sheet-steel sill at the floor level, and between similar vertical corner and middle posts. Three horizontal steel flats, at the top, centre and bottom, are in the thickness of the wall. The sections are tightened up by means of steel wedges at the ends of these flats. At the joints of the sections special mastic sealings are inserted to ensure perfectly weathertight joints.



The kitchen side, with a combined unit comprising cooker, refrigerator, sink with two draining-boards, drawers and cupboards and saucepan rack

The walls are built on the sandwich principle. The external side is sheet-steel, swaged to provide stiffness, and coated with flocculent anti-drum material on the inside to prevent noise. Internally, the wall is lined with steel in the kitchen, bathroom, W.C. and hall, and elsewhere designed to receive plyboard or any on a light timber frame, and faced on either side with aluminium foil. This gives the wall a resistance to heat equivalent to an 11 inches cavity brick wall.

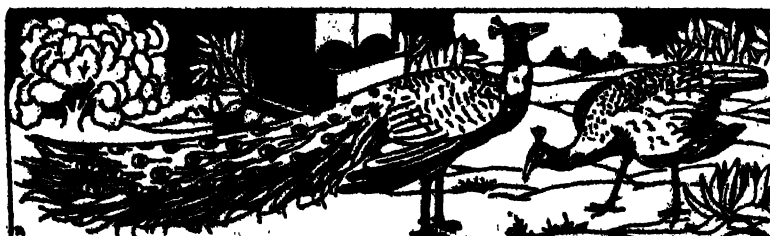
The roof, pitched at $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, has pressed metal joists at centres corresponding to the widths of the wall panels. These joists have their bottom members pressed in angle form at the ceiling level and at the top following the rake of the roof, the angles taking the sheet metal ceiling and roof respectively. The steel ceiling is plain, but the steel roof is swaged to obtain rigidity. Capping is placed externally at the joints of each section and adequate longitudinal steel bracings are introduced at the centre of the span. Above the ceiling level is placed aluminium foil mounted on timber frames similar to the wall panels.



The bed-room cup-boards of pressed steel with mahogany plywood panels

The steel is bonderised, primed and painted, except the roof, which is bonderised, primed and tar-sanded externally, which gives adequate protection from rusting.

The site work of erection is reduced to the minimum. Prior to delivery of the emergency factory-made house, a concrete slab is laid and tarred on the top surface, and the necessary services and drains are put in. Afterwards the floor sections are laid and bolted together on top of the concrete, and the end walls and side walls are positioned, wedged and bolted, working from one end of the structure. The partitions, cupboards and kitchen units are placed in position before the walls are erected. The placing of the roof, bearing on the outer walls and the internal central spine wall, is the last constructional operation. The house has been designed to meet an immediate requirement, and its life will be limited by licence.



JAIPUR AND ITS ENVIRONS

Their Place in Hindu India

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A.,

Superintendent, Archaeology and Art Museum, Jaipur

THE 'rose pink' city of Jaipur, literally known as the City of Victory, owes its existence to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II. In other words, it may be said that the city derives its name from the famous Jai Singh who ruled from 1699-1743. He was the king to stand by the son of Prince Azam-shah in the struggle for the Empire on the death of Aurangzeb and to drive the Moghuls out of Jaipur.

The present city of Jaipur was founded by him in the year 1728. The city, surrounded as it is on the north and east by rugged hills crowned with forts, is enclosed by a crenellated wall with seven gateways in it. This place is the pleasant healthy capital of one of the most prosperous independent States of Rajputana. It is a very big and important commercial centre with all possible amenities of life in it. The crowded streets and markets are lively and picturesque. The city is remarkable for the width and regularity of its main streets. It is laid out in its rectangular blocks and is divided by cross streets into six equal portions.

The grandeur and beauty of the city very well speak of the material improvements in modern civilisation, which manifest themselves in detail in the elegant style of town-planning found in Jaipur. But the fame of the city does not out-shine the grandeur of the State. The State of Jaipur, needless to say, is the most progressive State of Rajputana and it, just like its city, is magnificent both from within and without. It has a glorious past—the past on which its beautiful present is based and also a promising future it is destined to be. Here an attempt will be made to reconstruct its past on the basis of what has been found in the State. This would enable us to see Jaipur through the various periods of Indian history. Here its place in Hindu India (i.e., up to 1000 A.D.) has been discussed.

The State of Jaipur was known as Amber in medieval times. But its ancient name is *Matsyadesh*. According to Father Heras, a noted historian from Bombay, the place may rightly be called the land of the Meenas or the place of Fish. It is interesting to note that both *meena* and *matsya* mean one and the same thing, i.e., fish. This place-name is famous in the Mahabharata, for it was here that the five Pandavas came to reside in disguise after they had completed twelve years of their exile. In epic times Matsyadesh had its capital at Bairat—a village in the territory of the State, and commonly known as 'Viratnagar' of the Mahabharata.

Besides the epic evidence in question, the Rajput evidence on the historicity of the place ascribes to it the name of Dhundhar—another name of Jaipur, probably after a vigorous personality known as Dhundhar. The Kachhwaha clan of Rajputs,

whose head is the present chief His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sawai Man Singh Bahadur, ruled over this State of Jaipur since the time the place was known as Dhundhar.

Archaeological finds at Rairh, Bairat and other places reveal to us that traces of pre-historic civilisation are to be found in this part of the country. We are indebted to Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni for the information that the valley of Bairat was inhabited by man even during pre-historic times and that it is older than the epics. The chert flakes and cores discovered in one of the rough-built stone platforms in this valley and on the lower terrace of the adjoining hill closely resemble those found on the chalcolithic sites in the Indus Valley. The parallel walls found at Rairh by Dr. K. N. Puri appear to be but models of the parallel walls excavated at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. That their purpose must have been to serve as foundations for floors to prevent the possibility of their sinking is evident from their use at these places.

Again, the cult of Nature or Mother Goddess, the representations of which are to be found in clay here in quite a good number, has its origin in the hoary past.

This deity played a supreme role in the religion of the Indus Valley people, and also in the chalcolithic civilisation. It is interesting to note that the representations of the Goddess similar to those found at Rairh and other places in Jaipur State have been found in Baluchistan, Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, the Balkans, Syria, Palestine, Crete and Egypt.

It appears that the cult of the Goddess found to have been in existence in the State in the pre-historic times must have been widespread before the advent of the Aryans and also after it. It was so deep-rooted that it got assimilated in Vedic religion and the cult of the earth goddess came to be known as the cult of *Shakti* later on.

We do not find many traces of Vedic civilisation here and we find little to record of what appertained to those times. The literary evidence of the epics, no doubt, comes to our rescue in the post-Vedic era and we are able to connect certain courses of events with the period of epics in our country's history.

The present Maharaja, an illustrious descendant of the Kachhwaha clan of the Kshatriya as he is, becomes, historically speaking, connected with Kusa—the second son of Rama. The clan Kachhwaha is the corrupted form of the word Kushwaha. Since Kush and his father Rama Chandra were known as Suryavanshi figures, the present ruler and his ancestors belong to the same class of Suryavanshi Kachhwaha line of Kshatriyas.

Now coming to the evidence afforded by the

second part of the epics, the Mahabharata, we find that the first historical event we have knowledge of (from literary sources) is the great war fought between the Kauravas and the Pandavas on the battle-field of Kurukshetra. A scene of this historical drama was enacted in the vicinity of this city of Jaipur.

In the north of Jaipur is a place known as Bairat. The five famous Pandavas after their wanderings in the land of Rajputana and during the closing period of twelve months of their exile, are described to have concealed themselves in this region in the guise of menial servants. Thus the State afforded shelter to the Pandava brothers in times of trouble. The place is also associated with the epic period in the sense that the vicious Kichak with his hundred kinsmen was killed by the great warrior Bheem Sen here.

Again, this place better known as Virat in the Epics, was attacked by the illustrious king Duryodhan and his mighty army. The latter was forced to admit defeat. This place not only witnessed concealment of the Pandavas and the bloody war between Duryodhan and Arjun but also the happy union of the Princess Uttara and the famous hero Abhimanyu. In this way the three great events of the Mahabharata are connected with Bairat—a place situated in the Jaipur State.

The State continued to play an important part in the history of the Buddhist period as well.

The terracotta sealing which has been found at Sambhar possesses in it the principal impression of *yupa* (sacrificial post) surrounded by railings. The well-known Ujjain symbol consisting of a cross with balls attached to each arm with the Prakrit legend *Indrasamasa* (i.e. of Indra Sarman) inscribed on the opposite side in Brahmi characters, is of the 3rd century B.C. At Nagar in the south of Jaipur near Sambhar and at Bairat have been found traces of the Buddhist monasteries, which present in them Hinayana symbols.

In the Mauryan times Bairat of the Jaipur State was in a flourishing state, for we find an inscription of Asoka ascribed to this place. The text of the inscription deals with certain principles of Dhamma and it is a matter of great pride that the place was deemed suitable for an edict here by the great King Asoka.

At Babhroo too, the present Bhabroo on the Amber-Pavta road, another edict has also been found. The existence of two edicts of the great Asoka amply illustrates the importance of the State in the Maurya period. At a distance of twenty-five miles to the south of Jaipur, we find a place called Chaksu or Chaksu. Our history records that the place of Chaksu belongs to a contemporary or immediate ancestor of Vikramaditya—the founder of the famous Vikrama Era—the era used by the Pandits even now in all astronomical and astrological calculations. We are, thus taken back to B.C. 56-57, the starting point of the Vikrama Sambat as it is called.

The finds of the excavation at Bairat include a number of coins which are both Greek and Hindu.

The Greek coins include one of Heliokles (died 140 B.C.), the last Greek King of Bactria; one of the Indo-Greek King Apollodotos; 16 coins (of various types) of Menander, one of Antialkidas, two of Hermaios and four of the same king alone.

These coins clearly show that Bairat and the country round it formed part of the Greek dominions. Menander was probably the Indo-Greek ruler to come down up to Rajputana and it is due to it that sixteen out of the twenty-eight coins of the class belong to his coinage. These coins also provide authentic evidence of the continuation of the Buddhist establishment on the Bijak ki Pahari until about 50 A.D.

The two Yupa pillars found at Barnala and supposed to be of the 4th century A.D. give us a glimpse of the importance of the State even in those early years of the Christian Era. Several such memorial Yupa pillars were already known, i.e., two from Mathura, two from Nandoo (in the Udaipur State); three from the Badva (in the Kotah State); one from Bijaya Gadh (near Bayana), a fragmentary one at Nagari and some in the island of Borneo.

The portable antiquities found at Sambhar and Bairat reveal to us that the State of Jaipur continued to play an important part in the history of Hindu India. The number of coins of the Indo-Greek kings and the Gupta Emperors found at these places is sufficiently large and very well testifies to the importance of the State in those bygone days. Again, copper and iron objects revealed to us by the excavations at Sambhar, Bairat and Rairh reflect the culture of the State in those ancient times. Some of these towns in those times were well-planned and were great industrial centres and their artisans specialised in the manufacture of ornamental pottery, conch and steatite objects and the cutting and polishing of such hard stones as cornelian, white, crystal etc., the specimens of which have been brought to light by the excavations.

As to religious faith it is almost certain that the inhabitants of the State in the major part of the period of Hindu India remained ardent adherents of the orthodox Brahminical faith and pottery tablets with mythological and other subjects throw welcome light on the subject.

Thus up to the latter half of the 7th century A.D., the State seems to have shared the attitude of toleration in religion and different faiths were allowed due honor and recognition in some form or other. All this is testified to by the famous Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who in the course of his wandering in quest of truth, happened to see personally and also to record them in his memoirs.

In Barnala has also been found, in a small pottery jar, a hoard of ancient coins which include in them 90 Indo-Sassanian coins of the 7th or 8th century A.D. The existence of the Sassanian head on the obverse and an inscription in Devanagari on the face of it

with an attendant on either side of the altar is an interesting thing.

The part played by the State in the 7th and the 8th century is not only testified to by these coins but also by other finds at Sambhar. The Devayani Tank at Sambhar is credited with a temple attached to it belonging to about 10th century A.D. A number of black stone images found in this tank can be seen in the Jaipur museum. Thus it is almost clear that Sambhar was the first capital of the Imperial Chauhan kings of North India and continued to be so up to the year 1198.

The city of Amber, the third capital in succession of Jaipur State, is believed to have been founded in the 10th century A.D.

The inscription below the two armed figures of Ganapati runs in seven lines and is dated, Friday the 11th of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada Sambat 1011. The period of the 10th century A.D. is important in the history of Jaipur. The old place-name of Jaipur, Dhundhar, seems to have changed with the change of dynasties during this century. It was in the year 966 that this place was conquered by Sodh Deoji and his son Dhuleraiji or Dulharaiji, Kachhwaha, who ruled over Narwar then. Sodh Deoji conquered Dausa, Khoh, Manch, Janwa Ramgarh and occupied the whole of Dhundhar.

Thus the first phase of the history of the State and its environs comes to an end.

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HINDU-MUSLIM AMITY IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA

By PROF. K. B. VYAS, M.A., F.R.A.S.

IN the present days of Hindu-Muslim tension it is most refreshing to turn the pages of Indian history and study striking instances of amiable relations between Hindus and Muslims in early times. For this purpose the early mediæval period before the Muslim conquest (i.e., from C. 1000 to C. 1200 A.D.)¹ is most suitable, when India was a mosaic of many Hindu states and Muslims had settled in several parts as traders and citizens. The Muslim contacts and settlements took place in Gujarat (and Western India) earlier than in most of the other provinces²; so we shall confine ourselves mostly to the study of the conditions in Gujarat. Gujarat was, during this period, at the height of its glory under the Solanki and Vaghela kings. We shall base our study solely on the records of Muslim historians and works of Muslim scholars.

India was celebrated for its riches from very early times. An Arab traveller described India to Hadrat Umar (7th century A.D.) thus :

"Its rivers are pearls, its mountains are rubies, and its trees are perfumes."³

Mahanagar, the capital of Balhara, the Rastrakuta king of Manyakheta, was called "the city of gold" by Arab travellers.⁴ India was famous for its perfumes, musk, sandal, ivory, *aguru* sticks, camphor, spices, fine muslins, velvet, diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, cocoanuts, and various other things.⁵ This

attracted numerous Arab traders to trade with and settle in India.

India had also considerable import trade with the neighbouring countries. It imported wine from Egypt, silk-clothes, chamois-skin, skins for jackets, swords and other things from Rome, rose-water from Persia and dates from Basrah. Hindu traders had settled in large numbers in Sairaf, a port in Iraq, in the 9th century.⁶

There was a brisk trade between Indian ports like Cambay and neighbouring countries like Iran during this period. The Iranian port of Ublah near Basrah on the Persian gulf was the most important port for merchant-ships sailing to and from India. Ublah's sea-borne trade with India was so heavy that it was considered by Arabs an out-post of India.⁷ Similarly the ports of Basrah and Ormuz derived considerable revenue from custom levies on merchant-ships coming from India.⁸

Indian trade attracted numerous Arabian merchants who came and settled in India as traders. Thus developed several large settlements of Arabian and Iranian traders on the west coast of India, noted by Arab travellers who visited India during the 9th and subsequent centuries.⁹ It will be interesting to hear their testimony regarding the treatment of these Muslim traders by Hindu rulers and people.

1. Sind was, indeed, conquered by Muhammad bin Kasim in 712 A.D. But it was reconquered by the Hindus by about the 9th century A.D.

2. The first mosque in Hindu India (outside Sind, where there was Muslim rule during this period) was built near Broach in Gujarat by Hisham, the Abbassid ruler of Sind, in 769 A.D. Vide *Arab Aur Bharatke Samband* (Hindi) by Maulana Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi. Translated by Babu Ramchandra Varma, and published by Hindustani Academy, Prayag, U.P., 1900, p. 15.

3. *Al-Akhbar-us-sawa'at* of Abu Hanifa Diwani, p. 126, cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

4. *Al-Akhbar-us-sawa'at*, p. 137; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

5. Nadwi *op. cit.*, p. 53. Masudi (935 A. D.) and Buhārī (1839 A.D.) have praised the footweave of Cambay. Nadwi, *ibid.*, p. 55.

6. Vide *Ibn-i-Hanbal*, p. 231; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 68; and Abu Zayd Hasan Sayrafi's travels, p. 46; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

7. *Al-Akhbar-us-sawa'at* of Diwani, p. 133; cited by Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

8. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

9. Ratnamaniro Jote, *Khambatino Itihās* (Gujarati), 1905, pp. 107-108.

NOTE : Muslim settlements are known to have flourished in Ceylon (7th century-9th century A.D.), Malabar (from 9th century A.D.), Salmar in the kingdom of the Balhara (from 9th century A.D.), Thana (12th century A.D.), Dvarasamudra in the present Mysore State, and other places. In Sind, Muslim settlements existed even before the conquest of Muhammad bin Kasim. Vide Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-217.

They tell us that the treatment of the Muslim settlers in Gujarat and elsewhere by the Hindu rulers and people was always very kind and generous. Sulayman Sawdagar (851 A.D.) the first Arab traveller, whose account has come down to us, writes in his *Silsila-tut-Tawarikh* that Balhara, the king of Konkan, was exceptionally kind to the Arabs. Al Masudi (915 A.D.), the author of *Maruj-us-Zahab*, which is practically a history of Islam, states how the officer ruling over Cambay "was kind to..... strangers, Musalmans and people of other faiths."¹⁰ He further informs us how the Rastrakuta king, whose rule then extended over the western coast from Cambay to Konkan "favours and honours the Musalmans and allows them to have mosques and assembly mosques."¹¹ Al Istakhri (951 A.D.), the author of *Kitab-al-Aqalim* and *Kitab-al-Masalik-wa al-Mamalik*, tells us that "in the Konkan were many Musalmans, over whom the Balhara (i.e. the Rastrakuta King) appointed no one but a Musalman to rule."¹² Thus the Rastrakuta kings treated foreigners and especially the Arabs with consideration and respect and appointed magistrates from among themselves to adjudicate disputes according to Musalman law.

This toleration shown to their religion both by the Hindu kings and peoples in Western India struck Arabs more than anything else. And this was a feature not peculiar to Western Indian kingdom alone; it was a universal characteristic of entire India. Al Biruni (973-1048 A.D.) records that "in the 9th century when the Hindus recovered Sindan (Sanjan in Sind) they spared the assembly mosque where long afterwards the faithful congregated on Fridays praying for their Khalifah without hindrance."¹³ This is also attested to by Bilazuri (in *Fatuh-al-Buldan*) who states that the Hindu kings, after their reconquest of Sind, treated their Muslim subjects well and allowed the mosques to remain in situ.¹⁴ Intolerance or religious bigotry seems to have been unknown then, for it is recorded that Muhammad Bin Kasim did not destroy the Buddhist temple in Sind when he conquered Sind, and the famous temple of Multan remained unmolested during the period of Arab occupation, and Arab travellers loved to visit it.¹⁵ Another Arab historian, Al Idrisi¹⁶ (end of the 11th century) says:

10. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, 1896, p. 514.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 526.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 526.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 530.

14. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

15. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

16. Other Arab travellers who visited India during this period are: Abu Zayd Hasan Sahrastani (877 A.D.), Abu Dalf Musarrif bin Muhallil Yambuli (942 A.D.), and Ibn-i-Haukal (943-79 A.D.), a merchant of Bagdad whom Istakhri had met in India. Haukal was, perhaps, the first Arab writer to prepare a map of India, estimating the length and breadth of the country and locating on it cities and places (from Sistan to Gujarat). Buhārī Muqaddasī (985 A.D.), the writer of *Akham-us-Salam* & *Ma'arifa al-aqalim*, follows Haukal in time. He, too, like Haukal, has discussed the geography and trade of

"The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and in their actions never depart from it. Their reputation of good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements brings strangers flocking to their country and aids its prosperity."¹⁷

This kind treatment of the Muslim community characterised the entire period of Hindu rule in Gujarat and elsewhere. It was a result of the Hindu tradition of hospitality and a keen sense of justice.

An incident has been recorded by a Muslim historian, which will fully bear out the extent of justice meted out to the small, struggling Muslim community by such a great sovereign of Gujarat like Jayasimhadeva Solanki. Muhammad 'Ufi the compiler of *Jami'-u-l Hikayat* (1211 A.D.), who resided at Delhi in the time of Emperor Altamish, relates the following story, which he had heard in Cambay, about the keen sense of justice of king Jayasimhadeva Solanki of Gujarat.¹⁸

In Kambayat (i.e. Cambay) resided a number of Sunni Musalmans. There was also a body of fire-worshippers there. In the reign of Jayasingh there was a mosque and a minaret from which the summons to prayer were cried. Once the fire-worshippers instigated the Hindus to attack the Musalmans, and the minaret was destroyed, the mosque burnt, and the Musalmans oppressed.

A certain Muhammadan, a Khatib or reader of the Khutba, by name 'Ali went to Nahrwala (i.e. Anahilvad Patan, the capital of Gujarat in the pre-Muslim period) to complain to the king. As the courtiers did not pay any attention to him, he saw the king, when he was going out for hunting, and placed in his hand a *Kasida* composed in Hindi (Gujarati?) verse, stating the whole case. The king heard the complaint and placed 'Ali in the charge of a servant, ordering him to take the greatest care of him. The king returned, made over the temporary charge of the government to the minister, on the pretext that he wanted to spend three days in the harem in seclusion, during which period he must not be disturbed.

Then he mounted a dromedary, travelled to Cambay in the space of one night and one day, disguised himself as a tradesman and made enquiries in the market as to the truth of Khatib's complaint. He then learnt that the Muhammadans were unjustly harassed without any ground. He then filled a vessel with sea-water and immediately returned to Nahrwala (i.e. Anahilvad), which he entered on the third night from his departure.

The next day he held the court and directed the Khatib to state his grievance. Some of the officers

India. (Cf. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, 34-35). These travellers have nothing substantial to add to the picture of political and social conditions in India, depicted by historians like Masudi, Biruni and Idrisi.

17. B. C., p. 531; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, 1867, p. 69.

18. H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, 1869, pp. 363-364.

tried to falsify Khatib's statement. Then the king ordered his water-carrier to give the water-pot of sea-water and asked the officers to drink from it. The king then told them that he had travelled to Cambay to make personal enquiries as to the truth of the complaint, and learnt that the Muhammadans were oppressed. It was his duty, he said, to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. He then gave orders that two leading men from Brahmans, fire-worshippers and others should be punished. He gave a lac of *balotras* to enable the Muslims to rebuild the mosque and minarets. He also granted to Ali four articles of dress.

During the succeeding period of Vaghela rule (13th century A.D.) protection was granted to all traders without distinction of caste or creed.¹⁹ In Cambay there was a flourishing Muslim community. Ibn Batutah (1377 A.D.), the author of *Aja'ib-al-Ansar*, who visited India later, states that there were many beautiful mosques in Cambay and a majority of its foreign traders were Musalmans. Even in Somnath Patan, one of the holiest places in India, the Muslims were able to build a mosque with the help of eminent local Hindu citizens, and endow land and other property for its maintenance (1264 A.D.). Pilgrims to Mecca were given all facilities, and when they embarked from Cambay a strong fleet guarded them against coastal pirates. This was appreciated by the Muslim community. A story is related about how Vastupala (C. 1186 A.D.—1240 A.D.), the erudite minister of the Vaghela King Viradhaval of Gujarat treated the mother of Mu'iz-ud-din (Qutb-ud-din or Altamish?), the Muslim Emperor of Delhi with kindness and respect, when she was sailing for Mecca on Hajj pilgrimage. He also presented her a beautiful marble *torana* (arched porch or gateway) for erection at the entrance of the holy place at Mecca. The Emperor touched by this kindness, maintained very friendly relations with both the King and the minister of Gujarat, and even went to the length of granting the Jaina minister excellent marble from the Mammani quarries for making the idols of Jaina *tirthankaras*.²⁰ Similarly, it is recorded how shortly after the conquest of Gujarat (C. 1297 A.D.), Ulugh Khan, the Suba of the Emperor 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, granted out of friendship a special *farman* to Samarashah, a merchant-prince of Gujarat, for effecting repairs to the celebrated Jaina *tirtha* Satrunjaya.

Thus, throughout the period of Hindu rule in Gujarat as in the rest of India, Muslims were treated with remarkable toleration and kindness, as the evidence of the Muslim historians cited above²¹ will show.

II

Muslims reacted to this kindness very favourably and fraternised with Hindus, taking interest in their life and manners and even contributing to their literature and culture.

It is generally supposed that it was Akbar who was the pioneer of this movement. As Hindu life and culture interested him, he got several of the Hindu epics and scriptures translated from Sanskrit into Persian.²² It is also assumed that Faisi was the first Muhammadan scholar who mastered Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, however, even in Akbar's time there were, besides Faisi other scholars like 'Abdul Kadir, Nakib Khan, Mulla Shah Muhammad, Mulla Shabri, Sultan Haji, and Haji Ibrahim, who translated Hindu scriptures from Sanskrit into Persian. 'Abdu-l-Kadir translated *Ramayana* and *Simhasana Batrisi*. The translation of *Mahabharata* was done by Nakib Khan or Faisi, while that of *Atharva Veda* was done by Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi.²³

The knowledge of Sanskrit was thus prevalent among Muslim scholars, at this time, but it was not the first occasion when Muslims had become acquainted with the language. It is certain that several Muhammadan scholars had attained a correct knowledge of Sanskrit not long after the establishment of their religion.²⁴ Several Indian works in Sanskrit on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, etc., were translated into Arabic during the early periods of Khalifat.²⁵ In India,

geographers, who had not visited India, have written about it from other sources. Among them are Ibn-e-Rustah, (902 A.D.), Qadamah bin Ja'afar (908 A.D.), Bilazuri (909 A.D.), the author of the very valuable and famous work *Futuh-al-Buldan*, and Nadim Baghdadi (980 A.D.), the author of *Kitab-al-Fahrist*. The later Arab chroniclers include names like Idrisi (1156 A.D.), Yaqut (1229 A.D.), the writer of the very voluminous work *Ma'ajam-al-Buldan*, Qlawini (1283 A.D.), Damihqi (1326 A.D.), Abu-al-Fida (1331 A.D.), and others (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37).

22. A corresponding instance of a Hindu ruler interesting himself in Islamic religion and culture is recorded in the earlier chronicles of Arab travellers. Buzurg bin Shahryar (912 A.D.), mentions in his record of travels 'Ajaib-al-Hind how a Hindu king named Maharaja of Alara between Kashmir and the Punjab, requested Amir 'Abdullah bin 'Umar of Mansura to send him some one who would expound to him the principles of Islam in the Indian language (i.e., the local dialect of the Prakrit language). The Amir sent him an 'Iraqi-Muslim poet, who knew the Indian languages, having been brought up in India. The latter translated the *Quran* in the Indian language, to which the king always listened with rapt attention and reverence. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 198).

23. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, Vol. V, 1875, p. 571.

24. The Arab scholars had learnt the Sanskrit language very early in order to become familiar with Indian philosophy and sciences of astronomy and medicine, which attracted them much. India's advanced civilisation and elegance of manners also fascinated them. *Vide* Elliot and Dawson, Vol. V, p. 572; Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-4.

25. The Barasmah ministers (753-802 A.D.) of the Abbaside Khalifat of Bagdad attracted Hindu scholars to Bagdad and encouraged them to translate with the help of Arabs, the Hindu works on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, etc. These Barasmah ministers were, according to Maulana Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi, of Hindu origin. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84, 102-104). Under the patronage of Khalifa Mansur and Harun-ar-Rashid and their Barasmah ministers the Hindu scholars worked assiduously in the medical and literary departments of the kingdom of Bagdad and translated into Arabic several Hindu

19. *Panania Vilasa Mahakavya* of Balachandra Suri. GOS No. 7, Canto 4.

20. *Chaturvimsati Prabandha*, translated by H. E. Kipadia, p. 207.

21. Above we have cited the authority of a few Arab historians and travellers who visited India. Numerous other Arab historians and

Al Biruni (973-1048 A.D.) studied Sanskrit diligently and was so proficient in it that he could translate into, as well as from, Sanskrit. He was fascinated by the Indian philosophy, especially as expounded in the *Bhagavad Gita*. He has composed a wonderful book named *Kitab-al-Hind*, popularly known as *Al Biruni's India*, which is unique in Muslim literature. Hindus gave him the title "Vidyasagara" i.e. 'ocean of learning.' He translated Sanskrit into Arabic for the benefit of Arabian scholars, who got acquainted with astronomy and other Hindu sciences through him. He also translated Arabic works into Sanskrit in order that the Hindus can have an idea of the new researches of Persian and Arab astronomers. Biruni thus served as a cultural link between the Hindus and the Muslims. He was, in the words of Vincent Smith, 'one of the most gifted scientific men known to history.'²⁶ Muhammad bin Israil-al-Tanukhi also travelled early in India to learn the Sanskrit system of astronomy. Amir Khusrav mentions that the Arab astronomer Abu Ma'shar came to Benares and studied astronomy there for ten years.²⁷

Several Muhammadan emperors before Akbar are known to have got Sanskrit works translated into

works on mathematics, astrology, medicine, literature and statecraft. A Pandit from Sind, who visited Bagdad in 762 A.D. took with him the Sanskrit astronomical work *Brihaspati Siddhanta*, which was translated into Arabic under the name *Al-Sind-Hind*. It was later followed by the translation of *Arya Bhatta*, under the name *Arj band*. Arabs mastered Hindu astronomy and even supplemented the Hindu system. The names of Arab astronomers like Hasan bin Sabbah, Hasan bin Khashib, Hatim Tabrizi Abdullah Marwasi, and Abu Rihyan Buruni or Al Biruni (9th to 11th century A.D.) are outstanding in this connection. Numerous terms in Arabic astronomy are derived from Sanskrit : e.g., Arabic *Kardjah*, Sanskrit *Kramajya* ; Arabic *Jayb*, Sanskrit *Jya* ; Arabic *Awj*, Sanskrit *Ucca* ; Arabic *Ursayn* (the normal position) Sanskrit *Ujjaina* ; Arabic *Bazmasah*, Sanskrit *Adhikamasa*. The Arabic method of writing the figures 1 to 9 has been borrowed from the Hindus. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112, 115-119). Similarly the Arabs borrowed the Hindu system of medicine. It is well-known that when Harun-ar-Rashid fell ill and could not be cured by the Arab physicians, a Hindu physician named Manika (Sanskrit—Manika?) was sent for from India, and he cured the Khalif. Manika helped the medical department of the State and translated the treatise of *Susruta* into Arabic under the name *Susrut*. He also translated a Hindu treatise on poisons. *Charaka* was first translated into Persian and then into Arabic. Similarly a work named *Siddhihastana* was translated under the name *Sandhastan*. *Qust-Hindi* and *Janjabil* or ginger are mentioned in the Quran. Similarly the Arabic *Itrifal* is to be traced to Sanskrit *triphalas* (Nadwi, *ibid.*, pp. 119-124). Similarly Hindu works on veterinary sciences were also translated into Arabic. So also Hindu works on the science of war and statecraft, chemistry, logic, poetics, mesmerism, etc., were translated into Arabic during the first five centuries or so of the Hijra era. Stories from the Mahabharata were translated into Arabic by Abu-al-Hasan Ali Jilili in 1026 A.D. Numerous Hindu stories, too, appear to have travelled, to Arabia. Kalila'wa Dimnah, a favourite work of fables in Arabia, is traced to the *Pancha Tantra* by Biruni. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-126). Yaqubi (died 900 A.D.) has written a history of peoples, in which he has described those books which were translated from Indian languages into Arabic. Qadi Saad Audulaul (died 1069 A.D.) has written a history of art and literature of civilised nations, which includes a chapter on India. The-o-Ali Usayha'ah Musaffaq-al-Din. (1270 A.D.) has written biographies of eminent physicians of the world, including Indian. (Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32).

26. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 194.

27. B. C. Majumdar, *Advanced History of India*, p. 275.

Persian. Firoz Shah Tughluq, middle of the fourteenth century, ordered a work on philosophy to be translated under the name of *Dalail-i-Firus Shahi*. There is another translation from Sanskrit into Persian, done in Firus Shah's reign.²⁸ A work on veterinary art was translated from Sanskrit by order of Ghiyasu-d-din Muhammad Shah, son of Mahmud Shah. This rare book, called *Kurrutu-l Mulk* was translated as early as 1381 A.D. These translations clearly indicate that Muslim scholars were well acquainted with Sanskrit language and literature during this period.²⁹

Thus a tendency is noticeable among the Muslim emperors and aristocracy of India to appreciate Hindu life and culture, considerably prior to Akbar's time. In Gujarat too, we come across striking instances of this tendency, and, what is more interesting, they are found in the ordinary strata of Muslim society. Though considerable historical material and early literature of Gujarat still remains to be explored, we come across instances of Muslim inscriptions written in Sanskrit in a manner which reveals their profound admiration for Hindu culture. Similarly literary compositions written in *Apabhramsa*, the language of the people during C. 600 to 1200 A.D. and in early vernaculars, by Muslim writers, have come to light. Some of them were considered so elegant as to induce eminent Jain monks to write on them scholarly commentaries in Sanskrit. We shall review them here in brief.

A Muslim inscription of Somnath Patan was found written in Sanskrit during the reign of the Vaghela King Arjunadeva (V.S. 1320, A.D. 1264), recording the building of a mosque at Somnath Patan, by Muhammadan ship-owners of Ormus in Iran, and the endowment of land, shops and other property for its upkeep. The surplus income of the property is directed to be utilized in the celebration of Muslim religious festivals and the remainder thereafter is to be sent to Mecca and Medina. The local *jamaths* (*jama'ats*) or congregations of Muslims are entrusted with the supervision of the trust. This inscription was first noticed at Veraval by Col. Tod, and was commented on and translated by E. Hultzsch in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, 1882.

It begins with a peculiar benediction :

Om

Om Namah, Sri Visvanathaya

Namaste Visvanathaya Visvarupa namostu te

Namaste Sunyarupaya laksalaksa namostu te

"Om, Om. Adoration to holy Visvanatha." Adoration to Thee who art the Lord of the Universe, adoration to Thee whose form is the universe, adoration to Thee whose form is the void, adoration to Thee who art visible and invisible (at the same time)."

This form of *mangala* or benediction is not met with in other inscriptions of this period. It appears to be an adaptation of some *ayats* in the opening and other chapters of Al-Quran, like the following :

28. Elliot, V, 573.

29. *Ibid.*, 574, 575.

30. This is also an epithet of

Al-Hamdu Lillah-i-Rabbil 'Alamin :
"All praises to God, the Lord of Universes."
—(Ch. I).

Allahu La Ilaha Illa Huw al-Hayy al-Qayyum :
"There is no God but God, the living, the self-subsisting."—(Ch. III).

Fa innallah Huw al-Ghaniyyul Hamid :
"Verily God is self-sufficient and worthy to be praised."—(Ch. XXXI).

Huw al-Awwal wal-Akhir was-sahir wal Batin :
"He is the first and the last ; the manifest and the hidden."—(Ch. LVII).

The date of the inscription is given thus :

Bodhaka-Rasula-Mahammad-Samvat 662 tatha Sri-Nripa-Vikrama-Sam 1320 tatha Srimad-Valabhi-Sam 946.

i.e.—"In the year of the Prophot Muhammad (i.e., Hijra year) 662, in the Vikrama Samvat 1320, and in the Valabhi Samvat...."

The inscription mentions the ruling king of Gujarat, during whose reign the grant is made, with all the usual titles, and it refers to the chief priest of the temple of Somanath with marked respect :

.. *Sri-Somanathadeva-Pattane Parama-Pasupatacharya-Mahapandita-Mahattara-Dharmamurti-Ganda Sri-Paravirabhadra.*

i.e.—"In the town of Sri Somanathadeva Mahattara Ganda Sri Paravirabhadra, the great teacher of the Pasupatas, the great scholar, an incarnation of the god of Justice."

The name of the purchaser, the seller and the details regarding the land purchased are mentioned thus :

Hurmuja-vela-kule Amira-Sri Rukanadina-rajve paripanthayati sati Karyavasat Sri Somanathadeva-nagaram samayata-Harmuja-degiya-Khoja Nau. Abubrahima-suta Nakhu. Naradina Pirojena raja. Sri-Nanastha-suta Vraha raja Sri-Chada prabhritnam paravat Sri Somanathadeva-nagara-bahye Santisthamanabhukhandam Samupattiam.

i.e.—"While on the shore of the Hurmus coast the reign was conducted by the Amir Sri Ruknuddin, the ship-owner Nuruddin Piros, son of ship-owner Khoja Abu Ibrahim, a native of Hurmus, who had come for some business to the town of Sri-Somanathadeva bought a piece of land situated outside the town of Sri-Somanathadeva, from the great man Raja (Kula) Sri-Chada, son of Raja (Kula) Sri-Nanastha."

On this piece of land Piros erected a masjid in accordance with the code of his religion with the help of Sri-Chada :

Tatah Nakhu—Pirojena Svadharmasatrabhi-prav-ena mijigiti dharmasthanam Sri-chada-Sakhaya-tvenad dharmabandhavena karitam.

For the maintenance of this mosque the following property is

Arya mijigiti dharmasthanasya varitapanartham pratidinam puja-dipa-taila-paniya" tatha Makima" Modina" Masapathaka" tatha nauvittakanam samacarena Baratirabikhatamarati" vicesa puja-

51. (To provide for the expenses of) prayers, oil for lamps, and water for ablution.

52. *Makima*—Mu'allim, i.e., one who leads the prayers.

53. *Modina*—Mudana, i.e., one who gives a meal for prayers, and who calls the faithful to prayers.

mahatava Karepanar tham tatha prativaram ohohavuna bhagnavisirna samarocanartham ... Sri-Baulesvaradeviya samagra palladika ... tatha phani ... tatha hattadvayam ... Udakena pradattam.

i.e.—"For the maintenance of this place of worship (called) Masjid, for the lamps, oil, and water (required for) the daily worship, and for (the appointment of) a preceptor, a erior to prayers, and a monthly reader (of the Quran), and for the payment of the expenses of the particular religious festivals of *Baratira-bikhatamarati* according to the custom of the sailors, and for the annual white-washing and repairs of rents and defects, (confirming the gift) by (a liberation of water) were given the whole hamlet (palladika) belonging to (the temple of) Sri Baulesvara, and an oil-mill and two shops."

All the surplus that remains is to be sent to the holy places of Mecca and Medina :

Yat-kincit sestdravyam udgarati tat sarvam dravyam Makha-Madina dharmasthanane prasthapaniyam.

The *jamaths*²⁴ or congregations of the local Muslims were entrusted with the management of the trust :

Nakhayanorika-jamatha" tatha khatibasahitasamasta sahadasakta bhaktikanam jamatha" tatha cunakara-jamatha" tatha pathapatinam" madhye Musalmana-jamatha prabhritibhih samastairapi mitiva ayapadamidam palapaniyam dharmasthanamidam varitapaniyam ca.

The inscription concludes with a curse on the future plunderers of the place :

Ya kopi dharmasthanamidam tatha ayapidam ca lopayati lopapayati ca sa papatma pancamahapataka dosena kipyate narakagami bhavati.

This inscription reveals some interesting facts. There were several Musalman congregations in one of the holiest places of the Hindus, Somanath Patan. They received warm support from the local Hindu celebrities in building a mosque and endowing property for its proper maintenance. Somanath, as Muslim historians tell us, was sacked more than once by Muslim conquerors. But this did not affect the Hindu spirit of toleration and generosity towards people of other faiths. The Muslims of this period did not live in isolation, but had imbibed several important elements of the sister-culture, and had fitted themselves into Indian life to a remarkable extent. They did not hesitate to use Sanskrit for their important inscrip-

24. *Masapathaka*—Hafiz, one who remembers the Quran by heart. It is the usual practice for the Hafiz to recite Al-Quran during the particular names prayers offered at night in the month of Raman, and complete the Holy Book at least once during the month. Hence the Sanskrit translation *Masapathaka*.

25. *Baratirabikhatamarati*—Certain festivals celebrated by the Muslims on the 14th of Sh'aban, the month preceding Raman. They are called *Shah-e-barat* (i.e., the night of share of lots), the giver of fruits (*rabihah-shamara*).

26. *Jama'at*, congregations of Muslims.

27. Congregation of ship-owners.

28. *Sahadasakta bhaktikanam jamatha*—the congregation of all the wharf-people who are devoted to the martyr ('Ash).

29. The congregation of the ('Fatiha') artisans.

30. The congregation of the Musalmans among the householders.

tions, nor did they stint in paying a reverent tribute to the chief Hindu priest of Bomanath.

Another outstanding example of Muslim admiration for contribution to the Hindu culture is the *Sandesa Rasaka* of Abdul Rahaman, written after the style of *Sandesa* poems like the *Meghaduta*, probably during the latter half of the 12th or the first half of the 13th century. The language of the poem is Apabhramsa, then the current popular speech of western India, from which have arisen the modern Gujarati, Rajasthani and western Hindi. The *Rasaka* won such celebrity that two Jaina monk-scholars were attracted to write *avacuris* or commentaries on it in Sanskrit. Abdul Rahaman, who very probably belonged to western India, was the son of a weaver, Mirasena by name, a good scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in which latter he had many poetical compositions to his credit.

The present composition is a remarkable specimen of Apabhramsa poetry. Its depiction of moods and sentiments is very powerful and its description of the seasons is quite attractive. The most striking aspect of the *Rasaka* in the present reference is the Muslim poet's profound sympathy and respect for Hindu life and culture. Describing Mulasthana (modern Multan) he says :

"There everyone is learned. Charming Prakrit verses in melodious tunes are heard while moving about in the city. At some places (Brahmins) well-versed in the four Vedas expound the Vedas. At other places a *Rasaka* (a dramatic composition) is played by actors. At some places is heard the *Sadayavastakatha*, at other places *Nalacharitra*, at still other places the Mahabharata. At some places eminent Brahmin ascetics are uttering benedictions; (while) in other places (episodes from) the Ramayana are acted."⁴¹

This charming poem has been recently edited by that great savant, Muni Sri Jinavijayaji in the Singhi Jaina Series. It is a remarkable instance of the Muslim contribution to Indian culture. In later times too we come across Muslim poets contributing to Indian literature. Amir Khusräu's (1325 A.D.) poetical works in

41. *Sandesa Rasaka* of Abdul Rahaman. Ed. Jinavijayaji Muni. Singhi Jaina Series, 1943, vol. 42-44.

This description reminds us of a lovely poem by an Arab poet, Abu Dala Suddhi, in praise of India, which was his motherland. It appears to have been composed sometime between the 9th or 10th century A.D. and 1287 A.D. The Arab poet's love for his motherland, and his estimation of her wealth and charms, is indeed noteworthy. He describes his motherland thus :

"By my life, this is the land which, when rain falls on it, grows milk, and pearls and rubies for people devoid of adornments.

"It produces musk, camphor, ambergris and other innumerable perfumes for those who are unclean.

"It produces signs of various kinds, jayephala, hyacinth, ivory, teak wood, perfume sticks and sandal.

"Among the weapons it produces are swords, which never need polishing, and spears which, when they are hurled, would push back armies."

"Then, could there be any one but a fool, who would refuse to acknowledge these merits of India?" (Qutub, *Diwan-i-Bidid*, p. 48; cited by Nadwi, pp. etc., pp. 73-74).

early Hindustani, and Malik Mohammad Jayasi's *Padmavat* (1540 A.D.) in the early Avadhi language, are instances in point. Writings of Muslim poets like Kabir and Rahim have become an immortal cultural heritage of India. Contribution to Indian culture by Muslim writers is in evidence upto about the 19th century in Gujarat and in other parts of India.

Correspondingly Hindus, particularly their upper castes like Nagars and Kayasthas took keen interest in Persian language and literature. Some of them could even vie with Muslim scholars in their mastery over Persian. They must have started studying it out of necessity, perhaps to qualify themselves for state-service. But later they developed keen interest in Persian language and literature. In Surat, for instance, the Nagars and Kayasthas held *Mushairas* where they recited their *qasidas*. To some the study of Persian literature became such an obsession that they adopted for themselves names like 'Sahebrai' and 'Mijlasrai,' and even performed the sacred Hindu ceremonies like the *Sandhya* in Persian.

Some of the Hindu scholars have composed notable works in Persian. Thakordas Daru, a Kayastha of Surat, sent a *qasida* to the Mughal emperor every year. Nandalal Munshi of Broach (C. 1700) attracted the attention of Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748 A.D.) by his poems. Kavi Bhugavandas (1681-1746) a divan of the Nawab of Surat, composed poetry in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, besides Sanskrit, Gujarati and Marathi. Sridasa, a Nagar Brahmin, composed *Futuh-i-Alamgiri* (1731 A.D.), a history of the reign of Aurangzeb. While Mithalal Kayastha (C. 1750 A.D.) is known to have furnished to Muhammad Ali Khan a considerable part of the material for the celebrated history *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.⁴² The celebrated Kathiawari Nagar Minister Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji (1768-1841 A.D.) wrote in Persian an account of Kathiawar named *Waqai-i-Sorath* (C. 1825 A.D.), and epistles entitled *Ruqaat-i-Gunagun*. The Gujarati poets Samal (C. 1700-C. 1752 A.D.), Manoharaswami (1788-1845 A.D.) were well-acquainted with Persian. Numerous other Persian works of Hindu writers have been lost on account of the ignorance of their descendants. This tradition of Persian scholarship among Hindu writers continued almost up to recent times. The late Prof. N. B. Divatia's father and grandfather, R. B. Bholanath and Sarabhai were good scholars and writers of Persian, and so too was the late *Masta* Kavi Balashankar Ullasram Kantharia. Today D. B. K. M. Jhaveri is acknowledged in Gujarat as an erudite scholar of Persian. Similarly it is well-known that several eminent Hindu citizens of U. P. including men like the late Pandit Motilal Nehru have been good scholars of Persian. Sir T. B. Saprü's proficiency in and affection for both the Persian and Arabic languages is acknowledged on all hands. Several Hindu

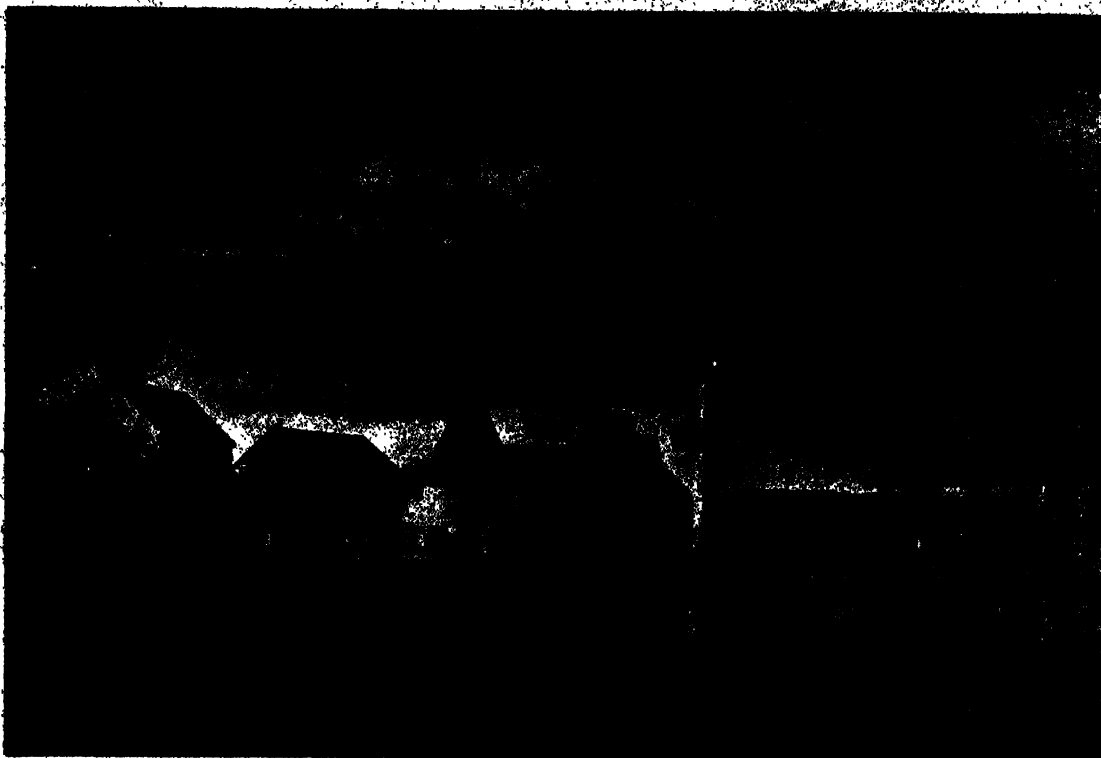
42. *Gujarati Literature and Muslim Culture*, D. B. K. M. Jhaveri, Madhyamah, Sahityaprasanga, 1939, pp. 266-267.



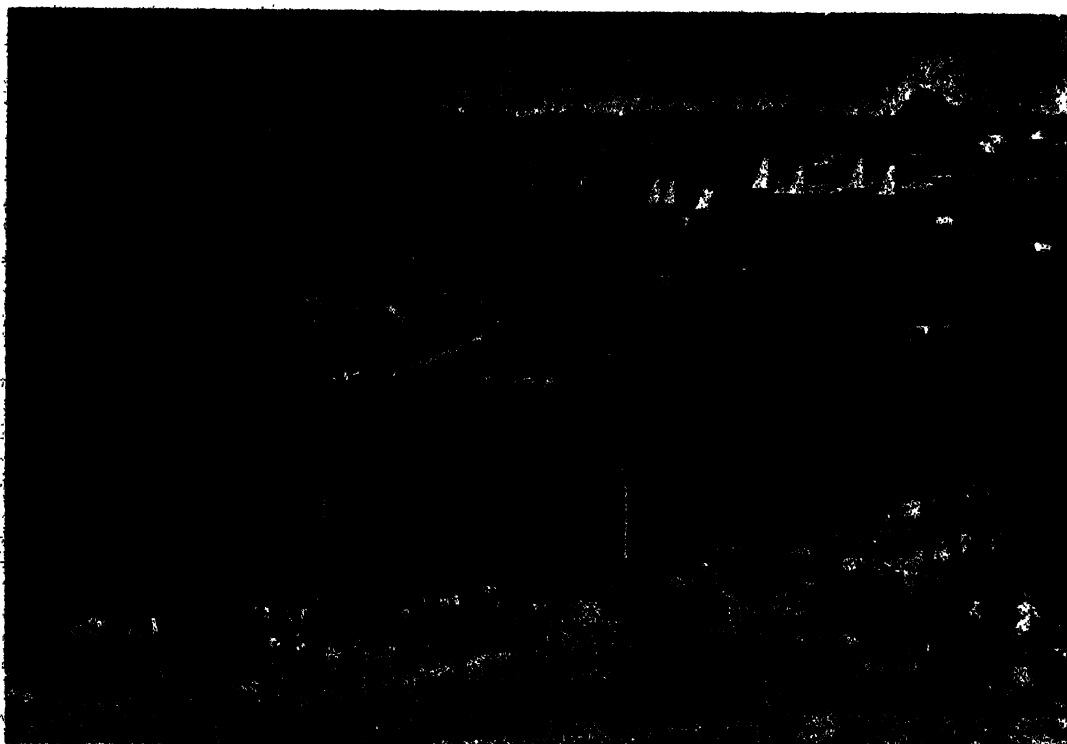
Crossing the Shyok near Khaplu, north of Kashmir



The Shyok valley, steeply enclosed, is more open and sandy than the



A typical village of Kent, undisturbed through the ages



Hops, used mainly for the brewing of beer, are important among the many crops grown in Kent

writers of the present day, like "Sudashan", "Promchandji", Ramnath Sarshar, Brijnarayan Chakbast, Pandit Brijmohan Dattatreya Kayastha, Lala Shri Ram, Manoharlal Zutshi, Dayanarayan Nigam, Jwalaprasad Barq, are acknowledged masters of Urdu literature.

It is only during the last fifty years or so that the mutual culture contacts between the two communities have dwindled and almost ceased.

The isolationist tendency among the present-day Muslims seems to have been responsible for this result. The recent revivalist tendency among the Hindus may have also to a certain extent contributed to it.

From the foregoing survey emerge the following points:

In the heyday of Hindu rule, the rulers and the people treated Muslims with remarkable toleration and kindness. The greatest of the Rajput kings of Gujrat considered it their duty to see that all their

subjects—whatever their creed or community—were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace. Muslims reciprocated by fraternising with the Hindus and taking interest in and contributing to their culture. This served as a golden link between them and their Hindu brethren. Hindus in later times studied Persian language and assimilated Persian culture to a remarkable degree.

Let us hope that Muslim scholars today will emulate the example of poets like Abdul Rahaman, who drank deep at the fountain of Hindu culture, and inspired by its noble sentiments made an invaluable contribution to contemporary Indian literature, and that Hindu scholars will study Persian language and appreciate Muslim culture. That will bring the two communities close to each other as nothing else can, and bind them together in ties of love and mutual respect.

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HINDI AND HINDUSTANI

Speaker, C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly
By G. S. GUPTA,

THE language controversy is coming to the forefront. This is but natural. After the British have retired from India the political reason for the dominance of the English language has ceased to exist and there is a quest as to what language or languages should take its place (except where the need of English may still be felt for reasons other than political). No responsible person holds that English can go in the twinkling of an eye. It would have already gone if it were so simple.

English had the monopoly in certain vital spheres of our activities, e.g., in administration, in law and as a medium of higher education. These fields were the close preserve of English and our languages simply could not touch them. In the other fields that were open to our languages, they showed their potentiality in no mean manner. The works of Bankim and Tagore can stand comparison to any in the world. So it was not the lack of capacity in our languages for growth but their forced disuse that has stunted their progress. Nor did we lack genius. The present Civil Procedure Code owes much to the acumen and ability of Dr. Sir Rahbekari Ghosh. We could produce such giants in sciences as Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sir C. V. Raman even in such adverse conditions. There is no wonder, therefore, that there is a genuine and universal feeling that we must not remain tied down to English for all time or in all those spheres where English predominated. But we must not shut our eyes to the obvious difficulties and the complexity of the problem. If we fail to appreciate them or if our ap-

proach is not on sound lines, then instead of solving our problem we may just complicate matters. This may even lead to provincial jealousies and mutual suspicion which we must avoid. There are many problems like medium of University education in different provinces which are coming to the forefront. But my purpose in this short article is not to deal with all or many of them. I want to confine this article to one specific question; and that is, what should be the language of the Centre, which, in the Draft Constitution, is to be called Union of India. Mere repetition of sound slogans like *Rashtra Bhasha* or national language won't serve. We must examine the question somewhat closely. What do we want to achieve? From where do we want to dethrone English so far as this particular question is concerned? Is it from the market places, the bazaars and our houses? Was the common man's parlance in our own language in any way banned to us by any enactment or ordinance of the British Government? No, certainly not. We could speak whatever language or dialect which suited us in our homes, in bazaars and in public meetings. The same person sometimes has to speak somewhat differently in different places if he wants to be understood by the local audience in a meeting. So the problem is really different. It is not the common man's parlance. If we remember this while discussing this question, much of the misunderstanding will be removed. The question is, in what language shall the administration of the Union be conducted; in what language shall our laws be framed by the

Union? When we consider these things one inevitable factor presents itself to us, and it is that in the fields of law and administration looseness of thought and expression won't do. We will have to express our thoughts and ideas accurately and without leaving them open to doubt. We will have to provide for fine shades of distinction like consent and assent, trade, profession, calling and employment; sentence, punishment and penalty; and a thousand others. The vocabulary of common parlance will not do; at any rate it will not suffice. We have to search for suitable words to express those ideas. We may have to coin a lot of them. So, to my mind, it is not so much the question of language—Hindi or Hindustani—but one of vocabulary. What should be our source for these new words? Should it be Sanskrit or should it be Arabic and Persian is the real question. If Sanskrit, the language would be called Hindi although the vocabulary would be equally Bengali, Marathi and any other language of the Dominion of India. If it would be Arabic or Persian, then the language would be Urdu or Hindustani. Some people think that we can draw out new words from both the sources, that is Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian. I am one of those who seriously doubt this proposition. We can have either but not both. If we have both, shall we call arrest *dhritikaran*¹ and re-arrest *griftariaye-mukarrar*²; law as *vidhi*³ and lawless as *kanoon shikan*⁴. This will be preposterous. We must remember that we are not planning for ourselves but for generations to come. Any attempt to draw new words from both the sources will put a heavy weight on our boys. Not only will they have to learn two different sets of words—Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic—but they will also have to learn two different sets of grammar. I will illustrate my point. From *vidya*⁵ and *arth*⁶ we have *vidyarthi*⁷, but from *ilm*⁸ and *talab*⁹ it won't be *ilmtalib*¹⁰; it would be *talibe ilm*¹¹. Our *arthvidya*¹² after the fashion of *talibe ilm*¹³ will mean quite a different thing. So it won't suffice for the future student of our country to know the words *ilm*¹⁴ and *talib*¹⁵ but he must also master the grammar of it before he can make use of those words. Then again, my fear is that even if we

put on the boys the heavy burden of mastering Arabic and Persian words, which are more foreign to us than Sanskrit words, and of learning two different sets of grammar, we are likely to fumble at the first real test. To give an example, the preamble to the Draft Constitution of India says:

"We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to its citizens, justice—social, economic and political . . ."

N.B.—Now, let us take the words "justice—social, economic and political."

This has been translated in Urdu, which we may call Hindustani as follows: *Insaaf mile—samaji, maashi, aur siyasi*.¹⁶ Now suppose the word *samaji*¹⁷ came before a court of law. The question will arise, is it like *dhandi*, *hasti* and *kari*¹⁸ or it is like *maasi* and *siyasi*.¹⁹ These would convey two different meanings. In Hindi and Bengali *samaji*²⁰ will mean one having a *samaj*.²¹ In Arabic and Persian it will mean appertaining to *samaj*²² and the two in a court of law are quite distinct things. It may do well in a bazaar but it won't do when we write constitutions and laws to have a word, which according to our own standard and canon, can mean two different things. What I am trying to impress is that by resorting to Hindustani, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, we are likely to land ourselves in difficulties even after we have cut ourselves away from languages of Sanskritic origin like Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati. To my mind, therefore, the language, or in other words the vocabulary, of the Centre has to be from Sanskrit which will, therefore, be called Hindi. Our nationalism requires it more than anything else because if we have *dhritikaran*²³ for arrest, our terms will be uniform throughout the Dominion of India. But if we have *griftariaye-mukarrar*²⁴ for re-arrest we shall be making ourselves understood to a very limited part of the Dominion.

There is another very important point. Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Civil Procedure Code, Evidence Act, etc., are in the Concurrent List. The Centre as well as the Provinces, to be called States, can legislate on them. It is therefore absolutely essential that our vocabulary should be the same throughout the Dominion of India. Otherwise there is bound to be chaos ultimately leading to disintegration.

१ दृढकरण २ गिरफ्तारि-ए-मुकरर ३ विधि

४ कानून शिकन

५ विद्या ६ अर्थ ७ विद्यार्थी ८ इल्म ९ तलब

१० इल्म तालिब ११ तालिबे इल्म १२ अर्थ विद्या

१३ तालिबे इल्म

१४ इल्म १५ तालिब

१६ इन्साफ मिले—समाजी मजाली और सिवासी

१७ समाजी १८ दंडी, हस्ती करी १९ मजाली सिवासी

२० समाजी २१ समाजी २२ समाज

२३ दृढकरण २४ गिरफ्तारि-ए-मुकरर



THE MOTHER AND THE SON

By SANTA DEVI

[Translated from the original Bengali by Miss Shyamasree Nag, B.A.]

THE elder daughter-in-law was busy with her toilet. On the bed, beside the dressing-table, lay three gold-embroidered *Benaresi sari*—one purple, the other *mayurkanthi*, and the third a dazzling flame colour. Mukul ran her comb briskly through the mass of her hair, while she tried to decide whether the sleeveless brocade blouse or the yellow jacket decorated with the wide Surati gold border would be more suitable for her *sari*. A lacquer casket stood on her dressing-table and over its lid a string of pearls and a diamond necklace lay sparkling. Mukul was not satisfied with her coiffure; it came too low down on the nape of her neck. She undid it and then with a large comb pushed the thick strands of her hair up, nearly on the middle of her head. Tying the base of her long tresses with a ribbon, she stood with her back to the dressing-table mirror and looked into the full-length mirror in front of her. Twisting her hair up into a loose bun, she held it in both hands and surveyed the effect. Ah, was it not becoming! Tiny ringlets, beneath the high coiffure, hung at the smooth white nape of her neck (like a picture from Ajanta). Was it not a shame to cover up such a coiffure with the veil? But anyway, a plain bun under the veil, would have looked stunning either!

Her husband's younger sister entered the room and stared at her, surprised.

"Heavens! *bowdi*," she said, "is it *dada's* wedding today, or *chorda's*? The new *bowdi* falls far below you, so far as beauty is concerned—and now, if you dazzle each and every person by dressing up in that manner, then nobody would even notice the poor thing."

"What must I do, may I know?" Mukul retorted. "Would it please you all if I smear some ink on my face and throw away my *saris* and ornaments into a dust-bin? Well, then, say so—and it might be done!"

Poor Maya, being a good-natured soul, hastily softened down and said, "Of course not dear! Who else should dress up but you, with no children to torture you all day long, as in our case?"

"Well, *that* is the problem," said Mukul, pouting her lips, "you cannot help being jealous of my childlessness and yet you weep your heart off until a noisy little friend comes and settles on your lap. I never cared for such stuff. A Bengali child is a nuisance—having dysentery and liver troubles every other day! I would have had to go without food and sleep, and so, it is better as it is."

"But even then," Maya replied, "I have never heard of anyone liking a lonely childless home!"

Mukul did not answer. She draped the purple *Benaresi* around herself and walked out of her room, fixing the veil over her head.

Maya's aunt entered the room, panting breathlessly, "*Bowma*," she said, "the pantry door is wide open—all the sweets will be stolen, dear!"

"*Bowdi* is frightfully busy with her *saris* and jewels," replied Maya, "has she any spare time to take charge of the pantry? It is only a few seconds that she has finished her toilet and gone out of here. We mere women must bear the burden of the whole world—even when our children are constantly at our heels—while ladies like her are so busy eating, dressing and sleeping that they have no time for work!"

"Bless the little dears!" said her aunt, "God grant them long life! It is just because you have come that I see some fresh little faces and so forget my misery. Otherwise, this house is nothing but a hospital! *Dada* groans with his gout in his room, while I gasp with asthma in mine. The boys are untraceable the whole day—they do not turn up till ten at night. And our daughter-in-law is, of course, unique! Her sole concerns are the shops, the market, the tailor and the jeweller; and as she has a motor car tied to her heels, she does just that all day long. If she had a little imp in her lap, she would have wanted to stay at home, just to fondle it for a while."

Maya said, "Seven years have passed since her marriage, when will she ever have a child? She is as old as I and my Panu was a six-months' baby at the time of her wedding. She ought to see a doctor now. If I try to tell her, she will eat me up, of course!"

"She will rush to eat you up, indeed!" replied her aunt. "She can't escape such a fate if she has such a nature. Does any one in this modern age realise that motherhood is the result of the strictest penance? The past age could have taught her a lesson! Eight years after my aunt's wedding, my grandmother pushed a second wife into my uncle's home. The virtuous lady bore everything patiently all her life but never blamed anyone but her fate. She never touched a luxury throughout her life, she used to say—what right have I to use those things, my only wish is to have the *sindoor-mark* always on my forehead."

"What is the use of telling such old tales?" Maya said, "we will be glad enough, if the new bride makes our family grow! But she also is a grown-up girl of nineteen, who knows of what sort she is!"

Aunt answered, "Her mother has five sons and three daughters, I have heard. That had made us bring her, hoping she would have two or three, at least. Otherwise, we do not bring a bride just to spend some money!"

Mukul heard her words as she was entering the room to keep in her almirah the *sari* the new bride had worn in the reception feast. Her face darkened for

a moment, but she entered the room with a forced smile on her lips. Even then, she heard Maya saying, "Father built this huge house and mother made it the home of her heart's desire. It is also full of memories of my grandmother. The heavy cupboards and bedsteads, the household utensils, silver and gold, are even now clothed with years of their loving touch. What is the use of all this, if *bowdi* has no children?"

"Why sister dear!" said Mukul, as she stepped across the threshold, "Is there any cause for such anxiety? Everybody is not like me, and even then your children are there and they might take care of the household."

"*Bowma*!" said the irritated aunt, "you are their own aunt. Don't hint so unkindly at the little dears!"

(2)

Mukul led a contented life with youth, beauty, ornaments and mode of toilet. Being one of five children in a middle-class family, she never was much acquainted with wealth or luxury. When seeing her wealthy friends and relations she wished to wear a *Benaresi sari* she had to be satisfied with a Santipuri striped one. When she wanted jewels to sparkle all over her, with each movement of her young body, she had to spend her days adorning herself only with two shell-bracelets around each of her wrists. Her heart shed silent tears when she inspected in her mirror the thousand defects in her mode of toilet. But she could not protest as she knew she was one of five children of poor parents! All of a sudden, because of her pretty complexion, she was married away to a rich family! Now, all the unfulfilled desires and untasted pleasures—of whose existence she had feared to admit even to herself—crowded towards her, each with its individual claims. She did not forget to satisfy any of her desires, such as enjoying the luxury of *saris*, ornaments, a car and furniture, together with social pleasures and merriments. Even now, one desire was giving rise to another. Seven years of pleasant experience has made Mukul realise that there was no end to human desire. If each new desire could be fulfilled in life what would remain to be yet desired for? This is life. But even into this bower of complete happiness, the fresh little face of a child never peeped. Mukul used to think that the vast future would attend to that. Now was the time to ignore such problems and enjoy the pleasures of life!

But Mukul woke up from her dreams after her brother-in-law's wedding and realised that seven years have slipped by while there was a stir of anxiety in the whole family.

It was eight months or so, since the arrival of the younger daughter-in-law. She was not keeping well. Her mother wanted her to be sent to her immediately. Mukul has come to her husband's study, to make arrangements.

In the sultry summer afternoon Jayant Babu lay stretched on his easy-chair under the electric fan and

tried to discover the special features of Mussolini's character. But the soft enticement of sleep had nearly made him forsake Mussolini when Mukul came and, running her fingers through his hair, said, "Listen darling! the day after tomorrow is an auspicious one and so, if you can inform them today at your convenience, they can take *choto-bow* away early that day."

Jayant put his legs down from the arm of the chair and sat up. "Why will they take *bowma* away now?" he asked in a hoarse inaudible voice.

Mukul shook her husband by his shoulder and said, "Rather! now, stop being a fool? As if you know nothing. It is her first time and we should send her to her father's. Who would be able to take care of her like her mother?"

Jayant looked at Mukul's face and said, "Even Sukant is to be a father before long? I feel so tickled when I remember him with his books tucked under his arm, scheming to miss his college classes, just a few days ago!"

Jayant laughed out but it did not sound like sheer laughter. It rang discordant even in Mukul's ear. She could not give a reply in her customary taunting way, swinging her arms and jingling her earrings. Jayant himself raised the topic, "Well, dear?" he said playing with the many bangles around her wrists, "Now Sukant will be the master of this house and when we grow old we would have to live on his children's charity. Let us rather leave this sham house and lead a hermit's life in the woods! What do you think of the idea?"

Mukul's heart gave a great leap. How could she being a woman, remain oblivious of this fact so long? To the society her excessive adherence to self-decoration and household care would seem meaningless and momentary efforts to appease the heart. Who would believe her if she declared that she truly felt the greatest happiness through these acts? Mukul had at last realised that this gorgeous life was like a bouquet of spring blossoms abundant in its colour and fragrance but yielding no fruit to Nature's creative mystery. A pain wrenched at her heart when she thought that her husband had realised this fact even before her. Yet she went and sat very close to Jayant and twisting around her finger the border of her red *Daccai sari*, murmured in an injured tone, "Why? Are we two not enough for each other? Is our own present happiness absolutely worthless? Should everything depend on future?"

Jayant patted her cheek and replied, "Of course, this has a value, Mukul. But how long is the present lesser than a moment, do you not think? Surely, life means a tiny past and a vast future. We live our lives just for that future."

"Great heavens! Now, please stop your metaphysical lectures!" exclaimed Mukul, "Such things will not get into my brain. If you are so very impatient of the present then why not go and marry once again like the gentlemen of old!"

"Stop it, Mukul," Jayant said, "I do not want such words from your lips. Plenty of old gossips are still living to say them."

Suddenly, some one seemed to brand Mukul's heart with a red-hot iron. So this topic has been discussed already! Her seven-year-old home, her very own husband—could these people think easily and with one accord of snatching all this away from her, even in this twentieth century? Her eyes filled with tears. Drawing away from her husband, she pouted her lips and said, "So you all had discussions about this and still you kept it a secret from me? Excellent!" She could not think of any more words.

Jayant said, "Must I come and whisper into your ears every word that others say to hurt you?"

Mukul replied in an injured voice, "Why should you ever tell me, if you like to hear them yourself?"

Jayant did not answer.

He again lay back on the easy chair and began turning the leaves of a book. After a few moments' silence Mukul said, "Will you not tell me who those old gossips were? After living with me for seven years you just listened to their words patiently—could you not give a proper answer?"

"Goodness!" exclaimed Jayant, "Why should I answer? They were not talking to me! I just heard them talking among themselves. People always do tell such things in these cases—there is nothing to be so sore about it!"

"So you too?" said Mukul and stalked out of the room stamping her feet.

(3)

Mukul had never stayed at her father's house after her marriage. Even on an invitation she would return home on the evening of the very day. Jayant's family was well-known for its arrogance as the daughters-in-law were never much sent to visit their parents. Moreover, Mukul did not like to display before her relatives the wealth and splendour of this house. She was the daughter of poor parents; why would she humiliate her father by showing off her present wealth? Yet she never did wish to stay away from the princely grandeur.

But after so many years she quarrelled with her husband for nothing and went away to her parents. Mukul was terribly hurt as Jayant had refused to name the "old gossips" who had wanted to bring him another wife.

Her parents had a simple household. Both the brothers were married and their wives have had babies. The joys, the anxiety and the pleasures of the family were all because of the two little children. The elder daughter-in-law Sudha's daughter was a tiny tot, only two and a half years old and the younger daughter-in-law Beena had a year old son. Sudha's little girl Tuku would either lip stray lines from the nursery rhymes all day long, or twisting and turning her chubby little arms and legs would start dancing. Sometimes, she

would offer her tiny little lap for her dear cousin and stretching her little arms would chirp pleadingly at her aunt for the baby.

The wise, precocious ways of Tuku were always making the two mothers laugh. When Tuku, in her anger, would puff up her fat cheeks and hiding her face would say, "I shan't talk wif you," Sudha, forgetting all her house-work would run to pick her up in her arms and kiss her till she forgot her anger.

The whole house, of course, was mad about the boy-baby. In addition to his being a wee little thing, he was the first son born in the family. His grandmother would collect coloured threads from the borders of old saris and embroider on his little patchwork quilts nursery rhymes that said, "Ah, my heart's treasure, my lotus-eyed one!" His mother, when she finished cooking, would take her baby on her lap and after dressing him up for the evening would put a *kajal* mark on his forehead, while she sang a nursery song that would drive the evil eye away from her child. The baby would gurgle merrily. His father and his uncle would inquire after the baby-boy the moment they returned from the office. A grimy little bundle of humanity would crawl over to his uncle and sit down on his beslippered feet. That was his way of wanting to sit on his lap as he could not climb up himself! As usual, the family had gathered round the two little kids that evening. Tuku's aunt was asking her, "Whom do you love most, Tuku dear?"

"Mummy, daddy, you, baby and granny!" replied Tuku.

"Do you love all of us at top level, you silly little thing?" taunted her mother.

"How much do you love me?" asked her aunt.

Tuku spread her little arms as much as she could and said, "So much."

"And me?" asked her mother.

"More and more, up to the sky!" Tuku answered excitedly.

"Oh, you little imp!" said her aunt, "Did you not say you had the greatest love for all?"

The baby crawled over to his mother and hung over her shoulders, "Imb!" he muttered incoherently.

All attention was turned to him at once. They stared at him, amazed, and exclaimed in chorus, "My, what a naughty little thing."

Tuku shook her forefinger at the baby and shrieked, "My, what a naughty little thing?"

Sudha and Beena had no other interests in life. They did not seem to care whether there were any other living creatures or objects of interest in the world or not. Mukul's saris and ornaments would grow stale in a few days, she would lose all interest in them until she thought of newer ones. But to Sudha and Beena their treasures were perpetually new. The words that the human child had spoken innumerable times, the wanton sprightliness that had rippled over the child's tiny body over and again, seemed to them to appear in this world, for the first time, in the words and

actions of their own babies. Now Mukul realised it for the first time in her twenty-five years.

The baby's eyes were heavy with sleep. His mother gathered him close into her arms and rocking him gently sang a lullaby that said, "My treasure, oh, my treasure, useless is the life of one who has not such a treasure!" The baby-boy clasped his mother's necklace in his tiny fist and cuddled closer to her bosom.

The growing agony in Mukul's heart made her realise that these rhymes were not mere empty verses. The most intimate feelings of innumerable mothers have been gathered up throughout the ages into this little song. This led her to believe that her childlessness might really make her husband take a second wife. Suddenly, she got up and ran into the *Thakur-ghar*. Prostrating herself before the idol, Mukul joined her palms together and cried, "Oh God, I have never prayed to you before! I am driven to beg of you today. Give me a child in my arms, be it blind or lame, but never, dear God, let my husband have another wife!"

Downstairs, Beena was still rocking her baby to sleep, singing that lullaby, Mukul thought that Beena was deliberately mocking her and her wealth, through those words.

(4)

Mukul had come back to her husband's home. She had not known that God had fulfilled her urgent desire. She did not know that she was already bearing that child whose absence had made her leave her beloved home in shame and misery.

When she discovered the fact, she could no longer stay away from her husband. She could not and should not give this good news to any one before she did to her husband.

The moment she returned home, Mukul brought out all her silk *saris* and started cutting them into small pieces. What was the use of stuffing her almira with all these? It is better to thrill the heart by using them to prepare for the advent of the desired child.

"What is all this?" exclaimed Jayant as he entered the room, "Are you mad? Do not mothers wear good *saris*? There are enough silk-houses in the market. Your child will not be in want of clothes."

"No, no, it is not so," said Mukul shyly. "I am cutting them because I don't like to wear them anymore. They might be useful if I cut them myself, otherwise, worm-eaten *saris* are absolutely of no use!" Her face saddened and she said, "I do not know whether I will live or die after having a child at this age. Then you will regret seeing an almira—full of *saris*, or the second wife might come and wear them. You were getting married after all! I served as a barrier just for a few months."

"There is no need to talk such rubbish," Jayant said. "All the women of Europe and America are having children at this age and death opens its jaw only in your case!"

But Mukul was truly afraid. She might now pass out of the borders of this world, she thought. Could a

person enjoy all the pleasures of life, at the same time? Yet she tried to check this fear by giving sound lectures to her troubled self. Death *would* come to a person one day, so it was better to die now than stagger through the whole length of a long, useless life. In her short lease of life she had known all the pleasures that a Hindu woman wished for. If, now, at the time of her death, she could die in the glory and hope of making her husband's lineage ever-flowing, then what does it matter if she did not see the same sun-rise and sun-set and have the same food and drink for another twenty-five years! She would bid farewell to this world, happily, if she could once see the face of her own child whom she had never seen before.

The day drew nearer and nearer together with the preparations for the reception of Mukul's child. Everything from suits, hats, and stockings to a cradle, a little bedstead and a play-car, were stored by the father and mother, in anticipation.

The loud blowing of conches in Jayant's house mingled with the Durga-puja music. Everyone, from the old aunt to Maya, was busy. Mukul has had a son. Aunt shouted, "I say, you people, go and call Dada! Tell him to bring two guineas with him. The glory of our family has at last come to glorify our home!"

"Let that be," Maya replied. "*Bowdi* had nearly collapsed,—first go and see whether she is still living! First attend to the mother and then do whatever you wish to do with the child."

"No, dear, *Bowdi* has revived now," said the midwife. "There is nothing to fear. Show her the beautiful baby and she will forget all her pain and misery."

The nurse brought the baby near Mukul. What a helpless, pathetic little face! Mukul's heart filled with love, seeing the baby. Will this child of hers live?

The grandfather, the grandaunt, the uncles, the aunts and all the others came and saw the baby blessing him with *mohurs*, guineas and rupees. But Mukul's heart trembled with anxiety. Will she be able to stand such happiness? God, let this child live long to bless her!

(5)

Mukul's son was a year old now, brought up by the deep love and caressing attentions of his mother. But Mukul's happy smile has disappeared from her face. Her son has not yet learned to turn round or sit up or speak. She had tried every doctor in the city of Calcutta, but all had said that this was an incurable ailment. The child's spinal column was malformed from his birth. It will remain so throughout his life.

The child has learnt to recognise his mother, he laughed when he saw her and cried when she went away. The doctor says that his brain would develop normally and he would understand everything, but he would have to depend on others, throughout his life.

Mukul says, "If God had taken everything away from him, he could have also deprived him of his brain. He would not have understood his misfortune then!"

Every time the boy smiled at his mother, her eyes would fill with tears. Mukul's eyes were red with weeping. She attended to the baby, day and night, forgetting her toilet and amusements. It seemed as if this Mukul was another person altogether from the Mukul of the past. Jayant realised that it would be hard to save her life if she behaved in this manner. Calling Mukul to him, one day, he tried to make her understand. "Listen dear!" he said, "All the fingers of a hand are not identical. Must you kill yourself just

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because of one such child? You can live to have five healthy children. All will not be like this."

"I do not wish to live to have five more children," replied Mukul, "I had selfishly asked God to give me any child, whether blind or lame. God has punished me rightly! It would have been better if you had another wife. I would then have been the sole sufferer! My baby whom I love more than life would not then have to suffer throughout life just to redeem me from childlessness."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Malayan Indian Congress

I have been a reader of your *Review* for many years. Our family is well-known in this country. I was once the Secretary of the Malayan Congress in this town. I have been a committee member of the Indian Association, and organiser of the Indian Independence League in this State. I have personally known most of the Indian leaders and almost all our Agents to the Government of India in Malaya. I had the chance of meeting Pandit Nehru on two occasions when he visited this country (1927 and 1946), and also the members of the Congress Medical Mission.

The writer does not think that any man who has been in Malaya for only six months can speak with authority about the Indian problem in this country, and as such I disagree with the article written by Dr. C. Siva Rama Sastry (August Number, page 144) though I agree with the following statement of his:

"The Malayan Indian Congress, whose founder-president is today the Indian Representative in Malaya, is the *de facto* organisation of the commercial elements of Malaya."

And

"The Indian Government must appoint a liberally minded man as its Representative in Malaya, one who can win the confidence of labour and lead them in the right path."

The writer had the fortune to work under this gentleman in Rangoon when he was the Minister of the Asad Hind Government. I can say without any hesitation that only the rich, the favoured few, and his paid stooges can expect any consideration from him, and it was due to his high-handedness (he was then the President of the M. I. C.) which caused me to resign from the Secretaryship of the local branch of the M.I.C. There were two other occasions when I had to go against him as he behaved like "Hitler."

It is more than a mystery to me why Pandit Nehru appointed him or Mr. Raghavan to be our Representative in Malaya or Java though I had predicted about this more than a year before these gentlemen got their present posts. As professional men there are at least a dozen Indians who have built up greater reputation than they have at the local Bar, and as "patriots" there

are some who have worked and sacrificed far more than what they have done. My former friend, the late lawyer S. C. Goho of Singapore, is one of them. It is a great pity that Pandit Nehru should do things without consulting the Indian masses in this country.

Mr. J. Thivy's public utterances have proved (if proof is necessary) that he has not the qualities to entitle him to hold such a high office. Even the leading English paper (*The Straits Times*) had something to say against him. Surely, no statesman will utter anything that may hurt the feelings of the Muslims of this country who hail from Pakistan. This has given an impetus to the formation of the Overseas Pakistan League. A former colleague of his (Mr. Mallal) in the Asad Hind Government is now holding a high post in this O. P. L. They have now made representations to the Pakistan Government to send someone to look after their interests.

The President of the Negri Sembilan Labourers Union have also denounced him (Mr. Thivy) as siding with the British capitalists, just as Mr. Abdulla (until recently the President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Kuala Lumpur) has denounced him for siding with the Chettians *re* the representation he (Mr. Thivy) made to Pandit Nehru regarding the Malayan Government's Debtor-Creditor Ordinance.

Mr. J. Thivy has miserably failed the Indian labourers, and hundreds of them have been jailed under the Emergency Regulations. There is no use of 'locking the stable door when the steed is stolen.' It was his duty to have seen that the Indian labourers did not fall a prey to Communism. Speech-making, giving Press interviews, attending dinners and tea parties—these are not for what he was given this position of honour. I request you, Mr. Editor, that you will make a very strong protest to see that he is immediately relieved of his post, and a more efficient man from the Foreign Department is sent to this country. It would be a folly to appoint any local Indian, for there is not a single person who is fit to hold this high position.

Beantong, Pahang,
Federation of Malaya.

B. C. GONG



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

AN INDIAN PILGRIM : Autobiography of Subhas Chandra Bose. Published for Netaji Publishing Society by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., P.O. 54, Calcutta. 17p. 144. Price Rs. 5.

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE : By Subhas Chandra Bose. Published for Netaji Publishing Society by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., P.O. 54, Calcutta. Pp. 440. Price Rs. 10.

These two books should be read together as the first is the complement of the second. The first covers the period (1897-1920) the years between Subhas Chandra Basu's birth and the year in which he passed the Indian Civil Service examination with distinction. The second volume covers the period (1930-1934) the years during which Subhas Chandra Bose had played his part in India's fight for freedom first as a lieutenant of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and then, after the latter's death in his own right as an exponent and leader of the radical and "leftist" feelings and forces in the country. The British Government in India put a ban on this book on its publication in Britain in 1935. When the Congress Ministries were formed in 1937, the United Provinces Ministry took the initiative in having the ban removed. The years since then have been years of turmoil and conflict, and the book faded out of view. Now we have to thank the Netaji Publishing Society for "the first Indian edition" of the book.

The first volume of this series has been very properly given the title—*An Indian Pilgrim*, for, those who know anything of Subhas Chandra Bose even from a distance felt that here was a man who had the mind and manner of one who regarded his life as a pilgrimage, ever on the move towards the Eternal City of the True, the Good and the Beautiful, enthroned in the Himalayas of human aspirations and who was fully conscious that the goal could only be reached after one had traversed through the dust of the earth and made his way up over the rarified atmosphere of the ever-receding altitudes of human experience. And in this book we are taken through the secrets of "an introvert" who (Subhas's own words) struggled through the inhibitions of his own make-up, and that of a society in India trying to come out of a collective split-personality, conditioned by the alien domination, physical and mental, over State and its attempt to recover its natural and national manhood. During this period Subhas Chandra represented in himself the whole period since the middle of the 19th century when society in India awoke to the ignominy of an existence as a dependent people. And in the book we get one of the clearest of descriptions of the struggle of a nation, unit by unit, to recover balance and self-respect. It depicts a tranquil picture that could maintain its dignity and integrity

through all the experiences of angry political strifes and controversies.

The second book under review takes us through the first 15 years of the Gandhi Era which gave a new meaning and significance to India's struggle for political freedom. It shows us that from the first day of Subhas Chandra's contact with Gandhiji, the younger man had developed a scepticism of the principles and policies that the Indian National Congress had been trying to implement under the leadership of a man of religion forced into politics. The enigma of this conflict evades our analysis. In the first volume we have seen the instinctive bent of the writer for the life of the *sannyasi*, in the second volume we come face to face with his reaction against a plan and a programme that were framed in the language of the religious life, and built on the principle of a spiritual quest after the Truth. As we read through it, we understand the significance of the events that disfigured India's political life during the opening months of 1930 when Subhas Chandra Bose had to come out of the Congress as its "Rebel President." The "lack of understanding" on his part and the "lack of clarity" on Gandhiji's that came out on the 16th of July, 1921, persisted all through the years, and we have been witnesses of the consequences of this mutual distrust between two builders of modern India.

Now that both of them have left the fields of their mundane activities, we can try to reconstruct the evolution of Indian politics with the help of these two volumes that describe the philosophy of conduct of the man, who lived to frame a state's decrees and lead its army for the redemption of his country's freedom, from the clutches of the greatest Imperial Order of modern times. This "man of action" (Romain Rolland's words) has left us "an indispensable work" for understanding the "Indian Movement" free from "party spirit," in language that is eloquent with simplicity.

SURESH CHANDRA DES

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF BENGAL : By Shri Bijay Bihari Mukherji. Published by Jugabansi Sahitya Chakra, 28 Kabir Road, Calcutta 29. Price Rs. 4.

The prevalence of corruption in the public administration has been a subject of strong and persistent criticism in the press and by officials and non-officials of the highest positions. There have recently been several instances in which ineptitude in the conduct of departmental proceedings and the resulting inadequacy of the findings reached and punishments awarded have been unfavourably commented upon. It is fully realised that ways and means must be devised for effecting an improvement in the procedure and results of departmental proceedings. Corruption in public administration is like a cancer. It must be bodily removed or it infects every tissue. Inefficiency is a creeping paralysis. At such

point it adds to the people's misery. At crucial points it is a great steriliser. The co-efficient of efficiency in India has not been high. It is probable that foreign rule chilled enthusiasm and made the growth of an incorruptible and efficient administration impossible. But free India must now be galvanised into action to cover up by forced marches the lost ground and come abreast with the most advanced countries. India can no longer suffer efficiency or integrity of public administration to be compromised in any way. If India has to develop into a real and genuine modern State, the highest efficiency and an incorruptible character should be the only tests for filling in public positions of trust and responsibility.

The author of the book, Shri Bijay Bihari Mukharji, is eminently suited to write a handbook for the administrator and suggest remedies for the existing lacunae. The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the ways and means for effecting an improvement in the procedure and in the results of departmental proceedings, the second part deals with changes in law for the trial of cases of corruption and the procedure for the successful detection and prosecution when criminal proceedings are decided upon, and the third part deals with the improvements in the methods of work and in the attitude of the public servants to stamp out inefficiency and corruption in the administration and to improve the quality and morale of the public servants. This invaluable book should be on the table of every administrator of Free India today. —

K. N. C.

HISTORY OF BENGAL, Vol. II, (Muslim period): Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Dacca University. 1948. One map. Pp. 546. Price Rs. 16.

This publication stands as a landmark in the development of historical studies in Bengal. It proves how our knowledge of our province's past has been revolutionised by the work of her own sons in the course of ninety years since Rajendra Lal Mitra showed us the path of modern research. The first volume, covering the Hindu Period, edited by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, was published in 1943. With the second volume we reach the foundation of British rule in 1757. Nearly half the volume is the work of Sir Jadunath. A band of other noted Indian scholars have contributed chapters on their special periods, so as to complete the work.

It fills a longfelt want, and the high level of its pages will long make it standard authority on the most interesting formative period of Bengal's past life.

AIN-I-AKBARI, Vol. III (2nd Ed.): English translation by Jarrett, revised and further annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Bound in boards. Pp. x + 528. Price Rs. 10.

This particular volume of Abul Fazl's masterpiece, is an encyclopaedia of Hindu philosophy, science, literature, arts and customs compiled by the learned author with the help of a syndicate of Sanskrit pandits. Abul Fazl tells the reader in his preface, that his intention in writing it was to "establish peace and promote concord" between the Hindus and other sects by demonstrating that the Hindus were not really superstitious idolaters, but very liberal and highly intellectual philosophers, who regarded their own mythology as merely symbolic. He gives long and learned accounts of different schools of Hindu philosophy, dress, manners, beliefs, and customs; and adds (in this volume) a long collection of Akbar's wise sayings which are quite illuminating, and also a charming account of his own family and education. There is a long and helpful index. This book has been long out of print. We are sure this

greatly improved edition will have a large sale. The 2nd volume (also long out of print) is now in course of reprinting.

B. N. B.

INDIA ANTIQUA: A volume of Oriental Studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate. Kern Institute. Leyden. 1947. Pp. 329. 4 to.

This excellently printed volume, consisting of contributions from the pen of a number of well-known scholars both of the East and of the West, is a fitting tribute to the high literary services and achievements of one who may justly be regarded at the present time as the *doyen* of European orientalists. It is not possible to notice in the present place all the papers of outstanding importance contained in this precious work. But we may mention a few which are of special interest to students of Indian history and culture. Sanskrit philology is well represented by the papers of F. Edgerton (The Sanskrit suffix—*tiha*), J. Gonda (Sanskrit *Utsava*—festival), F. B. J. Kuiper (Traces of Laryngals in Vedic Sanskrit), E. J. Thomas (*Nirvana* and *Parinirvana*), and K. de Vreese (Sanskrit *Kutagara*). Important for Indian history and archaeology are F. W. Thomas' interpretation of a Mathura inscription of the so-called Kaniska Year 14, S. Konow's note on Indian eras, B. Bhattacharya's identification of a few Nepalese Buddhist bronzes, and R. B. Whitehead's discussion of the identity of the so-called Sun God of Multan on some Indo-Sassanian coins. Of interest for Indian literature is the comparative study of *Mricchakatika* and King Lear by B. Faddegon. For the interpretation of the rules of the Buddhist *samgha*, E. Lamotte's paper is of special interest. In another paper the present writer has sought to bring out the full significance of the *mandala* doctrine and the theory of six *gunas* (with their sub-divisions) with reference to the problem of inter-State relations, as laid down in the *Arthashastra* of pre-Kautilyan times. Of local interest, but still of much importance, are the discussion of an incident in South Indian history by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and B. C. Law's collection of references to ancient Mithila. As for Greater Indian and connected studies, A. Foucher in a learned article proves two ivories selected from those discovered by J. Hackin on the site of ancient Kapisi to illustrate *Jataka* stories. While E. E. Herzfeld authoritatively discusses the identity of a few place-names found in the old Persian literature and inscriptions as well as Greek classical writings. In another scholarly paper, G. Tucci discusses the authenticity of the extant Lamaistic historical works in the light of the newly discovered documents from Tun Huang. For the study of Indo-Javanese literature, F. D. K. Bosch's explanation of the *Bhimastava* and Th. P. Gasterlin's illustrations from the Javanese Pausyaparan on a Balinese painting are of particular interest. A riddle in the early annals of Siam is explained by Georg Coedes with his usual thoroughness, while F. H. van Naerssen throws new light on the Sailendra interregnum in ancient Javanese history. In another paper B. Chhabra brings together all known references to Yupas in ancient Indian inscriptions for comparison with the well-known Yupa inscription of King Mulavarman in East Borneo. Mention may be made lastly of the interesting paper in which S. Paranavitana infers from the joint evidence of general architectural design and a Mahavamsa verse that the figures portrayed in the well-known Sigiri paintings are not those of Queens and their attendants, but those of celestial beings of the types called Lightning-Princesses and Cloud-Damels.

U. N. GHOSAL,

BENGALI

BIPLABER PATHE BANGALAR NARI (Bengali Women on the Path of Revolution): *Haridas Mukhopadhyaya. Published from 40-A Sikdarbagan Street, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.*

BANGALAR NARI ANDOLAN (Women's Movement in Bengal): *By Chhabri Roy. Published by National Book Agency, 12 Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Both these books cover almost the same ground. The first is interpretative of the many impersonal forces that launched the renaissance movement in Bengal by Ram Mohun Roy and his generation. There were reformers and conservatives amongst them who led this movement of enlightenment among their womanhood. In the eyes of the present writer they appear to be antediluvian without any consciousness of the transformation in thought and life that their activities, often halting, would precipitate. He reflects the modern mind that relates woman's education to many of the expressions of woman's emancipation from book-knowledge to "unmarried motherhood." But one difficulty in the way he has not been able to negotiate—the difficulty of "sex antagonism" he has posited at the root of the problem. His programme of reform does not help to remove this conflict planted there by God or Nature.

The second book is descriptive of the reform started by Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahmo Samaj passing through the Hindu revival and the same awakening in Muslim Society. Both the writers build up the background of their story in the disruptive part played by British capitalist-imperialism in India. But the second writer is fuller in her description of the havoc in Indian society that has brought the women of the "sheltered classes" along-side the peasant women fighting for the crops raised by their men-folk in the fields of Bengal. This gives a touch of reality to what has been happening before our eyes seeking to establish a new pattern of conduct through a new appraisal of human values. As everything appears to be in a flux, no one can yet prove its validity or its worth.

D.

HINDI

'GANDHIJI' SERIES : Vol. I (Homages) : Published by Kashi Vidyapith, Benares Cantt. Printed at Bhargava Bhushan Press, Trilochan, Benares. Pp. 160 plus 16 illustrations. Royal octavo size. Price Re. 1-8.

Kashi Vidyapith, the well-known National University of Benares started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 during the non-co-operation days is bringing out a series of 25 volumes in Hindi entitled *Gandhiji Series*. The first few volume of the series will contain homages paid by eminent personalities, newspapers and periodicals, poets and institutions, from all over the globe to Mahatmaji on his death. Other volumes will consist of Mahatmaji's life-sketch, his letters (with facsimiles of the important ones), speeches, writings, prayers, addresses and other details of his varied activities. The present volume is the first of the series containing homages paid by eminent personalities of the country and by leaders of U. P., Bombay and West Bengal. The volume is beautifully illustrated with more than a dozen pictures of the various scenes of the last rites, and of the mournings in the country.

X

DAYANANDOPANISHAD : By Bhimsen Vidyalkar. Rajpal and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. 139. Price Re. 1-8.

The author is an ardent and industrious student of the works of Swami Dayanand, the illustrious founder of the Arya Samaj. In the present volume, which is only

the first part of his project, he has skilfully brought together under several heads, Vedic thoughts on God, soul, etc., in the light of the great Swamiji's scholarly interpretation and exposition with an indication how these could be applied in the life of the individual as well as of the community. He has thus brought the wisdom of the ancients to the very door of every Hindi-knowing adult.

G. M.

ORIYA

ODISA ITIHAS (History of Orissa) : *By Sri Harekrishna Mahatab, Premier of Orissa. Published by the Students' Store, Cuttack. Royal octavo. Pp. 478. Price Rs. 12-8.*

This work is the first authentic history of Orissa in the Oriya language inasmuch as references are quoted; art and architecture, throwing light on the ancient culture, are amply illustrated with plates, and an index is appended. The history of pre-Mauryan period of Orissa is shrouded in obscurity. So far as this period is concerned the author has done this that he has collected all the information supplied by the *puranas* and by the Jain and Buddhist literatures. He offers no hypothesis and thus exhibits his scientific bent of mind for truth. After Asoka and Kharavel there is again a dark period in the history of Orissa, that covers about six centuries. From the sixth century A.D. onwards the epigraphic records, ancient art and architecture furnish the data for the reconstruction of the history of Orissa. Different scholars have discussed these data and expressed different opinions at different times. Sjt. Mahatab has now collated the different views and offered his own conclusions on the points of disagreement among the scholars. But unfortunately the most accurate view of Dr. Fleet, regarding the dates of Somavamsi kings, has escaped his notice and in consequence he has made unavoidably some palpable errors. The author has spared no pains to give as far as practicable the brief historical sketches of growth and development of Oriya language, literature and political consciousness. On the whole, the work has been informative and we congratulate the author for the zeal and enthusiasm he has displayed in attempting to unravel the past glory of his motherland, in spite of his being preoccupied with politics. We regret that the get-up is below the standard.

B. MISRA

GUJARATI

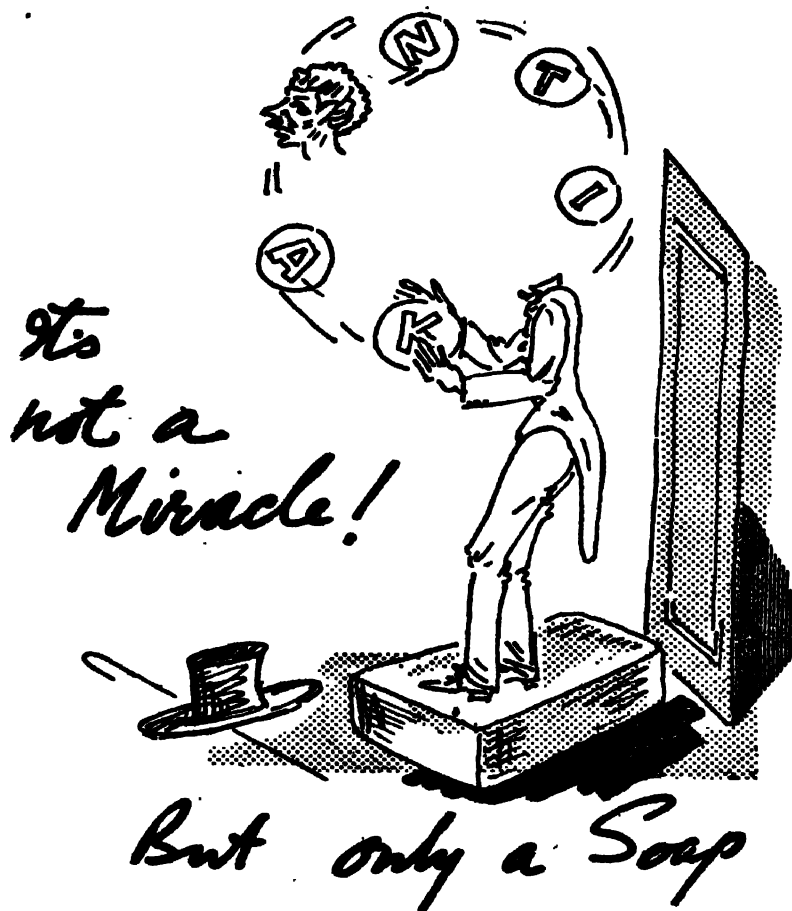
SAHITYANO TAPASWI : By Devibhai Shambhuprasad Kharod, B.A. Printed at the Doshi Press, Junagadh. 1946. Paper-cover. Pp. 23.

In Nanalal Kavi's death Gujarati literature has lost a notable figure. Immediately on hearing of his death in January, 1946, his friends and followers vied with one another in expressing their feelings of sorrow, by speech and in writing. Many of them paid their respect in verse. Mr. Kharod is one of them. His touching verses are modelled on Nanalal's special style of writing verse, and summarise the feelings of a fellow poet in a small but admirable compass.

JHANSIKI RANI LAKSHMIBAI : By Govindrao Bhagwat. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1945. Paper-cover. Pp. 182. Price Re. 1.

All that is known about the young Rani of Jhansi in respect of the courageous stand she made against the E. I. Co's armies in 1857, is set out here in language befitting her heroic deeds. Every Indian should study her life and be proud of the fact that in spite of the drawbacks of her sex in such matters, India can produce such women, when the need arises. It is a valuable and able work.

K. M. J.



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Is Freedom Necessary for Civilization?

In bringing out the importance of Malinowski's great work on political science M. Ruthnaswami, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, observes in *The Indian Review* :

Is Freedom a political luxury or a political necessity? Is it the fruit of civilization or the root of civilization? Is it the end of progress or the means of progress? These are the important questions that the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski attempts to answer in his book, *Freedom and Civilization* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London).

The several chapters of the book were written in America during the course of the last war, and were written in support of the cause of Freedom which was in jeopardy at that critical time in the history of the world. It is the anthropological argument for freedom. Starting from the description of Culture as "the organized exploitation by human intelligence of environmental opportunities and in the disciplining of drives, skills and nervous reactions in the service of collective and implemented action," he shows how, from the dawn of history, human groups and the individuals that form them achieve a much greater freedom of mobility and environmental adaptation, freedom of security and prosperity "by the use of tools, by following the principles and by loyalty to a system of activities started with a purpose and carried out concertedly." He shows how through the discovery and use of fire the sphere of primitive man's action is extended and his many bodily needs are satisfied. The use of stone as hammer, as cutting blades, as spear, as arrowhead or as axe, as adze makes him the master of beast, or forest or flood, and also wood, stone, clothing make him the master of nature. He shows how primitive man far from being the slave of tradition or precedent was a realist and a free actor—he could not have survived otherwise. In fact, tradition and precedent were only a set of devices once discovered by the reason and freedom of primitive man to be useful and continued to be observed because it was thought they would continue to be useful. It was only when tradition and precedent continued to bind man after they had ceased to be useful that primitive man got stuck in the swamps of stagnation or died out because he was no longer able to adjust himself to his environment. Not merely individual freedom but individual freedom related to the claims and help of society was necessary for progress in primitive society. "Earliest man" says our guide, "was unable to produce a single artifact by his own devices." For example, the use of fire as well as its production had to be learnt in society. Stone implements may be produced by one man but the quarrying of stone, the knowledge where to find and how to use the materials and the techniques and the principles of private property in tools and goods produced were due to customary law, co-operation and tradition. But all the restraints and constraints imposed by Society and Tradition are useful to man only as long as they are necessary, that is as long as

the environment requires it. Once they cease to be required, they act as a millstone round his neck.

That man and that society is progressive whose freedom gives the lead and guidance to the rules and laws of his civilization and culture.

And Freedom serves the cause of progress by giving man the mainsprings of progress in inspiration and initiative, the power "to anticipate and to establish values by the guidance of which man can engage in co-operative activities and does reach new goals and enjoy them under the guarantee of tribal and national citizenship." If there are institutions—whether this be slavery or serfdom or military regiment, the crew of a galley, or he might have added, Caste—which stands in the way of free planning and anticipation or initiative such institutions stand in the way of progress. Among the institutions that this great anthropologist speaking from his vast anthropological studies recommends as a factor in progress is Religion. In Religion he says we find promise, planning, a principle of life and a code of rules. The Communist opinion that Religion is the opiate of the masses, says Malinowski, is not true. In reality and historically it is Faith which brings about the brotherhood of man and gives celestial freedom. Of course, religions differ in their sociological value. "The effectiveness of any religion" says our guide "lies in the extent to which it is a solace to the believer and to the extent to which it affects the mighty and the rich, the ambitious, the greedy, the lustful and their behaviour."

The Family is another great institution that has served the cause of freedom and progress.

He calls it the fundamental institution of primitive mankind and of mankind in general. Of all forms of early organization, the family contributes the greatest quota of freedom in survival since it is the organization which protects the long infancy of the young, equips them for life and nourishes young and adult alike.

This freedom is such a precious thing that men in primitive times, in ancient times, in the Middle Ages as well as in modern times have gone to war in defence of it. The battles for the emancipation of slaves, serfs and manual labourers have all aimed at the "threefold freedom of purpose, action and benefits." Not only individual freedom but social freedom, what Malinowski calls the freedom of combination, is necessary for the progress of civilization. It is a freedom enjoyed in (true) democracies but denied in societies either where the State (as in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or Soviet Russia) takes over all initiative or else where Slavery, Serfdom or the Caste system debar certain groups from any initiative and supply others with an excess of power. But although some forms of social organization have been hostile to progress, some kind of social organization is necessary for the protection and promotion of man's freedom, let it be a clan, a tribe, or guild, or craft. The strength of the individual against his enemies,

the beasts of prey, or forest fire or human enemies is the strength of the group which he forms. But every such social organization if it is to serve the cause of progress must be enforced by the principle of freedom. Primitive groups are never despotically governed and do not lend themselves easily to the accumulation of power. But mere natural and social aids are not enough. A sense of Values must be acquired by man. Value, according to the author, is the driving force, which determines purpose, and freedom lies in choice of purpose, its translation into effective action and full enjoyment of the results. This sense of values whether initiated by tradition or cultivated by religion or sublimated by mysticism is on the one hand a source of new strength and new efficiency for mankind while on the other hand it can also be misused by groups and individuals within a community to impose upon others. But the education of man in values and his chances of spiritual freedom depend first and foremost, says our guide, upon the existence of a number of mutually dependent institutions which though related enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. He points out that in several educational devices of the primitives, joining a new institution or passing through initiation ceremonies entails a definite attempt to break down the loyalties and interests acquired in earlier life and to introduce new values.

Institutions thus exercise an autonomous spiritual influence on the growing mind.

He would thus allow the autonomy of the Church against the sovereignty of the State. In fact the work of culture, according to Malinowski, is not done by any community as a whole nor yet by individuals but smaller organized groups, that is institutions which are organized and integrated to form the community. Institutional freedom is therefore necessary for individual freedom. But on the nature of the institution depends the freedom it makes possible. The criterion he suggests for testing institutions is whether the purpose of the institution is chosen by individual or group, whether implementation of the purpose is through autonomous responsibility and whether the results are shared by all the members of the institution. The legitimate use of authority is necessary for freedom while a denial of freedom occurs through an abuse of force for the benefit of the few in control. Tradition, Hierarchy, Obedience are necessary for social life but they serve the purpose of society only when they are made compatible with freedom. An undue excess or abuse of tradition, hierarchy or obedience leads to servitude which has always stood in the way of progress. Discipline, even stern discipline, was found necessary in primitive society as among the Zulus, the Hamitic and Nilotic tribes, the North American Indians and some of the head-hunting tribes of New Guinea and Indonesia.

Even democracy is supported by arguments from anthropology. Decentralisation makes democracy real and Malinowski assures us that among primitive tribes centralization of any control hardly occurs, for political power is distributed and institutions are autonomous. Personal tyranny is limited and mitigated by customary law and traditional morality. It is not fair to savagery to call totalitarianism a return to savagery.

War, another of the anxious problems of modern times, is not a biological necessity according to the teaching of anthropology. War, we are assured, is not a permanent state of affairs in any type of tribal culture.

The final conclusion of this great anthropologist is that freedom is an indispensable ingredient of civilisation for it guarantees the flowering of those spiritual qualities of man, primitive and civilised, which give birth to inspiration, to creative ideas, to the criticism of the old so that new knowledge, new art, a finer morality may emerge.

Religious Education in India

The future of Religious Education in India is one of the most contested and complicated of the educational issues in the country. K. G. Saiyidain, long Director of Public Instruction in Jammu and Kashmir State and now Educational Adviser to the Government of Bombay, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The Central Advisory Board of Education has appointed, during the last few years, at least two committees consisting of distinguished public men and educationists who deliberated on this issue over and over again but could not come to any agreed conclusions, with the result that they could formulate no scheme or recommendations and the matter was shelved—a proof more of discretion than of courage! Recently, our Education Minister in the Central Government, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, himself a great Muslim divine and a scholar of comparative religion, has re-started the controversy by expressing the opinion that religious education, in the proper sense of the word, should find a place in our educational system. Of course, that phrase 'proper sense of the word' raises many difficult issues but before one can face them one has to deal with the position of those who are entirely opposed to religious education in any sense—proper or improper!—being imparted in schools. I can here refer briefly only to my own views in this behalf, more with the object of initiating discussion and elucidating the issues than of laying down any dicta that all may accept or working out the details of a practical scheme.

People object to religious education for a variety of reasons. There are those who are not prepared to accept Religion at all as one of the great values of life and to whom Religion is but an exploded myth, an old superstition that has outlived its day. With such people there is no common ground for argument so far as religious education is concerned. Then there are those who are not satisfied that, in a multi-religious country like India, it is possible—or desirable—to provide religious education in schools. They would rather leave it to the

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parents to look after this aspect of the child's education. There is not an objection of principle but one of practical expediency. A third class sees no place for religious education in a secular state and is obsessed with what has been happening in India in recent years when communalism ran amuck and almost cost the country its freedom. A recent article by Dr. Paranjpe partly takes this attitude.

Is there no place for religious education in a secular state? Perhaps it may be useful to try to clear away one or two of the misunderstandings implicit in this point of view.

When we speak of a State as a "Secular State," what is really meant is that, in all public and political matters, the State will not ally itself to any particular religion and will not give preference to any group or individual on religious grounds. It does not mean that it is anti-religious or that it frowns upon the religious affiliations of its citizens. There is an obvious difference between a secular State as the Indian Constitution envisages it, and the *anti-religious* complexion, say, of the Soviet State in its early stages. So there is nothing intrinsically *wrong* or *illogical* in a secular State's making arrangements for the religious education of its children. Whether it is *possible* or *desirable* is a question that I shall examine a little later. So far as the argument based on the recent communal frenzy is concerned, it is a significant fact, worth remembering, that the political leaders and others who fanned this flame were not predominantly persons who had received religious education in their schools but those who were often quite indifferent to the religion that they formally professed. In the case of Muslims in particular, it may be said that some of the most influential organizations which always stood for communal peace and harmony were religious organizations like the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind! Nor is it a matter of accident that Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest apostle of communal harmony, was a deeply religious man who derived the inspiration for all his great and manifold work from his deepest religious impulses and beliefs. So it is a superficial view which would dismiss religious education on the apprehension that it would necessarily accentuate communal bitterness.

It is true that great crimes have been committed in the name of religions throughout human history—that in their name there have been intolerance, fanaticism, persecution, denial of intellectual and spiritual freedom, even destruction and death. But so have there been in the name of Patriotism and Culture and Science and it would be wrong to suggest that men and women should eschew them on this account. What is

reasonable is to demand that the distortions and misinterpretations which have come to cluster round these concepts should be swept away and that they should become valuable agencies for the enrichment, rather than the impoverishment, of human life. Just as education in history or geography or literature can be a repressive as well as a liberalizing influence (depending on how these subjects are tackled, and it is the business of the teacher and the Education Department to improve and reform the methods of teaching so as to get the most out of them), so it depends on *how* religious education is imparted whether it is to be a force for good or for evil. It would be unwise to suggest that these subjects should be dropped because they are often taught poorly. Similarly we cannot refuse to countenance religious education on the ground that there are special difficulties in tackling it satisfactorily or that it has been badly taught in the past.

Is it necessary, however, to insist that Religion be given a place of importance in this age of Science and the domination of Intelligence, when the common attitude is one of doubt and questioning rather than of faith?

Will it not be enough if we concentrate all our efforts on the releasing and cultivation of the human intelligence which might provide the requisite guidance to man in his everyday life? Is it not true that the attitude of modern youth is one of scepticism rather than of faith? To take up the last question first, it is true that modern youth is predominantly sceptical in its attitude. But we should go below the surface and try to find out the causes of this phenomenon. I can see two factors operating in the creation of this mentality. Our world has become much more complex and its urgent new problems—of democracy, capitalism, communism, slums and social injustices—confront our youth at every step. In this situation the simple dogmas of an earlier age offer no solution. Thus the sheet-anchors of the past, as presented to the youth formally, have ceased to convey any meaning to him. Again, he is consciously or unconsciously repelled by the dualism and the hypocrisy that he finds rampant amongst both the religious and the secular-minded people. While they profess to believe in "Thou shalt not kill" they organize mass slaughter on a world scale and men of religion are found supporting and justifying this criminal madness! They pay lip service to the creed of "treating our neighbours as ourselves" and profess to believe that "all human beings are members of the family of God." But they have entirely different codes of conduct in person,

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business, political and international life! Honesty, fairness, compassion, lauded in private life (at least in theory) are often regarded as foolish in business and politics and criminally dangerous in international relations! I have no doubt that if great religious teachers like Buddha, Christ or Mohammad, with their message of love and peace, happened to visit this world, they would be regarded as dangerous anachronisms in this age! Little wonder then that the inexperienced youth is bewildered and loses his faith in the basic values of life—which all uphold in theory but flout in practice.

Will it then be right to banish Religion, either from life or from education, altogether? Or must it be recognized as one of the supreme values in life?

Now, it is obviously impossible to give to this question an answer which can be proved logically or scientifically. But, speaking for myself, I am convinced that Religion is something which responds to certain fundamental urges of human nature. Man seeks for a firm anchorage of faith in this world of doubts and dangers and confusion of loyalties; he needs the conviction that life has a meaning and a purpose and is not the result of mere chance or "idle sport," that the pursuit of wealth and pleasure are not its highest objectives. Some people may not, of course, hear the call—many do not actually do so—but the best minds have done so throughout the ages and spirit has gone questing for the "Eternal Values." I am also prepared to

concede that some people have been able to find their life inspiration in sources which are not normally regarded as religious. But such cases are rare and not typical. If we are thinking of human beings in general, we must come to terms with Religion as a valuable part of the permanent and ennobling experience of the individual and the race and we must do what we can to make it work in harmony with our general life objectives.

If we fail to exploit the educative possibilities of religion, we shall be ignoring a very powerful force for good. The advice to abjure religion because it has been misused is, as I have already hinted, a counsel of despair. We cannot and should not reject any great treasure of the human heritage because ignorant or unscrupulous people have used it for unworthy purposes; we cannot reject Religion as such because it has often allied itself with reactionary forces or produced discord. No one has seriously made a demand for the rejection of Science because it has been used as a weapon of destruction! Again the modern problem is not, to my mind, a search for an *entirely new* set of values and principles for life, for the world is not richer today in wisdom or charity or goodness than it was in the days of Buddha or Plato or Christ or Mohammad. It demands a reinterpretation and the presentation of values, including religious values, in modern terms and in relationship to modern problems so that they may help to solve the difficulties with which youth is faced, here and now.



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Special Opportunities in Work for Muslims in India

Dwight M. Donaldson observes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

In the partition of India a vast community of about ninety million Muslims is being divided between the two dominions. If both Hyderabad and Kashmir decide to join the India Union, there will then be more than half as many Muslims still remaining in the India Union as there are in all of Pakistan.

In Pakistan there is a determined struggle on the part of the *mullahs* (the religious authorities) to pattern the new Muslim state according to the *Sharia* which is the law of the Qur'an and the Traditions. For those who are promoting a peculiarly Islamic emphasis in Pakistan, freedom means not only an opportunity to work out their own form of government, without restrictions from any foreign power, but also two other momentous circumstances. They can now live in separation from the Hindus with their hated idolatry; they are in a position to protect the youth of Islam from those aspects of western civilization that they consider to be inimical to the interests of a typical Muslim state. The opposition of this group of Muslims to the influence of Christian missionary undertakings in general may be taken for granted, though toleration and a degree of appreciation may be shown for medical and educational service.

There is a second group of Muslims in Pakistan, however, that is made up of men and women of education and authority, who are by no means enthusiastic for a state that will be dominated by the *mullahs*, with a resuscitation of zeal for old laws and customs. Many of them realize the truth of what Sir William Muir wrote a generation ago, *i.e.*, 'As regards the spiritual, social and dogmatic aspect of Islam, there has been neither progress nor material change since the third century of the Hegira.' They know that the changes that have taken place in Turkey have been in spite of Islam rather than because of it. Accordingly, they are ready to argue that while the creation of Pakistan as a separate state was considered to have been necessary for the protection of Islam, nevertheless the character of the new state should be suited to modern life. To this end they are seeking first of all to be well-informed as to the requirements and responsibilities that go with self-government in the twentieth century. These men and women, we believe, will be inclined to encourage the maintenance of mission hospitals, schools and colleges because they will regard them as agencies that will strengthen a liberal and progressive spirit throughout the country.

Whether there can be a strong association of leaders in the India Union who will be able to pursue a secular policy without becoming irreligious and atheistic is still to be determined. Those who look forward to the development of a secular state—with a comprehensive educational system, with free expression of opinion in the press, with unhampered economic and industrial development, and with religious freedom—have to overcome a tremendous handicap.

It is in the India Union in particular that the Muslims have become unusually receptive to Christian friendship, and we believe that this situation should be met by planning much more definite work for Muslims. There will be individual missionaries, from among the splendid group of reinforcements that has come to India, who will feel that they are positively called of God to seek to prepare to give the major amount of this time to their particular work. Indian Christian ministers and teachers also will be facing the challenge to make their sermons effective proclamations of hope and faith for their Muslim friends.

Young or Old,
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On the Art of Reviewing

Prof. B. S. Mathur writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

I recommend the synthetic view of literary criticism. The reviewer will have to cut down his prejudices to arrive at a balanced view, charged with sovereign sanity and brilliance, to help the reader to an appreciation of a literary work.

The emphasis is on sanity in a reviewer. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's motto for his "Literary Supplement" in the *Hindustan Review* is very significant. That is taken from the Rt. Hon'ble Augustin Birrel from his *Critical Faculty*. It reads thus :

"A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand-in-hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can be complete, the perfect criticism is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems to be the very essence of good criticism, and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. The master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair."

Here you have a very strict view of a critic or a reviewer. If one follows the whole of the passage critically, one will have to agree with Augustine Birrel that real criticism is an impossibility. Nevertheless, we have to aim at what we can achieve. Let us have sympathy and knowledge under the inspiring leadership of sanity. We can have ample measure of sanity if we follow the above synthetic method of reviewing by placing extracts from the original alongside our own reactions. Thus criticism to be comprehensive and comparative is possible if there is also some comparison with other writers in the line. Then the place of the writer also can be established.

While reviewing we have to think in terms of the contribution made by the writer. He must have some justification for his venture. Let us see to his justification. So above all we must have sanity : without it nothing is possible, what will be possible will be wholly prejudiced and perverse. That is not the func-

tion of criticism, which has to recollect emotion in tranquillity ; the emotion is of the writer and has to be recollected by the reviewer.

Before I conclude let me explain how I refer to emotion recollected in tranquillity by the reviewer. All art or literature is the production of emotion. Even critical books, not excluding philosophical books, are written in the fervour of emotion. Philosophers might shun emotion and say it is a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute in us. But they have it when they come to production, although it takes the garb of reason. No action, even mental, is possible in the absence of emotion.

All creative composition begins in a rare atmosphere of emotion. Man has a fund of energy : a part of it is required by the body and the rest goes to the work of creation in the form of emotion. If the artist is asked what he is going to create he cannot say anything definite. Reason might be guiding him from some unconscious level but it is not in the open field. And so the writer is carried away by his emotions. After having written he takes the role of a critic and carries out corrections and alterations, here and there, helped by his knowledge and experience, now under the direct control of reason humanly possible while judging one's own work. Ultimately even after this carrying out of some alterations his composition remains an emotion. This emotion the reviewer has to recollect. He is in a better position to recollect it because he is not the writer and he can, to some extent, humanly possible, be impartial because of his culture in sanity, sympathy and knowledge.

The reviewer, therefore, has this important task of recollecting emotion in tranquillity. But so he must possess taste, delicacy and discrimination, which he can possess if he has done a lot of reading and writing. I emphasise "writing" because without having done it the reviewer will not be able to project himself into the mind of the writer which he must do if he wants to make a near approach to him in his book. The reviewer has the double task of knowing the mind of the writer and after having known it he has to help his readers to this knowledge. He has to understand ; he has to interpret. The reviewer is like Gautama Buddha's disciple, Purna, who was admonished by the Master thus : "Go then, O Purna, having been delivered, deliver : having been consoled, console : being arrived thyself at the farther bank, enable others to arrive there also."

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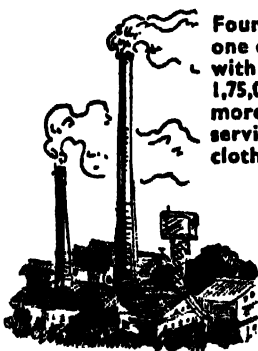
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Spinoza's Influence on Philosophy, Religion, and Daily Life

We reproduce the following article by Leonard B. Gray on Spinoza, one of the greatest philosophers of Europe, from *Unity*, March-April, 1948 :

Surely Emerson was right when he said that time does strange things with the reputations of men. Indeed, time often withholds fame from those who seek it most and gives it to those who seek it least. She immerses into oblivion many people sensationally popular and widely praised in their own days and clothes with immortality some of the little known or despised contemporaries of these popular persons. You just cannot tell what time will do, what values and names she will forget or belittle, and what she will love and praise and preserve.

If they could know, many of the contemporaries of Spinoza would be greatly surprised at the judgment time has passed on him. They knew that this philosopher was one of the most despised and hated men of his day, and some of them knew that quite early in his life fame was one of the three values he thought unworthy of his seeking and that along with the other two he deliberately chose not to seek it. Not only would most of his contemporaries that knew him be amazed at his fame that now fills the world, but also his enemies would be angrily humiliated and shamed either by their own oblivion or by the fact that they are known today only because they were his enemies.

With the possible exception of Thoreau's few pages on "What I Lived For" in *Walden*, literature contains no finer description of a man's sincere effort to find the simple fundamentals of life and happiness than Spinoza's few pages about his own search for the essential values. Indeed, the young Spinoza strove just as earnestly to get at the root of the matter as Thoreau, about two centuries later, sought to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to skin life to the bone, and to drive life into a corner so he could get his two hands on it. Early in life this Jewish philosopher carefully weighed the values of riches, fame, and pleasures of the senses, the three surroundings of life, according to his observation, most highly esteemed by most men. He soon found these surroundings, he tells us, to be vain and futile. With what passionate thirst and with what disastrous consequences men seek these three values. Men let their minds become so absorbed by these goals of their desires that their minds have little power to reflect on any different good. When the heat of sensual delight has passed, it not infrequently leaves one in extreme melancholy. The best intellectual powers, never enthralled by such delights, are only disturbed and dulled. The more fame and riches we get, the more they increase our delight and the more they intensify our desire to acquire still more and more. Should we fail to gain them we are plunged into feelings of frustration and sadness. The search for fame has the further drawback of putting upon us the necessity of ordering our lives according to the lives of our fellow men, of shunning what they shun, and of seeking what they seek. Such values are nothing but hindrances to essential living and real

happiness. Men have been known to suffer persecution, at times even unto death, in search for riches and fame. Others hasten their death through over-indulgence in sensual pleasures. To possess these values, and especially to be possessed by them, means death, often physical, always spiritual. The more this earnest young Jew weighed these values, the more he became convinced that they were unworthy of his seeking and that only love toward a thing eternal and infinite could feed the mind wholly with joy and give genuine happiness. And so he set his goal before him and directed his aim. During his short life he did not get the three values he did not want, but through the earnest and continual seeking of the one value he wanted and decided upon, he attained a large measure of happiness despite the persecutions heaped upon him. And posterity with her strange ways and judgments, gave him fame, one of the three values he had deliberately chosen not to seek.

Not only through his reading of history, but also through his own bitter, personal experience Baruch de Spinoza was to learn that both organized religion and society whip their dissenters. On November 24, 1632, he was born into the Jewish community of Amsterdam to which his Jewish parents had fled from the vicious intolerance of the inquisition. There was more freedom of thought and worship in Holland at the time than elsewhere, but even there, while allowed to build their synagogue, the Jews had to exercise their freedom with considerable circumspection. Partly because the minority group greatly feared the political authorities who punished the whole group for the offense of any individual member and partly because the religious leaders of this Jewish community would not give to those under them the same freedom that they wanted for themselves, young Spinoza was excommunicated for his independent thinking. At fifteen the boy was the most brilliant student of Rabbi Saul Levi Mortiera. He was the pride and white hope of the little community of Jews. He would be, his elders predicted, a great rabbi, perhaps a great commentator on the Bible. But at an early age this acute rabbinical student began to dampen the hopes and to incite the fears of the orthodox. His conventional teachers could not clip the wings of his soaring mind. Their learning was insufficient and unsatisfactory to him. He acquired an appetite for science and secular philosophy. Freely he inhaled the free Latin

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culture around him. Increasingly his thinking became critical and independent. Stronger grew his dislike for the narrow and rigid rules of the synagogue, stronger his revolt against all forms of dualism and idolatry. In vain the alarmed and disappointed leaders sought to keep the new wine in the old bottles. Matters were gradually coming to a head and did come to a head when some of Spinoza's fellow students angrily left a heated argument and reported to their teachers that Spinoza sharply differed with them about the existence of angels, the incorporeality of God, and the immortality of the soul. The authorities wanted to keep their most promising student, but they would keep him only on their conditions. And they had only two more methods in mind to induce him to return to established opinions and customs. First, a bribe of an annuity of 1,000 florins. But truth was the greatest wealth to the youth. Then the threat of excommunication if the student did not yield after thirty days. Spinoza did not yield.

The chief way that Spinoza chose to make a living did much to bring about his early death at the age of forty-five. He loved to teach children and he loved to write, but he could not expect to make much money in these ways. He could get only a few pupils and his writing was too thoughtful to make popular appeal. Besides, the hands of conventional religion and public opinion were too much against him. Why not make a livelihood at polishing lenses? Was not this quite the fashion of learned men of his day? And did not the young student find in "Ethics of the Fathers" the advice that every man should do some manual labor? He did his lenses exceptionally well and thereby earned enough to supply his few and simple needs. Wisdom was the goal of his supreme efforts. Concentrated on severe study he would often stay in his room two or three days at a stretch and have his meals brought to him. But what price wisdom? The many hours of confined study in his lonely garret and the dust from the grinding greatly aggravated his inherited tuberculosis and so did much to cut him off prematurely.

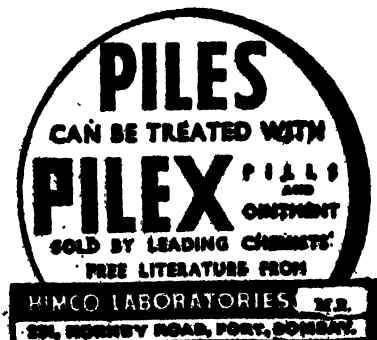
In his obscure lodgings he was a powerful magnet that drew visits and letters, honors and gifts from the great. The philosopher Leibnitz came to talk with him in 1676. There is much friendship and learning in the letters that he and Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary of the Royal Society of England, wrote each other. University students sought him out at Rhijnsburg and went back to tell their fellows that they had found a man who understood Descartes better than their professors. Heidelberg tried its best to get him into its chair of philosophy. We are sorry he refused, but appreciate his reason, namely, his honest wish to be free to think and write in his own way.

You only have to bear in mind orthodoxy's habitual opposition to everything opposed to its entrenched views and consider how sharply Spinoza differed with the dominant religious views of his day to understand the bitter persecution that fell upon this Jewish philosopher. Here was a thinker challenging the anthropomorphic views of God around him. Why, asked Spinoza, will men identify God with a magnified man? Why will they insist in making God in their own image? Why should God be like man at all? God is nature, the questioner went on to claim, and by nature he meant not only infinite matter and infinite thought but also many other infinite attributes. God is not the transient, but the indwelling cause of all things, and no substance can be granted or conceived outside of Him. Whatever is, is in God. Only by the laws of His own nature God acts.

Nature is an absolutely infinite, unified, and uniform order. By the necessity of the divine nature all things are conditioned to exist and operate in a particular manner. Therefore all things are necessarily determined by nature. There is no absolute or free will, not even in the mind, for the mind is determined to wish this or that by a cause which has also been determined by another cause and this last by still another cause and so on to infinity. Man's fate is not absolutely in his own hands, for he must follow the common order of nature and obey it and accommodate himself to it. Wrote Spinoza in his *Ethics*, "Men think themselves free because they are conscious of their volitions and desires, but they are ignorant of the causes by which they are led to wish and desire."

In a flawlessly operating universe, this believer in the immutable order of things claimed, there can be no such things as miracles. The masses and the theologians of his day thought that miracles exhibit the power of God. In all ages, including the present, many people with this same belief can have no adequate religion as far as they are concerned without miracles. But really, Spinoza said, miracles, if they occurred, would exhibit not the power but rather the impotence of God. Not by temperamental interruptions in the course of events but rather by immutable and necessary laws is the omnipotence of the one absolutely infinite Being manifested. By making organized knowledge and rational control impossible, miracles would make rational life impossible. Science and a commensurate power of scientific control are possible because all things are determined neither by miracle nor chance but by necessity.

Think of man, this philosopher urged, not as an *imperium in imperio*, not as a little complete world within the larger universe, but only as a part of the whole universe. Man is caught up and carried along by the whole eternal order of nature, of which he is only a small part, even as a little worm in the blood may be swept along by the sweeping currents of life of which it can itself have only an imperfect conception. We are thinking now of people who have lost their religious faith in calamity because such faith as they had was mistakenly built on the premise that God and the universe exist for their welfare. And likely most of you can recall that during the last war not a few people, even though they knew that many of their fellow men were being drowned and shot in other places, claimed that they themselves or some other sailors and soldiers were delivered from death by God directing clouds and shoals of fish to the rafts upon



which they were drifting far out at sea. Such people need to realize Spinoza's claim that the universal laws by which the cosmos as a whole is controlled have a wider compass than the welfare or misery of an individual life or even of mankind.

Wisdom comes from this realization, our philosopher said, wisdom and a tolerant acceptance of and a compassion toward human perversity. Vices as well as virtues are the necessary outcome of nature's power. And there is support and help for man in living according to reason, in the understanding of and the adaptation to the necessary and immutable order of nature. This is what it means to know and to obey God. The *summum bonum* of the mind is to know God. And blessedness, a favorite word with Spinoza, is simply that very peace of soul which springs from an intuitive knowledge of God. Peace of mind and true greatness come from ruling one's self, from standing above the partialities and futilities of uniformed desire rather than from ruling others and raising one's self above humanity. This sort of living is a nobler freedom than that which men call free will.

With Hegel we are inclined to feel that Spinoza's system is too lifeless and rigid. His system is so rigorously ironclad that it seems to remove individual and group initiatives, creative thought and action, and spontaneous fertility. It seems to refute the Christian teaching of human dignity and worth and the Christian claim that men can rise on their dead or degenerate selves to greater beings. The best within us revolts against this. We stubbornly cling to the doctrine of the divine worth of man. We dislike to think that the twenty-third psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, Wordsworth's "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey," and Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" came into existence from the necessities of the eternal order and not from the altogether original and fresh geniuses and creative powers of their authors. We dislike to think that Spinoza's own decision to seek eternal truth instead of the three values he rejected and his decision to grind lenses for a living, a decision that probably meant his early death, came not from his own free power of choice but rather from a series of causes of which he himself was unaware and which he could not control. We prefer to think, as Walt Whitman surely thought, that within the areas of our limitations there is a "spontaneous you" in you and a "spontaneous me" in me. We prefer to agree with Will Durant in his claim that man is a creature composed of heredity and environment plus a strange, progressive, remolding force which we call life and that this life-force can take the initiative for a new and better character. Against Spinoza's rejection of any cosmic purpose we prefer to side with Plato and Aristotle and with Lecomte du Nouy in his *Human Destiny* in their claims that throughout history the evolution of the universe and the evolution of man, biologically and spiritually, move with perfect purpose. Of course our philosopher would say that the immutable order of the universe is altogether indifferent to our personal preferences, and we suppose that this is so. And yet the Christian doctrine of the worth of man and the Christian claim that there are spiritual powers that man can call upon and use for great endeavors support those philosophers who claim that when life is creative it gives a measure of freedom to the will.

Yet even though we cannot go all the way with Spinoza, still we cannot deny that he is right to a large extent and that there are great values in his teachings. With him we must acknowledge that we understand nature only imperfectly and that she is not held together by laws enacted by human reason. Surely

it is obvious that the universe does not exist for the sake of any one of us or for the sake of the race as a whole, and that often she destroys our most cherished hopes and best laid plans. Not only are we all limited and restricted by political and economic and social conditions, by our associates, by our physical health and strength, and by weather and climate, but also by our innate abilities and by our inexplainable dispositions and tendencies. Through the very nature of things we all fail to get many things we wish and seek. Do not all of us know people who are held in certain, ordinary occupations and stations in life and other people who climb into better occupations and stations in life, more by the abilities and personality-traits given to them than by anything else? Do not all of us know people who have certain tastes and interests, hold certain views, follow certain courses of action, become missionaries or ministers or reformers or writers or scientists, because, it seems, they can hardly help themselves against certain inexplainable drives and compulsions within them? It does seem that to a large degree, if not to the same degree that Spinoza claimed, men have certain necessities laid upon them by the nature of the universe of which man is a part, and that their lives are determined by causes unknown to them and uncontrolled by them.

And surely we are helped to acquire sensible and healthy attitudes towards "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world" by our philosopher's claim that belief in determinism serves to fortify us to expect and to bear both faces of fortune with an equal mind and a contented heart. Such a belief does help us to accept the laws of nature and our limitations without complaint, and at the same time moves us to make the best of our lives within the areas of the limitations placed upon us. Such a belief teaches us that God is no capricious personality absorbed in the private affairs of His devotees, but rather the invariable sustaining order of the universe. To know God as such an eternal order of nature helps us to adapt ourselves to what is unchangeable, and to find through this adaptation support and confidence, and contentment and happiness of spirit which is true blessedness, Spinoza said.

Increasingly since his day, Spinoza's teachings have become an intimate part of philosophy, of religion, and of the daily thinking and living of men. This Jewish philosopher has made his strongest appeal to the great philosophical poets such as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Goethe.


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to small degree to rid himself of the wild romanticism of his early poems such as "Götz" and "Werther" and to acquire the classic poise of his later life and writing.

There is still another encouragement to be found in Spinoza's determinism, an encouragement to live with the positive virtues of love, justice, and active usefulness. Our philosopher was positive when he claimed that everything in the universe that enlarges and enriches life as well as that which limits and confines us, is God. George Eliot who was greatly influenced by Spinoza, made Adam Bede express this belief in these words, "For what have we got either inside or outside of us, but what comes from God? If we've got a resolution to do right, He gave it us, I reckon, first or last."

Such a positive philosophy then, such a healthy belief in a determinism supplies us, as it supplied Spinoza and Goethe, with positive virtues, and motivates positive living on our part by prompting us to believe that our best impulses are God-given and authentic.

One Injection of "Flo-Cillin" Will Cure Pneumonia

U. S. scientists have developed a new penicillin product, "flo-cillin," which increases manifold the staying ability of penicillin in the blood. Flo-cillin remains in the blood of the patient for three or four days, whereas non-reinforced penicillin is expelled within a matter of hours, necessitating several injections daily. From a practical point, scientists declare flo-cillin to be the most outstanding achievement in penicillin research since the original discovery, in that a single injection is expected to cure pneumonia and as few as five injections to destroy the causative agents of syphilis.

The powerful germ-killer penicillin will not stay out of the news. Early this year, this antibiotic was made still more powerful by the admixture of pain-killing procain which forces penicillin to stay longer

within a patient's body, thus vastly increasing its germ-killing activity. A few weeks later success was reported in making penicillin radio-active, more recently in using it as a spray for clearing up sinusitis.

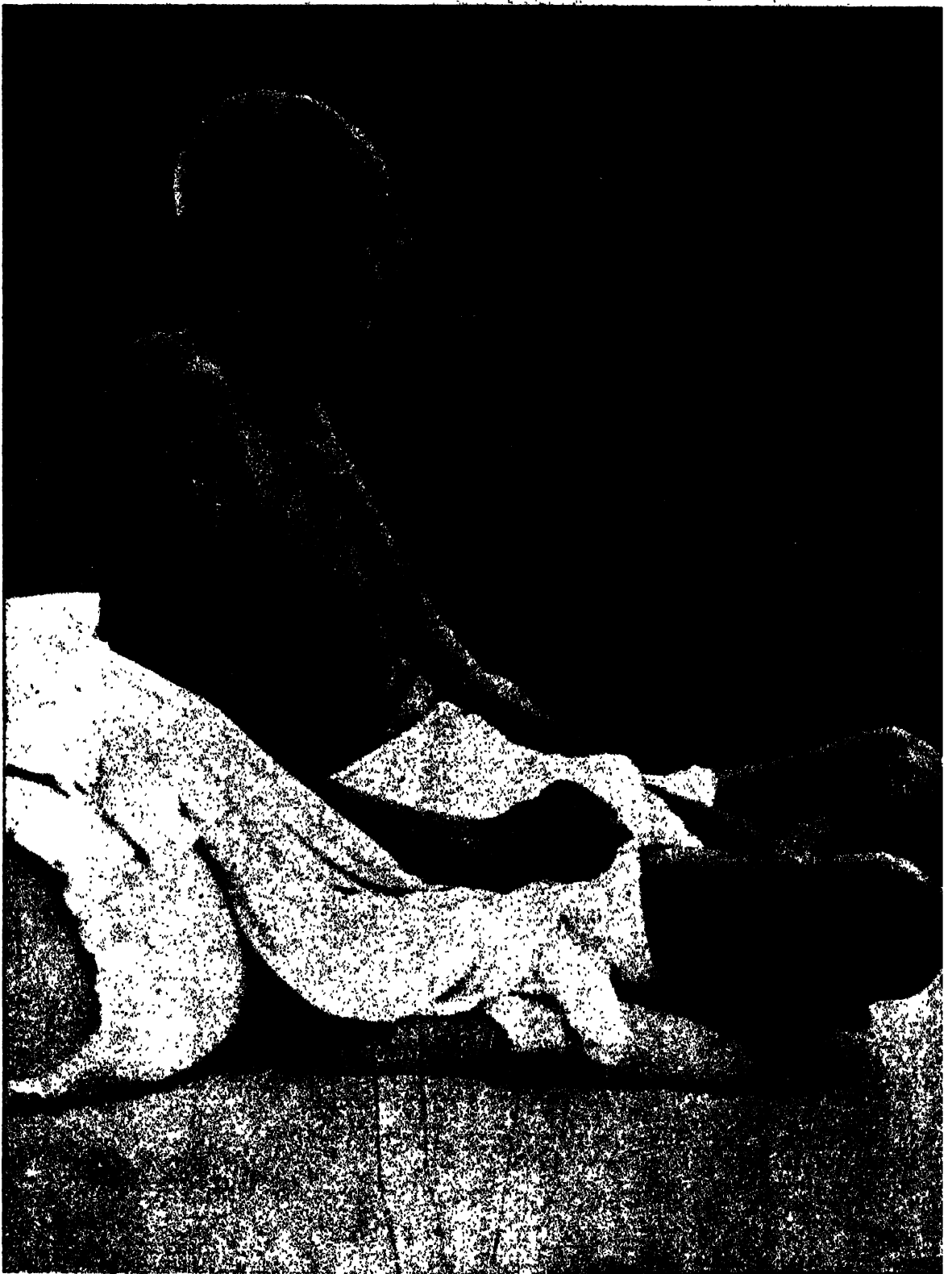
Now, scientists have announced a new penicillin product which may make it possible to reduce the frequency of injections from one or more daily to one every three or four days. From a practical point, scientists declared "flo-cillin" to be the most outstanding achievement in penicillin research since the original discovery. For example, it is seen as possible that a single injection would cure pneumonia, or that five injections would destroy the causative agents of syphilis without resort to heavy-metal medicinals which used to be indispensable. Current penicillin treatment for syphilis calls for 16 daily injections.

In essence, flo-cillin is an improvement of the procain-reinforced form of penicillin, announced earlier this year. It was developed in the Bristol Laboratories Inc., and already has undergone telling clinical tests.

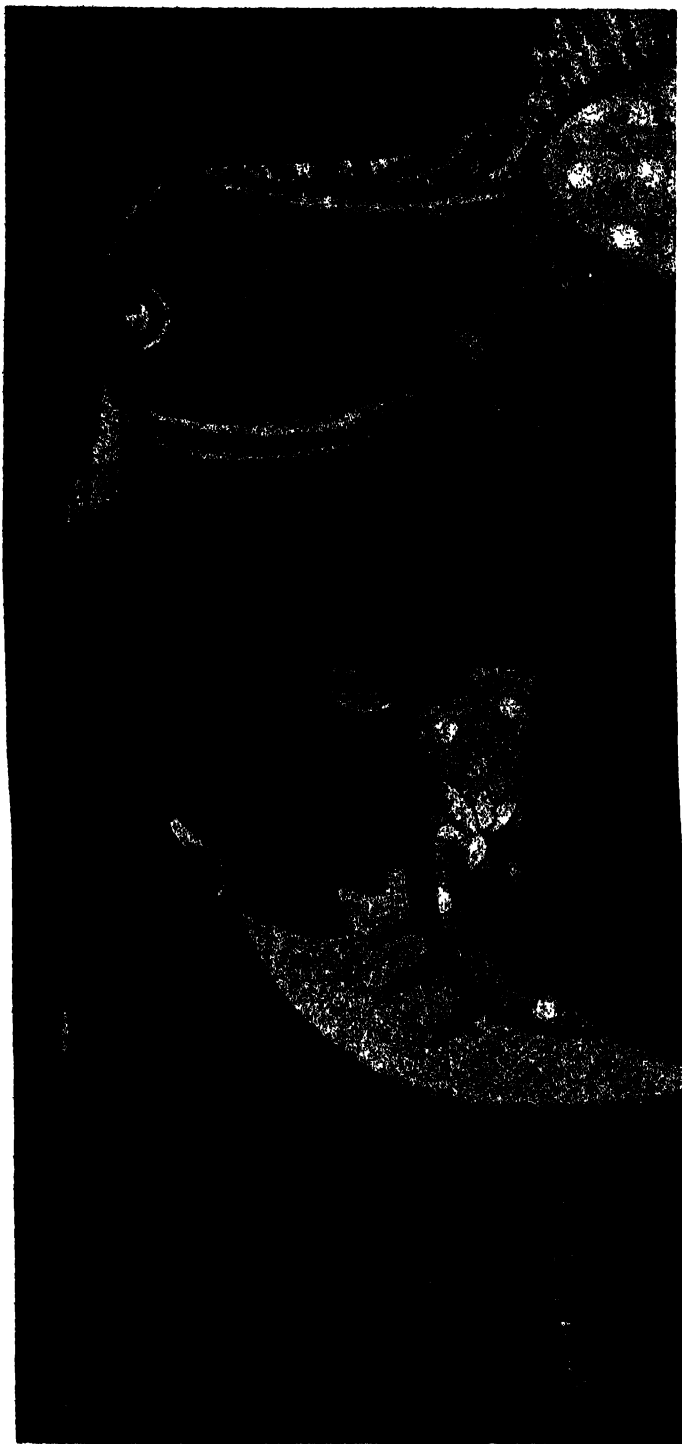
Flo-cillin is the procain salt of penicillin suspended in peanut oil and a water repellent known as aluminium monostearate. This compound remains detectable in the blood for three days after an injection—an unheard of staying ability. Dosage is the same as with previous penicillin types, namely, 300,000 units per shot. In some instances, flo-cillin remained in the blood for as long as four days, the longer retention in all instances being due to the slow-absorbing aluminium-medium. Procain penicillin remains one to two days; non-reinforced penicillin is expelled within a matter of hours.

What happens is that the addition of the aluminium-medium slows the absorption of flo-cillin by the blood; also, flo-cillin enters the blood at a more uniform rate. The curative dose is maintained up to four days—a marked improvement over previous methods. Maintaining so-called penicillin blood levels for extended periods has been the key problem of penicillin research since its discovery.—*USIS*.

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Mahatma Gandhi



LOVE-LORN RADHA
By Shri K. K. M. M. M.

Prabhu Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

India and World Affairs

The eyes of the world are focussed on the tragic drama that is being enacted in Central Europe. Amidst the storm of charges and counter-charges, accusations and denials, it is a wise man indeed who can determine the truth about the situation. The real victims are voiceless pawns in this grim game of Power-politics. But the basic fact is clearly discernible, and that is that the Soviets are initiating all the moves, the democratic powers being busily engaged in devising counter-moves which are mostly late and inadequate. The Soviets are playing for high stakes—as are the Democracies—and are willing, at least to all outer appearances to risk all they possess in every throw. The English-speaking democracies have always been exceedingly cautious about costs until very late in the day and at the present day their reactions have been correct to pattern. Further their plans in the sphere of real-politics have become exceedingly complex, being vitiated at every step by racial bias and motives for economic domination. Any country asking for aid from them has to settle the price and provide the "securities" to the satisfaction of the diplomatic Shylocks. It is true that neither side has ever been actuated, either at the present or in the past, by altruistic motives. But the Democracies bargain at the start and prefer to deal with whoever that promises to pay the higher price. The Soviets deal with all takers and rely on their own strength and ability to disrupt and liquidate opposition for the exaction of the full price when the time is opportune. It was so with the Axis and it is thus with their successors in Totalitarianism. The cold-war in Europe, therefore, will remain a cold-war until such time as the Democracies find all the stakes being drawn into the Soviets orbit. In the meanwhile, the Soviets have initiated major action in Asia.

China of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has met with catastrophe. For some time past the English-speaking world has been busy in besmirching the Kuomintang Government of Nationalist China. At the beginning there was a campaign of innuendos and covert references. Of late there has been a spate of open accusation inclusive of charges of large-scale corruption and mal-administration. The latest is the theory that most of the Chinese Communists are not all tinted with the Soviets brush. Both might be true for all we know, though to our mind it seems strange that the Chinese Communists are receiving large-scale aid from the Soviets if the latter statement be true. For the astute Russian is not likely to aid so lavishly anyone who is not of his own deep red colour, and without large-scale aid from the Soviets the Chinese Communists could not have possibly defeated the American-equipped Chinese Nationalist forces and stormed one great fortified city after another. As regards the Kuomintang we must not forget that it has never had a fair deal and therefore the accusers of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek have to admit the possibility of his being a victim of circumstances to a large extent. In the beginning of the Japanese aggression, America offered the Chinese lip-sympathy and sold to Japan the sinews of war on a large scale. The British in China openly advocated the Japanese cause and supplied the Japanese with hundreds of thousands of tons of chartered shipping for transport purposes besides selling whatever the Japanese wanted. Even after they had been disillusioned by the strong-arm methods and gross insults of the Japanese, they closed the Burma Road at a time when China was at its last gasp. The heroism displayed by China of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in that critical period of appalling reverses might now be lightly dismissed by the time-servers of the West but history will record it in letters of gold.

when the true history of the World War II is written.

In any case the whole of Asia will be in turmoil if Nationalist China collapses. With the collapse of China severe repercussions will follow in Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malay and Indonesia. Mere wishful thinking will not prevent major action of the Communists in those areas, and whatever be the shade of colour of those Communists, stable governments will not function in those areas until World Communism has either conquered or been defeated.

Spain was on the outer marches of Europe and therefore the democracies of that period attached little importance to the "direct action" of the Axis in that part of the world. China was at the end of the world and therefore Japanese aggression in that far-off area resulted in mere academic interest. Britain only began to think about the possibility of extension of trade and industry into the hitherto inaccessible hinterland of China after the Japanese had "stabilized" conditions. America, the traditional friend of China, became vociferous in lip-sympathy—and trebled her sales of war materials to Japan. And thus came World War II, and thus will come World War III unless the Democracies of the West and the East can get together in time.

The Westernmost tip of Asia is smouldering too, despite the attempts of the United Nations to mediate in the Arab-Israeli Conflict. It does not seem likely at the moment that a major war may develop in that area, but one never knows when a world power might start fishing in the troubled water there.

We, in India, have not yet found our bearings, of a truth, in world-politics. Having lost it centuries back, we have barely started looking for it, when the skies have darkened all round and dangers appear at every quarter. Nearer home we have aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir on our north-west frontier and attrition on a vast scale on our eastern frontier, through the systematic driving out of the East Bengal Hindus by the million under cover of a smoke-screen of malafide denials and loud protestations of "genocide", "unfriendly action," etc., in true Goebelian style. This last move is assuming a serious aspect and unless the Indian Union intends sinking under the load in lame fashion, it will have to tell Pakistan in most unambiguous terms that retaliation will follow, either by a demand of space to settle the refugees or by the more repugnant moves for a total exchange of population. At home we have disruptionists who are attempting to bring chaos in the state in sympathy with their prototypes' further east. The harassed government does not seem to have made up its mind regarding them as yet.

We witnessed the memorial celebrations of the Father of the Nation this past month. Never was the want of his counsel felt so poignantly as today, with emergency crowding on emergency from all sides.

The New Congress President

We cannot say that we understand the reasons that led to the election contest between Babu Purushottamdas Tandon and Dr. Pattabhi Seetaramiyya. All the same, we congratulate the latter on his election as President of the 55th Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Jaipur, the capital of the State of that name, sometime in December next. This is the first time the Congress holds a session in an Indian State—an event that symbolizes the removal of the artificial division of the country into British India and "Indian India" maintained by British policy. We will continue to hope that the new unity forged by the States' Ministry under the dynamic drive of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel will consolidate into a heart unity all the units of the Indian Union.

The position of the Congress has undergone a vast change since August 15, 1947. The rulers of the Indian Union—the vast majority of them—have been recruited from the ranks of Congress leaders. But this has not stood in the way of their differing and differing violently from the leadership of the organisation as has been proved by the untimely resignation of Acharya Kripalani of his position as Congress President. The regime of Babu Rajendra Prasad, who resigned from the Central Ministry to fill up the gap has not shown that the differences have been bridged over. Though belonging to the *élite* of the organisation, Babu Rajendra Prasad has simply marked time. And he leaves to Dr. Pattabhi, his successor in office and honour, the difficult task of adjustment between the exigencies of the State and the demands of the sore-pressed people. Though we may not envy him this position, we hope that Dr. Pattabhi will be able to throw a bridge over these apparently incompatible problems. In his Madras speech, delivered in a meeting held to congratulate him on his success, he recognised this conflict. And we will watch with no little anxiety the progress of his efforts in this direction.

Dr. Pattabhi hopes to restore the Congress "High Command" to its status as the "Brain Trust" of the Union. While wishing him all success, we doubt whether the objective conditions of the country will make this thing easy. Since August 15, 1947, increasing numbers of politically-minded people in India have ceased to regard the Congress as the National Organisation *par excellence* competent by its authority and prestige to dominate life in the country. This come-down has been caused by the failure of Congress leadership, represented in the Central Government, to enlist the people to the support of their measures; by the mutual impatience of the rulers and the ruled over what is and what should have been in the light of Congress intentions and declarations. And the former, subjected to ever-increasing criticism, have developed a super-sensitiveness that is unhealthy for all concerned. Dr. Pattabhi has it laid upon him to reconcile the two—"the idealistic and extravagant

public on the one hand and the practical Ministry on the other." And in doing so, he should not forget that nationalist India is not identical today with Congress India. In the presence of the "Third Party" both of these two did combine their forces. But with their removal, the natural forces of political and social development will throw up competing ideologies and parties to challenge the pre-eminence of the organization to the leadership of which Dr. Pattabhi has been called by the bare majority-vote of its members.

Dr. Pattabhi has won this honour by service to his province and to India for a period extending over forty-two years. Starting public life under inspiration of the anti-Partition and Swadeshi movement symbolized by three personalities—Lal-Bal-Pal (Lala Lajpal Rai, Balwant Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal)—this medical man developed into a publicist and public man of outstanding gifts that have carried him to the forefront of the country's all-round activities for reform and reconstruction.

The Home League Movement, organized by Mrs. Annie Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, found Dr. Pattabhi ready to respond to the challenge of the new times. And since the Non-co-operation days he has been steadfast in loyalty to the way of life and thought that gave a new meaning and significance to our struggle for *Swaraj*. He has been an interpreter of Gandhism and a follower of it bringing a facile pen to the propagation of the new truth as old as the hills. As an organizer and leader of the States' peoples movement his habit of steady work has been of inestimable value; and it has been said that his success in the Congress election contest he owed to his devoted service to their emancipation from feudal exploitation. Today when the States have found their fitting place in the economy of the Indian Union, we should hope that Dr. Pattabhi will be able to make the transformation easy by his knowledge of their particular problems added to what he has gained as a leader of the Congress during the last 30 years. He inherits a task that is more difficult than the single-pointed fight against British imperialism.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

"Apart from Kashmir there is no obstacle to the establishment of the friendliest relations between India and her younger sister," declared on October last Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General of the Indian Union. His opposite number in Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, later echoed the same sentiments in course of a speech. The Defence Minister of the Indian Union, Sardar Baldev Singh has, however, struck a different note in replying to the Pakistani plea that they could not live without Kashmir; he said, "If Pakistan collapses because it cannot get Kashmir, we cannot help it either." We do not know how our Governor-General proposes to help resolve the Kashmir deadlock; the reference to the United Nations Organisation and the way in which the

Pakistani delegates conducted their plea before it, have demonstrated that without a military decision, peace in Kashmir cannot return and the drain on Indian exchequer cannot stop. We are not concerned with the devices by which the Jinnah realm has been financing its Kashmir adventure. But we are concerned with ours; and we would like to be assured that a period would be put to the ding-dong tactics adopted to fight the Pakistani hordes let loose by the Pakistan Government on Kashmir. There is no suggestion of criticism on the military chiefs of the Kashmir expedition; we know that they are limited by the policy of defensive war pursued by the Indian Government for reasons that have yet to be explained to the tax-payers of India.

We are not of those who believe that the tension between India and Pakistan is being prolonged by the Kashmir imbroglio alone. The malignant spirit that has given birth to Pakistan has other sources of nourishment, and the leadership of the Indian Union should day and night keep watch over its various manifestations. It may be a philosophic temper or pose that forgets so soon or reconciles itself to the meaning and significance of the uprooting of millions of Hindus and Sikhs from Western Pakistan. The resilience of human nature may enable them to create new values of life richer than those left behind in the fertile lands of West Punjab and Sind. But the memory of that original injustice encouraged by the Muslim League crescentadors, the creators of the Pakistan State, will rankle in Indian hearts and poison relations between the two States. This is an element in the general picture of Indo-Pakistan relations that the rulers of the Indian State can forget only at peril to themselves and to the integrity of their State.

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari has been able to show himself so philosophic because he has refused to recognise the portents of the happenings that have been taking place in East Bengal forming part of the Pakistan State. Though he was Governor of Bengal just before he was elevated to his present position, his recent remarks show that he has not cared to apply his mind to understand the causes and consequences of the mass exodus of Hindus from their centuries-old homes in East Bengal, as tragic an experience as suffered by Hindus and Sikhs in Western Pakistan. One cause of this insensitiveness may be that the savage gangsterism that characterized the latter's conduct is not so prominent in Eastern India. But the sufferings and demoralisation are the same, and it would be a folly to turn the blind eye on these.

It must have been some such short-sightedness that led India's Governor-General to forget East Bengal. We hope the recent flight to Delhi of the West Bengal Premier, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, to try to secure the help of the Central Government to meet the problem created by the exodus from East Bengal will be able to drive some sense of reality and

proportion into the minds of the rulers, Chakravarty Rajagopalachari not excepting. The short-range view that it has been endangering the economy of West Bengal is no longer valid today. The Indian Union is being confronted with a bigger problem than what August-Dec., 1947, precipitated—bigger owing to the number of people involved in the tragedy. Six millions of Sikhs and Hindus were driven out of their homes in panic flight; double this number will be leaving their homes in East Bengal as a result of the cold, calculated policy of a State dominated over by the spirit that invented the "two-nations" theory and was helped to its fruition by British policy. The inspiration at the back of this spirit was reminiscent of the days when the sword had been plied to prove the superiority of a creed. This spirit of intolerance is in the ascendant in Pakistan, and there cannot be any compromise with it as there could not be with the Government of Hyderabad dominated by Kasim Razvi, his dupes and patrons.

This is the situation that East Bengal has been creating for us. And it is time that we woke up to its real nature and proportion. The one and a half million Hindus that have already been forced out of their homes sanctified by centuries of life's manifestations are the fore-runners of eight times that number. They cannot be kept back by exhortations inspired by the best of motives. The sorrowful eyes of these processions of men, women and children are a torture to look into, a memory that robs one of peace of mind for days on end till he grows callous by repetition of this harrowing experience. The rulers of the Indian Union will feel the same if they took care to be present at the Sealdah Station at Calcutta any of these days. They will be unable to continue with that philosophic mood that peeps through the words that have been quoted in the opening lines of this article. And we are being driven to ask them—what do you propose to do to halt this exodus or to give shelter to these millions? Is there any place for negotiations with the Pakistan Government in this matter? A Minister in the East Bengal Government, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, has simply denied that there has been any exodus of "non-Muslims" from East Bengal. If his fellow-ministers suffer from the same myopia, then farewell to a solution of the problem by sitting round a table!

But the question still remains. Is the Indian Union to be allowed to betray millions into the tender mercies of intolerance characteristic of a dark age, of the re-barbarisation of the human spirit as has presided over the birth of Pakistan? We hope and trust not. The inspiration that has moved us to struggle for freedom and win through will stand in the way of such a betrayal. A State which has been reared on false pretences cannot expect to receive consideration unless it behaves properly, unless it maintains traditions of civilised life. Pakistan does not fulfil any of these conditions. Her treatment of minorities creates

a precedent that is a danger to her neighbours who cannot follow her example of discrimination. This has created a situation that is fraught with danger—danger of clash between the two neighbour States. There has already been a year-old conflict on the western frontier of the Indian Union. Is it destined that there should be another on the eastern frontier?

How Pakistan was Born

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Patna has written an article under the above heading on the circumstances which hastened the arrival of Pakistan as a separate State carved out of India. This he has been enabled to do by the help of a speech made by Lord Ismay at a "lunch-time" meeting of the Royal Empire Society of London. As Chief of Staff of Lord Mountbatten Lord Ismay was in a position to know all the facts that forced on the leadership of the Congress to weaken in its determination to maintain India's unity and integrity. But the speech, as quoted in Dr. Sinha's article, does not tell us anything new. India's publicists knew that under Lord Wavell's distinguished patronage the Muslim League nominees in the Interim Government made administration almost impossible, and this soldier Governor-General, either deliberately or through incapacity, failed to pull these saboteurs up. Lord Ismay said nothing about this betrayal.

When the statement of February 20, 1947, announcing the decision of the British Government to hand over State power to "responsible" Indian administrators by June, 1948, was made, Lord Ismay felt that it was "far too early a date." But on arrival at New Delhi he changed his opinion; he felt it to be "too late," for the following amongst other reasons: "I found that communal bitterness was far more intense both at headquarters in Delhi and in the provinces than anything I could have imagined." The administrative machine "was labouring under an immense and almost intolerable strain." The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethic Lawrence, had said as much in his House of Lords speech made during the last week of February, 1947: he had talked of it being impossible to maintain "British Raj" under the then arrangements; the choice lay between quitting or restoring "British Raj" and continuing it for 15 to 20 years more.

But the most important of the reasons was the following:

"When we got to India there was in power an Interim Government, and it was difficult to see how that Government could continue in office for very long. It was a Coalition Government consisting of fourteen Executive Councillors, of whom nine were Congressmen and five were Muslim Leaguers; and I do not suppose that in the history of the world there has ever been a Coalition so determined not to co-operate with each other. They were all unanimous, that this system could not continue for much longer, without the greatest injury to the country, as a whole."

The Muslim League leader had promised co-operation with the Interim Government. But his nominees started mischief as soon as they were let in during the last week of October, 1947, and they found in Lord Wavell a benevolent and pliant patron, though he had been tricked by the Muslim Leaguers with a promise that they would withdraw their Council resolution of non-co-operation with the Cabinet Delegation's plans of May 16 and June 16, 1946. Why Lord Wavell had allowed them to break their promise we have not been told, and, today this curiosity has no significance to us.

We know it as a fact that the entrance of the Muslim League nominees into the Interim Government prepared the ground for the announcement of June 3, 1947, dividing India into two separate States. Mohammad Ali Jinnah came to realize that "a moth-eaten Pakistan was better than no Pakistan" (Jinnah's own words), and Congress leadership accepted the logic of its fatal concession of 1942, when on the occasion of the Cripps' Mission they had elaborated the thesis that the Congress had no desire to keep in the Indian State any area that desired to secede from it. Dr. Sinha appeared to feel that Congress leadership should have been as bold as Abraham Lincoln when he preferred a civil war to accepting the demands of the Slave States. Here we think he has missed the significance of Indian conditions under "British Raj." Congress leadership was not the master of the Indian State under Lord Wavell; the arson, loot, and murder that had prevailed during his regime might have had certain characteristics of wars, but there was nothing heroic in these. Congress leadership since August 15, 1947, has demonstrated that its idealistic declaration of 1942, does not wear well in the conduct of a free State. "Civil War" under "British Raj" would have prolonged its life. The leadership of the Congress preferred a cruel operation to the continuance of the regime that had encouraged conditions of enmity between Hindu, Muslim and Sikh in India. Any price was better than the Wavell regime.

New Kashmir

Since the beginning of October, 1947, Pakistan had been helping the organization of marauders on Kashmir's western borders. In the confusion of those days it is not possible to fix on a particular day during the days succeeding when the Pakistani-organized tribals were within the State territory. But we know it for a fact that on the 24th of October, the *Dusserah* day, they had penetrated within 45 miles from Srinagar and wrecked the Power-Station at Mahora bringing darkness into the celebrations being held at Chandmari in the outskirts of the capital. On the 27th of October, Indian troops landed from the air to render help to Kashmir as she had sought accession to the Indian Union which had been granted. This bloody episode need not have happened if Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir had acceded to the Indian Union

before the Mountbatten plan had been formulated as his brother Princes had done in an overwhelming number. Another victim of procrastination, the Nizam of Hyderabad, has met with a fate that he, his advisers and dupes had not imagined possible. Maharaja Hari Singh would have shared the fate if he had followed the advice of his Dewan Ram Chandra Kak and succumbed to the wiles of Pakistan.

Since October 27, 1947, Indian troops and air force have been battling for the freedom and integrity of Kashmir, aided by the fervent good will of the people led by the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, his Deputy and his other colleagues, who soon organized the people of Kashmir disillusioned by Pakistani murder, loot, arson and rape. All this story is recalled to us in a small booklet wherein the author, Prof. N. S. Phadke of Kholapur, gives a clear picture within 34 pages of this miracle of recovery and new morale of a people who had been voted "non-martial during the centuries." The gallantry of Maqbool Sherwani of Baramulla high-lights it. We will allow the writer to tell it. Maqbool had been a staunch worker of the All-Jammu-Kashmir National Conference. He had dared to challenge the Muslim League's Qaid-e-Azam when in 1944 he had called Sheikh Abdulla a *goonda* and his followers a "band of gangsters"; he had confronted Mr. Jinnah with this insult to his leader and his national organization, and the latter had to be escorted out of the meeting under military protection. True to the traditions of his own life Maqbool Ahmed organized resistance when the raiders marched into his native town. Unfortunately he was captured, and the captors took their characteristic revenge. He was asked to cry, "Long Live Pakistan"; he threw at them the cry, "Long Live National Conference," "Long Leave Sheikh Abdullah."

"He was then tied to a cross; nails were driven into his arms and legs. He was repeatedly asked to say 'Long Live Pakistan,' and Maqbool kept on saying 'Long Live the National Conference.' And with each shout a fresh nail was driven into his body. At last thirteen rounds were fired at him, and he died on the cross."

The character of the manhood symbolised by Maqbool Ahmed's blood that has developed in Kashmir confirms our faith that a bright future is ahead of her as an equal partner with all other units in the Indian Union. This cannot come unless we can defeat the Pakistani conspirators and their international backers. The nature of this conspiracy we can realise from what the *Leader* (Allahabad) quotes from the Geneva correspondent of the *New York Times* who reported that

"All the members of the United Nations Commission say that they can see almost no case for India's retaining Kashmir, and that the personal stubbornness of Pandit Nehru is 'the only obstacle to a settlement'."

We hope that Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla knew

of these Geneva developments when he pledged afresh the All-Jammu-Kashmir National Conference to the cause of composite nationalism recovering from the blow struck by the "two-nations" theory of the Muslim League. The vow will require of Kashmiris more sacrifice and suffering so that the New Kashmir of his dreams may emerge into reality.

Commonwealth Conference

The most important Session of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was held on October 20 where defence and maintenance of the world peace was discussed. A statement issued afterwards said that there was agreement that the danger of war must be met by building up armed forces in order to deter any would-be aggressor and that freedom must be safeguarded not only by military defensive measures but also by advancing social and economic welfare. The *Times*, London, gives a comprehensive summary of the proceedings of the Conference. Mr. Attlee opened the discussion at this full Session and all the Defence Ministers and the Chiefs of Staff were present, including Lord Tedder, who spoke as Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, and Lord Montgomery, who attended as C. I. C. S., a post which he will give up at the end of October in order to devote himself to the Western Union Commanders-in-Chief Committee.

After the meeting, the following official communique was issued from 10, Downing Street:

"Defence and the maintenance of world peace were the subjects of discussion at Prime Ministers' meetings this morning and afternoon.

"The discussion was opened with Surveys by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Minister of Defence, and the Chief of Air Staff as Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee.

"In the discussion there was agreement that the danger of war must be met by building up armed forces in order to deter any would-be aggressor, and that freedom must be safeguarded not only by military defensive measures but also by advancing social and economic welfare."

The deliberate association of social and economic advancement with defensive measures, in the statement, says *Times*, is in keeping with the emphasis placed during the discussions on foreign affairs on the need for the constructive approach in combating Communism. Improved conditions, development of Trade Unions, and the granting of greater responsibilities wherever possible were mentioned as examples of this approach. They are considered in Britain as of paramount importance in Asia and the East and have their counterpart in the furtherance of European recovery in relation to Western Union.

Although the subject of the Conference made secrecy necessary, reports the *Times*, the main developments of Commonwealth defence policy during and as a result of the last war are clear. Briefly they amount to the growth of "regionalism"—that is increased responsibility of each Dominion in its own sector of the globe. Co-operation among all of them, particularly in matters of administration,

supply and research, is as strong as, if not stronger than ever. But strategically Commonwealth and Imperial defence can no longer be thought of in terms of a "thin red line." Each Commonwealth member now takes the lead for regional defence, taking as allies other peace-loving neighbours in the same region. The neighbours principally involved are, in the opinion of *Times*, the United States and the Western European democracies.

Thus in 1940 Canada led the way by undertaking regional commitments in the Western hemisphere through adherence to the North American Defence Pact. By the renewal and extension of it in 1947 she made this a permanent feature of her policy. Mr. Mackenzie King explained this at the time by saying that with the coming of Polar warfare Canada had to look not only, as hitherto, to the east and the west but also to the north; and there her interests and those of the United States coincided. Yet the essential and flexible co-operation within the Commonwealth remained, and was instanced by the fact that 50 per cent of the motor transport used by the United Kingdom, Australian, and Indian troops at Alamein was manufactured in Canada.

To Australia and New Zealand the need for planning on a regional basis was brought home when Japan entered the war and threatened to sever Australia altogether from the rest of the Commonwealth, and that at a time when many of her troops were away fighting in other theatres. Since then, Australia is being developed as the main Commonwealth support area in the Pacific. This is being done partly through a five-year plan, now in its second year, for the expansion of the armed forces at a cost of £250 million, partly by strengthening the Australian economy and increasing the population. To these ends the Australian Government has been concentrating on immigration and the attraction of overseas capital to develop the country's expanding secondary industries.

Yet co-operation with other Commonwealth members has never been closer. Through the joint service machinery, Great Britain and New Zealand have service representatives and staffs accredited to the Australian Defence Department, while they in turn have reciprocal arrangements. In addition, through the provision of the huge guided projectile range in her desert areas, Australia plays a leading part in the scientific defence research of the whole Commonwealth.

In the case of the United Kingdom, this tendency towards regional organisation is of course clearly seen in the military linking of the five signatories to the Brussels Pact. Already Canada, apart from her Commonwealth defence ties with the United Kingdom, is associated with this pact, together with the United States, by means of the liaison officers on the Western Union Military Committee and through the ambassadors' defence meetings in Washington. When and if the United States decides to enter into more direct commitments with the Western Union Powers, Canada will be in full partnership. Indeed, in many ways she has given the lead.

In Africa and Asia similar regional problems exist. In the former it is a problem of co-operation between

British colonial territories and the Union of South Africa; in Asia, of co-operation between the three new Dominions who have until recently formed a single defense unit and will now have the task of readjusting so as to produce an equally effective regional strength through mutual co-operation as equals.

Observer on Commonwealth Conference

In the above context, the following editorial comment of *Observer*, London, is significant:

"The fundamental question before the Imperial Conference is how far the real links of common interest are recognised by the various partners, and whether the visible link of the Crown can be made to cover and symbolise all these different relationships. With Canada, Australia and New Zealand the real links are sufficiently strong to make it certain that so long as London and Washington are in harmony these Dominions will stand by our side in economic crises or in war. We should not forget, however, that these ties would weaken and might break under the strain of Anglo-American disagreement.

"South Africa under its new Government, seems to be pursuing an isolationist course, but is not, like Eire, demanding nominal independence.

"The crucial problem is India, which seems likely to express a desire to sever her link with the Crown, but to establish special relations, perhaps by treaty, with the United Kingdom. . . . In matters of defence India might say that Britain cannot afford to remain indifferent to India's fate and is therefore bound to defend her whether there is any formal obligation or not. But such defence is impossible if there is no co-ordination of services, and no previous preparations for the use of bases.

"In the present very disturbed state of South-East Asia it seems clearly to India's advantage to have firm military arrangements with Great Britain; and through Great Britain, with Britain's powerful partners. The Commonwealth today is defensible only if the United States has an unwritten alliance with it; and if India is to enjoy the great benefits of this arrangement, she must maintain a link with the Commonwealth.

"India has the possibility of a great future as the leading country of Asia. It is to India's and Britain's mutual advantage that this should happen, but it is unlikely to happen unless there are the most friendly relations between us, whether they are covered by the symbol of the Crown or by some more formal arrangements. In aiming at Asian leadership, India has great need of close relations with non-Asian countries, particularly Britain, for her rival in this ambition is Soviet Russia, with all the weight of the European half of her far-flung territories.

"The unique advantage of the Commonwealth connection is that it enables the Commonwealth countries to enter into close relations with other regions of the world. Through Canada, the Commonwealth is firmly anchored to the great North American region; through the United Kingdom, other members of the Commonwealth are now being linked to the evolving entity of Western Europe. The Pacific region is represented by Australia and New

Zealand; and it must be hoped that Asia will be linked to this world community through the adherence of India."

Daily Herald on the Conference

The *Daily Herald*, London, writes editorially:

"The Prime Ministers have agreed that there must be the fullest possible co-operation between the nations of Western Europe and the Commonwealth in general; and with Britain in particular.

"Such a relationship is essential to world economic recovery and to world peace. A withdrawal of Britain and the Commonwealth from active participation in European affairs would greatly assist those forces which are working for the destruction of democracy. It is madness to believe that our scattered Commonwealth could pursue its ideals happily and prosperously in isolation, or even in association with America, if European democratic civilisation collapsed.

"The decision of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference confirms the view expressed in the Labour Party's pamphlet, *Feet on the Ground*.

"Britain's strength as a World Power, says the pamphlet, and consequently her value to the Western Union, depend above all on the close link between herself and other members of the Commonwealth. It is vital that her role in a Western Union should not conflict with her Commonwealth relations. On the other hand, it is also clear that all the Dominions could benefit greatly from the economic recovery of Europe.

"The demands of Western Union can be reconciled with those of the Commonwealth. 'But', the pamphlet emphasises, 'such a reconciliation is by no means automatic, and the countries of Europe must recognize the supreme importance of building a friendly association between the Commonwealth and Western Union.' The attitude of the Commonwealth representatives now in London shows that they are eager to play their part in the great task."

Indians in South Africa

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, told a press conference in London that South Africa was "in the grip of a violent race hysteria and was likely to experience the most terrible race convulsions in the near future if the present drift to totalitarianism continues." He was replying to a speech by Mr. Eric Louw, the South African delegate to U. N. O. at a foreign press association in London in which he gave a false picture of what was actually going on in his country. In Britain without his passport, which was denied by the South African Government, Dr. Dadoo said he was still trying to reach Paris where he was to have acted as adviser to the Indian delegation on the South African Indian question. Dr. Dadoo, who had several interviews with Pandit Nehru during his stay in London, said that representations to secure a French visa was still being made on his behalf.

Commenting on Mr. Louw's statement that large

tracts of the most fertile parts of South Africa had been set aside as native reserves, Dr. Dadoo said that only 13 per cent of the land was reserved for four-fifths of the population. If a search were made throughout South Africa, it would hardly discover an African engineer or technician of any kind, he added.

"I ask Mr. Louw, is it not a fact that there are actual laws on the Statute Book which prevent a vast majority of its black folk from doing skilled work, like the Colour Bar Act of 1925.

"Mr. Louw says that the Union of South Africa is an outpost of European civilisation and solicits support for its racial policies on this ground.

"I say that if it is European civilisation or western democracy to deny elementary rights and opportunities on the basis of the colour of a person's skin, to disregard a man's worth and his ability, to stop him from acquiring skill, to spurn him and treat him as a chattel and pariah in the land of his birth, then that civilisation is a menace to mankind and we will have no truck with it.

"Politics, commerce, industry, labour, culture and education are all steeped with the most cruel manifestation of colour despotism," Dr. Dadoo said.

"Segregation has made South Africa a vast prison house for its non-white population. The country now enjoys a reputation of having the largest jail-going population in the world in relation to its African population.

"It is difficult in South Africa to find an African who has reached the age of 25, who has not seen the misery of a prison wall.

"Expenditure on the police force and prisons was £3,000,000 a year while £2,500,000 was spent for the education of four-fifths of the population which represents the non-Europeans," he continued.

"Every African at the age of 18 must have 12 different passes to control his movements. One was for leaving and going to school, another for paying taxes and still another for visiting a friend between the curfew hours of 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. 100,000 Africans a year were convicted and sent to jail for not having a specified pass in their possession.

"We are not asking for privileges in South Africa, but we are fighting for our rights to live as decent human beings in the land of our birth," Dr. Dadoo said.

"We claim citizenship rights for every human being regardless of his race or colour and there is no power on earth to stop us from attaining our birth-right.

"Let me warn Mr. Louw and those who think like him that they are building up a vast reservoir of hate for the white man if they continue their present mad career of violations of human rights.

"Is not racial discrimination a fundamental and gross violation of the United Nations Charter, western democracy and European civilisation?"

India has prepared for the debate on South Africa

by circulating booklets outlining the events in the Union to all delegations, including the South African. So far three documents have been issued. Two are printed booklets called *Spotlight on South Africa* and *Treatment of Indians in South Africa*. The third is a cyclostyled supplement. The first booklet recalls the early history of the Indian problem and publishes photographs comparing a "segregated area reserved for Indians" with a "municipal flat reserved for white workers." The duplicated statement brings the "position regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa and denial of fundamental human rights to non-European people" up-to-date. The second booklet, *Treatment of Indians in South Africa* is the most important of the three. Regarding recent developments it says:

"The policy of the Nationalist Party, which is now the party in power in South Africa, is better understood by a reference to a secret organisation called Broederbond, of which the Prime Minister of South Africa and several Ministers of his Cabinet are members.

"This organisation, members of which were debarred from entry into the Civil Services by the Government of Smuts, has a supreme council who are 'the twelve apostles.' Sixty out of 993 candidates of the Nationalist Party in the general election of 1948 were drawn from this secret organisation, which provides the inspiration to the present Government of the party led by Dr. Malan."

The document, then, quotes a report, published in the *Cape Times* of May 22, 1948, of extracts from a "secret circular of this organisation."

It says: "The Nationalist Party was carried to victory in the general election on a wave of hatred against non-Europeans.

"It has roused the passions and emotions of white people by statements made by Dr. Dinges and Dr. Malan."

Minister of the Interior Dr. Dinges is quoted as follows: "If South Africa accepted the United Party policy, the white South African would eventually have to quit as the British had done in India, or else suffer the fate of South American Republics and become a country of mixed breeds."

The report adds, "The changeover of Government in South Africa marked a further triumph of racialism and led to further deterioration of the condition of non-European peoples in South Africa."

The document, then deals with 'apartheid' in its relation to Indians, coloured people and natives.

"It is reported in the Press that the South African Government is working on a scheme to repatriate all Indians from South Africa," added the document.

"The only fitting reply to this can be one given by Dr. V. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, 'We are born and bred here and we are sons of the soil as much as Malans, Afrikaners, or African people.'

"No one dare get us out. We, South Africans, will stay here to play our part in making South Africa a democratic State."

Summing up, the booklet says, "The treatment of Indians in South Africa thus continues to be a serious violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter on which the United Nations is founded. Continuation by the South African Government of a policy of racial discrimination against Asians and other non-whites is clearly the result of an assumption by that Government that the failure of the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt an effective resolution on this subject last year constitutes tacit approval by the United Nations of that policy."

"The Government of the Union of South Africa has made no change whatever either in its discriminatory laws or in the practice of racial discrimination against its nationals of Indian origin. The present Government in South Africa stands committed to a policy of 'apartheid' or racial segregation and domination of all non-white peoples by Europeans."

"It has proclaimed its intention of taking away whatever restricted political rights are at present enjoyed by Indians and other Asians and of extending the policy of residential and commercial segregation to Cape Province, the only part of the Union of South Africa, which has been comparatively free from racial segregation and political discrimination."

Dr. Malan has opened the offensive in full strength against Indians in that Dominion by introducing the Bill to amend the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act providing for the representation of Indians in the South African Assembly and Senate and the Natal Provincial Council. Indians protested against the original Bill on two grounds, namely, that the voting was on communal basis, and that they could be represented only by Europeans. Dr. Malan's amendment takes away even these two limited rights. The *Hindustan Times* pointed out that "the intention of the Union Government is to deny Indians even the limited franchise which the Act conceded while retaining the segregation clauses." This is the Union Government's reply to the appeal of the United Nations Assembly to the two Governments to get together to settle the dispute. Asia, specially India, is anxious to see in what light the present session of the U. N. Assembly views the conduct of the South African Government which clearly amounts to an insult to the United Nations of the world and what steps it takes to remedy this gross affront.

Government Measures on Inflation

The Government of India, in a press communiqué, has announced the measures it has decided to adopt for the purpose of combating inflation. It has been decided that (i) the budgetary gap between revenue and expenditure this year should be reduced as far as possible, both by the Provinces and by the Centre,

and that, for the next year, every effort should be made to provide surplus budgets; (ii) that all avoidable expenditure, especially all unproductive expenditure, should be postponed forthwith, while, at the same time, effecting all economies consistent with efficient administration (a Cabinet Committee has been set up to carry out an urgent review of all development plans, both Central and Provincial, with a view to determining the relative priority of accepted schemes); (iii) that the Centre should not extend any financial assistance to the provinces, in particular to implement such programmes as prohibition and zamindari abolition, nor allow the provinces to try and finance these schemes in a way that would adversely affect the Centre's borrowing programme; and (iv) that the progress of the Estate Duty Bill should be expedited. It has also been decided to curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any addition thereto. It accordingly proposes (i) to intensify the small savings campaign, (ii) to afford wider facilities for investments by the small investor in Post Offices, as, for instance, by raising the maximum possible limit for investments in National Savings Certificates from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000; (iii) to issue Treasury Deposit Receipts, as in U. K., on favourable terms (what these are have not been indicated) for 6, 9 and 12 months to cater for institutional investors in search of short-term investments; and (iv) to limit dividends of public companies to the average of the amount distributed as dividend during the two years ended March 31, 1948, or to 6 per cent on paid-up capital, whichever is higher. In regard to the question of bringing down prices, a reimposition of control on foodgrains and textiles has been decided and the Government have under consideration the question of securing a reduction in the prices of sugar and a scheme for better distribution of other essential commodities like kerosene, iron, steel and cement, which would be announced shortly. The following is the full text of the communiqué:

"The Government of India have had under active consideration for some time the measures to be taken to combat the threat of growing inflation, the most significant indication of which has been the continuous rise in prices during recent months. They have had the benefit of consultation with Provincial and States Ministers, economists and representatives of industry and labour. After a careful consideration of the problem in all its aspects, they have decided to take certain immediate steps to improve the position."

"The Government's policy in dealing with this problem is dictated by certain broad considerations. The first is to take all possible steps to keep the Government expenditure as low as possible consistent with efficiency, and to increase revenue by all available means. The second is to make a concerted effort immediately to ensure that there is no further rise in prices and the cost of living. The third is to order

future policy as to secure, in the shortest possible time, progressive reduction in prices to reasonable levels and the supply of an increasing volume of goods and services. Lastly, wherever possible, every endeavour should be made to curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any addition thereto.

"In the field of Government expenditure it has been decided that the budgetary gap between revenue and expenditure going this year should be reduced as far as possible both by the Provinces and the Centre and that for the next year every effort should be made to provide surplus budgets. All avoidable expenditure will forthwith be postponed and all economies consistent with the maintenance of efficient administration will be enforced. It is not the Government's intention to hold up development but in the present crisis it is absolutely vital to avoid all unproductive expenditure. A Committee of the Cabinet has been set up to carry out an urgent review of all development plans both Central and Provincial with a view to determining the relative priority of accepted schemes as that expenditure on such of them as are not productive or could be postponed or slowed down, without detriment to the national welfare, might be deferred or curtailed.

"Provincial Governments have also been warned that in present circumstances they can expect no financial assistance from the Centre in the implementation of their plans for the abolition of zamindari or for prohibition, and that in trying to finance the cost of these schemes they should see that the Centre's borrowing programme is not affected.

"Provincial Governments are also being advised to strengthen their finances by the levy of an agricultural income-tax where it is not now levied.

"The progress of the bill for levying an Estate Duty, the entire proceeds of which will go to the Provinces and which is now before the Central Legislature, will also be expedited.

"As regards prices, the public are aware that the policy of decontrol adopted last December has recently been reviewed, and the revised policy regarding control of foodgrains and textiles has been announced. Government hope to secure by the revised policy an equitable distribution of foodgrains and cloth at reasonable prices well below the existing levels. When the revised policy comes into full operation there should be a marked decline in the present level of prices. Government have also under consideration the question of securing a reduction in the price of sugar and a better distribution of other essential commodities like kerosene, iron, steel and cement and they hope to be in a position shortly to announce their policy.

"One of the main causes of the present crisis is the existence in the hands of large sections of the community of purchasing power far in excess of the available supply of goods resulting in a progressive increase in prices. The position will naturally improve if the public invest more in Government loans and in

savings schemes. In order to stimulate investments Government propose, in co-operation with the Provincial Governments and States, to intensify the campaign for small savings. They have also decided to afford wider facilities for investments by the small investor in Post Offices. The maximum permissible limit for investments in Postal Savings Banks will be raised from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and in National Savings Certificates from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000. Government have also decided to issue treasury deposit receipts on favourable terms for 6, 9 and 12 months to cater for institutional investors seeking short-term investments and details will be announced shortly by the Reserve Bank.

"In the field of industrial production Government have come to the conclusion that in the present circumstances some special steps should be taken to stimulate production, and they have therefore decided to grant the following concession :

"Firstly, the present rules regulating allowance of depreciation on plant and machinery for income-tax purposes will be liberalised. Secondly, new industrial undertakings will be exempted from income-tax for a specified period. Thirdly, raw materials and plant and machinery imported into the country for industrial purposes will be granted a relief in respect of customs duty, to the extent that this may be practicable without injury to Indian manufacturers of similar goods. Details of the concessions will be published shortly.

"Government attach the utmost importance to increasing the financial resources available for industrial development and at the same time preventing any addition to existing purchasing power, as an essential preliminary to further measures to check inflation. As a first step in this direction some form of limitation of dividends is necessary, and it has been decided that for public companies the amount distributed as dividend should not exceed the average of the two years ending with the 31st March, 1948, or 6 per cent on paid-up capital whichever is higher. It has also been decided to postpone the repayment of the Excess Profits Tax deposits and of refundable E. P. T. for a further period of three years. Refunds will however be allowed for financing purchases of capital equipment.

"Government also propose to take action to secure in consultation with the Reserve Bank that the power recently conferred on the Reserve Bank to regulate the grant of advances by banks should be utilised to prevent speculation in commodities.

"The Central Government are convinced of the imperative need for uniformity in legislation regarding industrial disputes and its application. Divergent policy and unco-ordinated action in this matter can result in embarrassing repercussions on the economy of the country at the present juncture. Alongside, therefore, of Government's declared policy in this matter, they intend to take measure by legislation and otherwise to ensure that uniform principles will be adopted, under the overall control of the Central Government, in the

reference of disputes to adjudication, and the provision for the review of awards by a statutory authority.

"The Government of India trust that the measures now announced will reassure the public and restore a spirit of confidence in all sections of the community. They have under consideration certain other measures on which they hope to arrive at an early decision and which it is expected will go far toward conserving this spirit."

The Government's anti-inflation policy has been well received by the richer section of the community but it has produced no enthusiasm in the minds of the common man. The official approach to the problem seems to have been wrong. It has started from the idea that money has flown into the hands of the common man and this is the factor which lies at the root of the problem. There might have been an element of truth in this notion but it does not deserve the emphasis that it has received. The real danger lies elsewhere. During the past few years, some money has no doubt percolated into the villages but the bulk of it has found its way in the hands of war-contractors and black-marketeers. This powerful section of the community have enough liquid cash in their hands to take advantage of the scarcity of goods and to raise their prices through cornering. Controls, although good in principle, have worked most disastrously in this country because its administration has been entrusted to persons whose efficiency and integrity have never been above suspicion. Distribution of permits and wagons have both been worked in such a way as to foster black-market and push up prices still higher. Controls in this country have meant unlimited distress and great hardship for the common man with a free scope for blackmarketing. A reimposition of controls, therefore, specially under the same set of corrupt and inefficient officials who are hand in glove with the black-marketeers, has failed to produce enthusiasm in the hearts of the common man while it has immediately won the blessings of the millionaires. The Government of India would have struck at the root of high prices if they had announced the policy of immediate liquidation of the Managing Agency system. On several previous occasions we have shown that this system of industrial finance, devised by the British merchants, constitutes the most perfect machinery for the earning of illicit and undue profits and is tolerated in no civilised country of the world. Instead of breaking it, the Government have further strengthened it by the lax imposition of controls and limitation of dividends. The grant of open general licenses for the import of consumer goods is, however, a silver lining on the dark horizon; if it succeeds in securing more goods in the market, the prices are bound to come down. In the interest of the nation, the Swadeshi sentiment should be held in abeyance for some time. In the present set-up, purchase of Indian manufactured goods does not necessarily mean the retention of money within the country; in fact most of it is

sent out in the form of purchase of luxury goods and luxury travels abroad by the millionaires.

The present anti-inflation policy will not solve the problem; it may only add to the existing complexities. The whole economic structure and the entire administrative machinery, specially that part of it which deals with economic matters, should be thoroughly studied from the purely Indian viewpoint of decentralised economy which ensures full employment and prevents concentration of money in fewer hands. Production, credit, commerce, transport, and administration all form parts of one integrated structure and should be studied together if a lasting solution is to be desired. The Anglo-Saxon political and economic institutions have solved none of our national problems; rather they have added to our complexities. It is time that we approached the problem from the Indian standpoint, strengthened by a study of Manu, Kautilya, Parasara, Sukra and a host of other Indian seers who gave us an economic structure that lasted in fact through millenniums and ensured happiness to the masses. It is high time now that knowledge of Indian economy was knocked into the heads of our administrators and economists charged with Keynesian theories of political economy. "Inflation" for us is a catchword, our real problem is to rebuild our devastated economic structure. This cannot be done under the leadership of Anglo-Saxon political and economic institutions.

Provincial Finance Ministers Conference

The Conference of Provincial Finance Ministers, called by the Finance Minister of the Government of India, has concluded its session after discussing questions relating to co-ordination of the financial policies of the Central and Provincial Governments. Among the items discussed were the distribution of Income Tax, the financing of post-war development schemes, co-ordination of Central and Provincial borrowing, the need for a uniform policy in the matter of provincial excise, specially with regard to medicinal and toilet preparations containing spirit, the need for popularising the small savings movement, co-ordination of provincial sales tax, and the need for organising an efficient machinery, Central and Provincial, for collecting up-to-date statistics.

The major part of the discussion centred round the subjects of the financing of the provincial post-war development schemes and the distribution of Income Tax. Regarding post-war development schemes, the provincial ministers explained their special difficulties, but there was a general realisation on the part of the provinces that in implementing their development schemes they should co-operate with the Centre in seeing that the inflationary position was not worsened.

We do not know how far Bengal's claim for a just share of the Income Tax has been pressed in the Conference. The Press report of the Conference only

says that the Finance Minister of the Government of India has given an assurance that the whole question would be re-examined. About a year ago we had pointed out in these columns the degree of injustice done to West Bengal in respect of her share of Income Tax. After partition, the drop in the collection of Income Tax from this province had been negligible but share of the tax for West Bengal was drastically cut down practically in proportion to her loss of territory without taking into account the actual reduction in the collections due to partition. This legitimate grievance of West Bengal ought to be remedied at the earliest possible moment.

An official committee was appointed on the first day of the Conference to consider the extent to which uniformity could be secured in the Sales Tax levied by the provinces. The Committee submitted its report to the Conference on the second day. The main points in the report which, it is believed, have been approved by the Conference, are :

(1) No Sales duty should be levied on the export from one province to another of grains, pulses and certain other similar commodities.

(2) A ceiling of three pies in the rupee should be fixed for Sales Tax on industrial raw materials exported from one province to another. The materials included are : coal, cement, steel, cotton, cotton yarn, hides and skins, oil-seeds, rubber, minerals and jute.

(3) A ceiling of three pies in the rupee should be fixed on the export of textiles plant machinery, vegetable oil products and sugar. It will be open to a province, however, to levy further tax on internal consumption of these goods.

(4) A uniform tax of one anna in the rupee on the export of luxury goods including refrigerators, jewellery, radios, gramophones and motor vehicles.

(5) No province should charge any Sales Tax on a commodity exported by it, if on that commodity it does not levy tax in the case of internal consumption.

(6) No Sales Tax should be levied on agricultural implements used by hand.

It is regrettable to find that this Conference has not thought it fit to take into consideration the very basis of Sales Tax in this country where most of the retailers are exceedingly small units and do not keep accounts on any scientific method. The last item in the foregoing list may be an indication that the provinces will be free to levy Sales Tax on the other articles of consumption needed by the cultivator. How does the Government propose to bring to the Exchequer the huge amount of Sales Tax that will be paid by the masses to retail traders? In Bengal, we know, a very large proportion of the tax actually paid by the buyers do not find their way to the Government Treasury but inflates the bank balances of the traders. The Sales Tax has meant an additional income for the dishonest trader.

The Government of India in its Finance Department would do well to tell the provinces that com-

modities for the levy of Sales Tax should be selected in such a manner that they fall within the field of organised business so that it would not be necessary to harass the petty illiterate retailers for the collection of the tax. The Madras method may serve as a model in this respect where the quantum of tax is the lowest while the yield is more than four times the similar tax in other provinces.

West Bengal can easily afford to confine its Sales Tax to a very small number of items sufficient to yield a very large revenue. These are the items that have enjoyed immunity under the past governments : for example, hessian and other jute products, shipping purchases, stocks and shares, and the disposal goods sold here by the Government of India. These items, together with the luxury goods, are likely to yield several times the present revenue collected under Sales Tax, even by de-scheduling the daily necessities. The omnibus inclusion of every conceivable item in the schedule will further push up prices, and mean greater hardship for the masses.

Another vital omission has been made in the list. Education must be made tax free and this should have been included in the exemptions included in the foregoing list. Pakistan has taken care to exclude education from its Sales Tax while in India we are paying thrice upon it ; firstly, to paper dealers while buying paper, secondly, to the press while taking delivery of the printed forms and thirdly, on printed books. This is the most pernicious feature of the Sales Tax which should be eliminated at the earliest possible moment.

Foreign Assets in India

A Census of foreign assets and liabilities of individuals and institutions in the Dominion of India and States which have acceded to the Indian Union has at last been undertaken by the Reserve Bank of India. This has long been overdue and should have been undertaken much earlier. For a long time, information on balance of payments is being compiled with great care in such progressive countries like U.S.A., Canada and Argentina for the study of movements in trade and investment position and allied matters. In India, however, up to now no such compilation in an organised manner has been attempted with the consequence that there has been a serious statistical lacunae. Very little definite knowledge is available at present as regards the debtor-creditor position if one takes into account not only public debts but also private investments. Such is also the case with regard to the movement of capital in and out of the country, receipts and remittances of funds in the form of profits, interest payments, shipping, insurance services and tourist services. Detailed information on all these is necessary for making an accurate assessment of the position of this country in regard to any of them. The Reserve Bank has made only a beginning in this direction with a survey of foreign

investments which is the most important because it covers a wide field and is a prelude to the carrying out of other surveys for the construction of an accurate picture of our international accounts. The inquiry has been undertaken to satisfy certain requirements of the International Monetary Fund.

The U. S. and Canada have been the pioneers in the field of conducting surveys of international investments, and the experiment of the U. S. is the most comprehensive and thorough. During the inter-war period, the U. S. Department of Commerce conducted the survey through the issue of questionnaires. After the Japanese aggression, legislation was undertaken by the U. S. Government for a compulsory furnishing of information regarding all types of foreign-owned assets by individuals and institutions in the U. S. owning property on behalf of foreign countries or nationals thereof. Illuminating details have been compiled and published. The method followed by Canada resembles that of India in securing information of the type in question, in that its estimate of balance of payments, particularly its international investment positions, would appear to have been based on securing information with the co-operation of the business community through the issue of questionnaires. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics maintains individual cards for all firms with foreign ramifications and the latest information is posted in such cards as when the returns flow in from year to year. The results of such statistics are published by the Board of Statistics with exhaustive comments on the methods followed, as also the trends indicated. We have doubts, however, about the success of the Canadian method in this country. Here most of the foreign firms are British and their spheres of investment are widely varied. Tea, jute, coal, mica, manganese, engineering industries and similar important interests are still almost completely in the hands of Britons. All of them are organised on strong monopolistic lines and have so far baffled all efforts by the Government to elicit informations from them even of a minor character regarding their working. The British firms in India have not yet been able to adjust themselves to the altered condition. We have doubts about the Reserve Bank's success in securing true and adequate information through questionnaires; we are afraid, legislation will ultimately be necessary.

Industrial Policy of Pakistan

The industrial policy of Pakistan Government has recently been explained in a press conference at Karachi by its Minister for Commerce. He expressed the hope that within the next six or seven years the Dominion would be reasonably industrialised. There is still some confusion in regard to participation of foreign capital in Pakistan's industrialisation. Elucidating this particular point, the Minister stated that by allowing "a reasonable proportion of profit" for the purpose of remittance abroad, the Government's intention was to place no restriction on such remittances

other than those of general application arising from foreign exchange limitations and policy to which such remittances were subject everywhere.

Pakistan's total production of jute, the Minister said, was between 60 and 70 lakh bales, but there was no jute mill. The Government had, therefore, concentrated its first effort mainly on the expansion of the Dominion's jute-baling capacity. Orders had been placed for eight presses with firms in U. K. and five in U. S. A. The U. K. presses were expected to be in operation by the end of June 1949, while those from the U. S. A. were expected to reach earlier still. It was further stated that the Government was financing the initial purchase of presses from America. When all the 13 presses had been set up, the baling capacity would increase by 20 lakh bales over the present capacity of 27 lakhs. As regards establishment of jute mills, the Minister stated that the Government was actively considering the question of setting up two mills, to begin with at an early date. One mill has already been established in Chittagong but it is not expected to start working before 1950.

Pakistan's estimated annual raw cotton production was about 12,00,000 bales. There were 12 mills in Pakistan, which, working double shift, were capable of producing 5,000 bales of cloth and 7,500 bales of yarn per month. But this represented only about 10 per cent of Pakistan's total cloth requirement. Two mills, one with a capacity of 31,000 spindles and another 25,000 spindles, were nearing completion at Rahimyarkhan in Bhawalpore State and Karachi respectively. Two mills in East Bengal had also placed orders for additional spindles to the extent of 17,000. By the end of next year, the Minister said, the number of spindles installed in Pakistan would have doubled itself from 166,000 to 332,000.

The third most important fibre in Pakistan was wool, which, the Minister said, was in great demand in the world market. The Government had decided to assist in the establishment of five yarn spinneries with a total spindleage of 25,000. It was also proposed to assist in the opening of finishing centres, each centre comprising two sets of raising and finishing machines. Besides, permission had been granted to two parties to set up woollen and worsted mills at Karachi and in West Punjab. The Karachi mill was, according to the Minister, expected to be in production by June, 1949.

Negotiations with representatives of well-established foreign firms on the starting of a rubber tyre factory in or near Karachi were making satisfactory progress. Leather and pharmaceutical industries were also receiving attention.

The Pakistan Government, said the Minister, attached the highest importance to the establishment of an up-to-date paper factory, preferably in East Bengal where the raw materials required for manufacturing paper were available in abundance. In this connection he revealed that it was proposed to utilise

the services of well-known consultants for the planning of a sulphide paper mill, estimated to cost between one and one and a half crores of rupees. The development of sugar and other allied industries were also receiving government attention. A 50,000-ton sugar factory in Mardan was expected to be in production next year. Existing sugar factories in East Bengal were being expanded.

He gave details of certain hydro-electric projects under consideration. The present conditions of thermal plants scattered throughout Pakistan were being surveyed.

Stressing the need for planned economy, the Minister remarked that, excepting the manufacture of arms and ammunition, generation of hydro-electric power, and the manufacture of rolling stock and telecommunication equipment, which would be State monopoly, the entire field had been left for private enterprise and initiative, the Government reserving for itself, however, the right, when such enterprise was not forthcoming in adequate measure, to undertake the development of industries of national importance. Participation of foreign capital has been invited in order to step up the Dominion's industrialisation taking good care to see that its import did not bring with it foreign political influence. How Pakistan, a distressed borrower of foreign capital and enterprise keeps foreign investment free from foreign political influence remains to be seen, specially with the examples of Iran and Iraq before us.

Pakistan Buys Steel from Abroad

It is reliably understood, says the Pakistan correspondent of the *Commerce*, that about one lakh tons of steel from Belgium has been ordered by Pakistan Government against sterling. The steel will cost in Pakistan currency about one and a half crore of rupees. Further it is learnt that orders for the purchase of over a thousand items of various capacities of goods and steel requirements of the Pakistan railways, valued at about one and a half crore of rupees, have been placed by the Railway Purchase Mission on various firms in U. S. A., U. K. and other European countries. Prompt deliveries of the urgently required stores have been arranged and some of the items are stated to be already on their way to Pakistan. We wonder why, with such acute shortage of steel and railway materials, our Government is unable to utilise the huge amounts of idle sterling for the procurement of these essential commodities against sterling as is being done by Pakistan.

W. H. O. Regional Committee

Inaugurating the Regional Committee of the World Health Organisation for South-East Asia—the first of the five committees to be set up in different regions of the world—Pandit Nehru stated that the future of national and world peace lay in greater and greater international co-operation in all possible spheres.

In the political and economic spheres, unfortunately, there were conflicts, but in matters like public health there was no room for any conflict. "If we have more and more international co-operation on health and other matters, indirectly we are really consolidating the other major political and economic problems of the world, because we create an atmosphere of international co-operation," Pandit Nehru said.

India, he added, attached the greatest importance to the work of the World Health Organisation, more especially from the point of view of South-East Asia, which was very backward in health conditions. If the organisation could achieve its objective of physical, mental and social wellbeing—that was how they had defined health—most of the problems of the world would have been solved. Perhaps progress would be slow and this result would not be achieved as quickly as they wanted.

He recalled how Asia and South-East Asia had been neglected in the past in the sense that world organisations directed their activities more towards the problems of Europe or America. Yet if one looked at questions of health, one found that countries of Asia needed attention first. It was well-known today that one could not isolate any part of the world and make one part of it healthy and leave the other part unhealthy, because the infection spreads. The world must be tackled as a whole and in doing so, backward areas must be tackled first.

Problems of Asia were particularly important. He was therefore happy that the regional system was being developed by the World Health Organisation so that more attention might be paid to the problems of a particular region. So far as the Government of India were concerned they would do their utmost, assured Pandit Nehru, to help the organisation and to carry out its decisions.

India's Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, stated that the most important item before the Committee was the programme for 1949. It was necessary to give the Director-General a consolidated programme of the assistance required by the regional countries from the World Health Organisation in respect of the technical activities which had been approved by the Health Assembly. The most important of these, she said, were the control of malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, maternity and child welfare, environmental hygiene and nutrition.

Dr. Brock Chisholm, Director-General of the W.H.O., attended the Conference and stated that at the very beginning it had been decided that the activities of the W.H.O. should be decentralised, and that it should not be an academic organisation. It was significant that the first regional organisation was being established in Asia.

The urgency of improving health conditions in this country as well as in other South-East Asian countries can not be over-emphasised. The activities of the W.H.O. which are directed towards this end are, therefore, of special significance to this country. The W.H.O. is one of the specialised agencies of the U. N. devoted to the cause of improving the health conditions of the world. It is noteworthy that the first of the six Regional Health Organisations is to be opened for South-East Asia with headquarters in India. Representatives from Siam, Burma,

Nepal, Ceylon and Afghanistan attended the Conference. Pakistan chose to align itself with the Middle East countries.

Linguistic Provinces

The question of linguistic provinces is being handled by the Government of India and the Congress Working Committee differently for different areas and this is bound to cause discontent. The Congress stands committed to the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis but as soon as it has come to a position to do so the problem is being evaded specially in respect of Bengali-speaking areas in Eastern India. Bengal's just claim for the re-inclusion of her ceded districts has been resisted by the Congress Working Committee and the present President of the Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has definitely and unambiguously expressed himself against it. This has been a clear departure of the accepted policy of the Congress in regard to the re-drawing of the provincial maps in Free India. The just claim of the Bengali-speaking people of Assam for the formation of a Purbachal Province is also falling on deaf ears. Provincial autonomy can be a success only when that province is able to conduct its entire education system including University education through the medium of the provincial language. This is possible only when the province is formed strictly on a linguistic province and its extra-territorial right to establish institutions for its own people in other provinces is admitted. All complaints of cultural genocide can be eliminated only under such conditions. Mahatma Gandhi had also emphatically said on occasions that the genius of a province could not attain a high level unless it were possible to impart University education through the medium of the provincial language. A consolidated federal policy can be a success only when the provinces are contented units of a contented State system. The Linguistic Provinces Commission set up by the President of the Constitution Assembly of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad who is following a dual role in respect of this fundamental issue, is not expected to solve the problem because its scope has been very narrowly superscribed by its terms of reference. The letter of Dr. Lanka Sundaram, published in the *Statesman* dated October 27, deserves special attention in this connection. We do not know whether the election of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Andhra leader, as President of the Congress for 1949, will mark any appreciable departure in the present linguistic policy of the Working Committee, or whether he is going to barter away the rights of other provinces to gain recognition for his own province, remains to be seen. His silence over this important question, of which he himself had been one of the principal champions, before and after his election, has raised some amount of apprehension.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram writes :

I have read with interest your Editorial of October 20-21 on linguistic provinces, with special reference to the recent Bombay conference of Maharashtrians.

We in Andhra Desh have been, since 1913, consistently clamouring for an Andhra province. I regret to say that by branding the demand for linguistic provinces

as provincialism you have not faced the question at all, much less solved it. To give a bad name to a dog and to hang is not the method expected from a reputed forum of public opinion like yours.

I will state my facts and arguments, particularly with reference to Andhra, in the most straightforward fashion possible. What is the necessity for the postponement of this question? Obviously, dangers in the country, real and imagined. India, however, had not postponed the merger of some 500 Indian States, because of these dangers. Some of these States have merged with Indian provinces, e.g., the Eastern States Agency units with Orissa. No revolution or chaos attended these mergers. If there were tough problems like those of Patiala, we had the stratagem, obviously open to objection, of calling the group concerned "Patiala and East Punjab States Union." In other words, if we have a will, there certainly will be a way out of the linguistic provinces controversy. I stake my claim to the city of Madras and am willing to abide by the decisions of a properly held plebiscite. Even if this attitude of compromise is not satisfying to other claimants, then transform the city into a province like the present Delhi Province. This may smooth difficulties.

The problem of Andhra is simple. We, Andhras, do not want a Pakistan of our own. We want the right to order our affairs, as self-respecting partners in the free India of today and tomorrow. There are two crores of Andhras in the eleven Andhra districts of the Madras Presidency, with a revenue of Rs. 25 crores a year. We have another two crores of Andhras scattered about in Orissa, Bastar and Chanda, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Tamilnad, and even in distant Bombay and Burma. We do not, however, want areas containing Andhras which are not contiguous to the main body of Andhra territory, to be forcibly attached to the proposed province. You have the assurance that the 70,000 Andhras of Kharagpur, W. Bengal, for example, would not be ordered to undertake an exodus to Andhra Desh, just as much as Coimbatore and Tanjore in the south would not be claimed and joined to the proposed province by a corridor.

What is desired is that the existing Andhra districts, which are self-sufficient and possess the ingredients of a robust future, should be constituted into a province, and that such of the contiguous areas in which Andhras are predominant should be added to them, so that a reconstituted Andhra Desh becomes a State integral to free India.

A commission of the Government of Madras recently investigated a complaint that the mother tongue of the Andhras was suppressed in the curriculum of the schools of the city. Andhras of the Koraput and Ganjam tracts of Orissa (these were lopped off from Andhra Desh in 1937 and given to Orissa to make the latter a sizeable State) are denied the right to use their mother tongue in schools and law-courts, and a domiciliary test was imposed under the Congress Government of the Province which denies vast numbers of Andhras in these areas their right to franchise and gainful employment.

The Andhras want an opportunity to regroup themselves, and become contented partners of free India. Let there be no ground for complaint that vested interests,

aided by purposeless historical antecedents, have made for disintegration, for if millions of people continue to grumble against injustice, the State cannot become prosperous. Re-draw the map of India on a linguistic basis—a basis to which Congress stands solemnly pledged for 30 years—and then you have the ingredients of a consolidated federal policy for the country.

Purbachal Pradesh

On the 8th of September last the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, the supreme executive of the organization, recommended the constitution of a new Congress Province—the Purbachal Pradesh. The Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, has since then countermanded the recommendation and stayed its implementation. A representative Conference of Cachar, Manipur and Tripura States was to have been held on the 17th of October, 1948, with Acharya Jugal Kishore, Joint General Secretary of the Congress, as its president. The intervention of the Congress President has halted all this. The reason for it is no longer a secret. The Congress Ministry of Assam and the Governor have appeared on the scene to sabotage this plan which is the only way that we can think of to neutralize the racial policy of the Assam Administration. Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, reflected its mind when he called the Bengalis native to Assam and resident therein "strangers" in the province's body-politic in course of his speech to the Assam Legislature very soon after the Sylhet Referendum. Lately he has been to Silchar trying to persuade leaders of public opinion there to withdraw support from the proposal of a new Congress Province. What his *locus standi* is in the internal affairs of the Congress we cannot say. We are of opinion that he has stepped beyond his constitutional powers.

We can well understand the mind of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Ministry. They cannot like the idea that about 21,000 sq. miles may be withdrawn from their jurisdiction. At present they exercise direct and indirect influence over Cachar, Lushai Hills and the Manipur State. The constitution of a new Congress Province with the addition of the Tripura State into it may from certain points be regarded as the forerunner of the establishment of a new administrative unit in the Indian Union separate from Assam. At present the Assamese-speaking people are a minority of 25 lakhs in the Province's 70 lakhs total population. But they have been exercising dominant influence over the Assam Administration creating discontent and disgust amongst other elements of the population. By their policy of quickly Assamising them they have driven them to the verge of revolt. The recommendation by the Congress Working Committee of a new Congress Province is a recognition of this growing tension of feeling. But Babu Rajendra Prasad has not cared to take the public into confidence with regard to the reasons of his stay-on order. He has

spoken obliquely of opposition to the Working Committee's recommendation from other groups of the population in Cachar and the Manipur State.

The Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Assam Ministry have co-operated in manufacturing these groups which more often than not are the remnants of the pro-British elements in the population. These want to make amends for their past betrayals by doing the dirty work of the Assamese chauvinists. Babu Rajendra Prasad may not know all the intricacies of the situation. In course of a speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Minority Co-ordination Conference of Assam held at Silchar on the 26th and 27th September last, Shree Vidyapathi Singh, Congress M. L. A. of Assam, described these groups as *agents provocateurs* who "in the past had aligned themselves with the Imperial bureaucracy and betrayed the interests of the people." He also described the narrow policy of the Assam Administration discriminatory of the minorities. "We know that a strong move is going on to adopt Assamese as the State language of Assam, and the language of the minorities recognized by the Calcutta University are not having any sympathetic consideration from the Assamese leaders." In the matter of appointments and contracts under the patronage of the Assam Administration there has been shameless discrimination as related in an article in *The Modern Review*, August, 1948, entitled "Story of a Great Betrayal."

These instances make it necessary that for the peace of India's eastern frontier areas the Assamese-speaking people should be freed from the temptation of power-politics. The administration of the Province under their influence is proof enough that they are unfit to exercise power over non-Assamese peoples. The constitution of a Purbachal Congress Province is the nearest step towards the solution of this problem ultimately leading to the setting up of a separate administrative province in the Indian Union. By its area of 25,530 square miles including Lushai Hill's 8,142 square miles and its population strength of 22,04,929, the new Congress Province can compare favourably with other provincial units.

"Basic Education" in Bihar

So far as we are aware the province of Bihar appears to have set itself enthusiastically to make the Basic Education programme a success. The doubts that characterize the conduct of Bengal's Education Ministry appear to be absent from Bihar. The Bihar Basic Education Board, recently appointed by the Ministry, have drawn up and propose to give shape to a scheme whereby about 1,600 graduates will be trained for Basic Education. A considerable number will be sent to Sevagram, Delhi Jamia Millia and Santiniketan for the requisite training. It has been decided to open 35 Basic Training Schools, and 60 multi-lateral schools, each having two or three departments, such as of textile, agriculture, technology, home

craft, public health and teaching. Besides, about 1,000 Basic Schools for children between 6 and 14 years will be started. The Board aims at the annual supply of 10,000 non-graduate teachers and 600 graduate teachers in Basic Education by 1953 and onwards.

This scheme does not remove the impression that progress in this new field has been "deplorably meagre"; the results of the experiments in Basic Education "are not encouraging." Apart from "the inefficient administration of the Provincial Education Department" there must be other causes for failure. The summary of the report that we have seen appears to put the blame on the paucity of financial help. But the question remains un-answered why the public mind should not have been sufficiently awakened to the possibilities of Basic Education. If we rightly understand it, as visioned forth by Gandhiji, the scheme should be self-paying, the products of the crafts taught the students should be able to finance it, imposing no or very little financial burden on the general resources of the State. History has told us that during the twenties of the 19th century it was non-official agencies that pioneered English education in the country, the State always lagging far behind. Why on the present occasion the same non-official initiative should be lacking has got to be explained.

Orissa Government's Khadi Scheme

The Government of Orissa have prepared a new scheme for this province under which various provisions have been made for the encouragement of spinning and weaving of Khadi. It has been put into operation since 15th June last. This scheme provides for the opening of a number of centres with 500 spinners and 50 weavers in the first year of its operation. In addition to this there is provision under the scheme for the grant of Government assistance for individual enterprise. A provision of Rs. 30,000 has been made for payment as subsidies to the spinners.

The scheme was put into operation from June 15, 1948. But from June 15, 1948 till July 29, 1948 much work could not be done except the location of centres, collection of spinning and weaving implements and purchase of cotton. In the first instance, the work commenced by purchasing 14 bales of cotton from Wardha and also bringing 22 bales of cotton on loan basis from the All-India Spinners' Association. Subsequently through lot of difficulties 150 bales of cotton from Wardha were received on September 16, 1948. These have been purchased at a very high price.

Up till now 14 centres in all have been opened in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam and Balasore out of which six centres are in Puri, three in Cuttack, one in Balasore and four in Ganjam.

During the short period of three months and a half since the date of execution of the scheme the number of spinners and weavers working in the different centres have increased to 2,993 and 146 respectively although in the scheme provision has been

made for 500 spinners and a few weavers for the first year.

In order to encourage the spinners, the scheme provides for grant of financial assistance by Government. As a result of this grant enthusiasm is noticed among the people for hand-spinning with charkha. If 20 people combine and spin, they will be provided with Rs. 120 to start work after a due enquiry. Out of this sum they will be able to purchase the working materials of charkhas and cotton. Rs. 120 will be given as a help for every multiple of 20 charkhas.

After that if they begin to work by forming co-operative societies and if each man will spin one seer of yarn, then each will be given a help of one rupee at the end of the month and eight annas if they spin half seer of yarn.

A workshop for the manufacture of spinning and weaving implements has been under contemplation, but owing to the absence of suitable workers it could not be given shape to.

Other provinces have had similar plans. But we are not assured that they have made much headway. We had expected that the Oriyas, a less sophisticated people than others, would be able to make a better success of Khadi work. Let us hope, however, that with their aspiration for greater Utkal almost realised, their political frustration got over, they will be able to devote undivided attention to constructive nationalism.

Sugar

The Indian Central Sugarcane Committee held meetings at New Delhi on and from October 8 last. The *Bombay Chronicle's* correspondent sent certain informations in connection therewith which we propose to share with our readers. The meetings considered the question of protection which the industry has been enjoying for about 15 years and which expires on March 21 next. The basic reason for protection to any industry is to make the country self-sufficient. This the sugar industry seems to have done, and as the industry has been allowed to export, the need for protection ends. But what the sugar industry has been trying to secure is to have the best of both the worlds—to have protection and the permission to export. We will allow the New Delhi correspondent of our contemporary to describe their goings-on.

The sugar industry would like to retain protection and also export sugar even at rates lower than those fixed by it for the home market. A representative of the Sugar Merchants Association recently told the Committee that India could export sugar to the tune of two-lakh tons to Gulf ports, Turkey, etc., at Rs. 26 per maund or Rs. 10 per maund cheaper than the rate fixed for the Indian consumer. He added that though sugar from other countries at lower prices was available, these markets were anxious to have Indian sugar on account of dollar scarcity. It is also learned that sugar was recently exported to Pakistan at rates which were lower than Indian rates by Rs. 6.

Thanks to U. P. Government, a sugar monopoly has been created. Imports are banned on account of dollar scarcity. Side by side Government has become party in fixing present rates for home consumption which are lowered for purposes of export.

A section of the Committee, therefore, holds that with its recent record, the sugar industry has forfeited its claim for protection and Government should not permit sugar exports till the home market needs were completely met.

The Indian Central Sugarcane Committee has so much expanded itself that it is having a tussle with the Government to secure for itself four annas per hundredweight from sugar excise duty, as against one anna per hundredweight granted to it by Government. The Committee had a balance of nearly fifty-four lakhs on April 1 this year and expected to receive from the Centre twelve-and-half lakhs at the rate of one anna per hundredweight from Central Sugar Excise duty. The Committee has been requested by its Secretariat to urge the Government of India to increase its share to four annas per hundredweight.

It has also been put up to the Committee to demand money from Government to subsidise the sugarcane industry. It is pointed out that sugar production was not sufficient to meet the demand of the country and that the position was deteriorating every year, hence the need to subsidise the industry.

This plea was advanced to secure the whole proceeds of Sugarcane Temporary Excise Fund. The Government of India, however, were totally opposed to hypothecation of specific items of revenue for specific purposes and therefore regretted its inability to transfer the whole amount of the fund to the Committee. The Government realised rupees three crore forty lakhs from Temporary Excise Duty levied in 1943-46. Out of this it allocated '5 lakhs for five years' provincial sugar industry development scheme, fifty lakhs for establishment of new Sugar Technology Institute at Lucknow and 103 lakhs for subsidising sugar industry in U.P. and Bihar to compensate for additional cost involved in certain concessions to labour. It kept with itself 70 lakhs to compensate sugar industry in falling market.

The above quotations prove what has long been suspected and protested against, that as between the Government and this capitalist combine there has been formulated an unholy arrangement by which the consumer is being exploited. When will this intolerable state of things end?

Prohibition

The Congress has been vowed to total prohibition since it came under Gandhiji's dominating influence. When under its auspices Ministries were formed in provinces in 1937, attempts to give shape to this policy were made in Madras and Bombay. In the latter, the Kher Ministry by introducing prohibition incurred the vehement opposition of the liquor trade in which the Parsis had been predominantly represented. In Madras, the Rajagopalachari Ministry limited its experiments to districts like Salem, and met the deficit caused by the loss of excise duty on wine by the Sales Tax ;

opposition to this tax on the part of traders was as intense as that caused in the sister Presidency.

Since August 15, 1947, it has become a live issue. Madras again has been going ahead with her prohibition campaign extending the number of districts to which prohibition would apply. Other provinces, all under Congress Ministry, have been trying to follow her when comes the declaration from the Central Government of the Indian Union that in the financial consequences of prohibition and Zemindari Abolition the provinces should not expect any subsidy from the resources of the Centre. This has brought to the fore the question of deficit budgets that prohibition would create. "Experts" have been trying to prove that Zemindari Abolition even after paying compensation to Zemindars would leave a margin in the hands of the provincial finance minister. But about prohibition nobody has as yet gone into its economic and financial implications.

We have read of an organization set up by the Central Government to tap the resources of the palm and date trees of the country with a view to increase wealth. These two trees are the chief sources which supply intoxicating beverage to the masses of the people. Millions of them are engaged as tappers, as makers of crude wine. Prohibitions would throw them out of employment, and it is the State's duty to find them other avenues of income. Here comes the utility of the Central organization to which we have referred. These millions can tap as well for producing sugar as they do now for producing intoxicating beverages. We have seen an estimate which says that a palm-tree yields juice within a season sufficient to produce a maund of sugar which at the current rate of price comes to above Rs. 35. There are said to be 4 crores, 40 millions, of palm-trees in India. Add to this date trees. And the vast possibilities of wealth production from these two trees alone are illimitable. They only wait for the researcher and the practical man of affairs to prove the truth suggested in the figure above. At Sevagram under Gandhiji's inspiration they have been experimenting the results whereof have to be better publicized.

How War Created "Commercial" Classes

New Sind is a weekly published from Bombay. As its name signifies, the editor, Jai Ram Thakurdas Agwani, has been striving to make it the organ of the four lakh Sindhis congregated in the Bombay Presidency who hope to build a newer and better Sind in areas which are watered by rivers other than the Indus. In an article in the 16th number of the paper Mr. Nagazani, an eminent Sindhi lawyer and a noted writer, has, in course of the first article of the series, entitled "The Unhappy Valley" traced the history of the communal tension in Sind which has ultimately led to the dispersal of Sind Hindus from their ances-

tral homes built in times beyond historic memory. Jealousy of Hindu success in services, professions, in trade and commerce, started the mischief. The separation of Sind from Bombay won the Muslims "their first victory." Government services came to be increasingly filled by them leading to a fall in efficiency. The Hindus did not worry much; they had their trades, factories and international commerce where they found compensation for loss of Government appointments. The eyes of the Muslims were opened to these opportunities.

The second World War came, and "a new commercial class" was sought to be created by "Muslim officials who while granting licenses and permits wanted 50 per cent of these to be given to Muslims. Men who were ignorant of commercial usages suddenly found themselves operating various monopolist concerns."

The same thing happened in Bengal, where during the Fazlul Huq and Nazimuddin Ministries, Muslims were pitch-forked into businesses simply because they were Muslims. This happened in Delhi also. And from this development we can trace the beginning of the jobbery and corruption that have been strangling life out of society in India and Pakistan. The new "commercial" classes, Hindu and Muslim, have imbibed a new morality that has become a curse to us all.

The Battle Over Berlin

The Paris session of the U. N. O. has been engaged since its opening about four weeks back in "wrangling," to use the word used by a neutral observer from India. The centre of this wordy duel is Berlin under Soviet blockade now. The three Western occupying Powers—the United States, Britain and France—have brought Berlin's case before the Security Council as "a threat to world peace." The Soviet contention in opposition is that the Security Council is not entitled to take cognisance of the Berlin dispute, that there is really no "blockade" of Berlin. The first point of the Soviet argument is a matter of interpretation of Article 107 of the U. N. O. Charter; it is argued by Vyishinsky that no complaint can be with the Security Council that involved "a former enemy country." This legal hair-splitting is countered by the contention that the Berlin "blockade" is really directed against the three Western occupying Powers, the Soviet Union's partners in the common victory over Germany. About the complaint of "blockade," it is a question of fact which is easily ascertainable. Russian denial can be tested by any neutral observer if there be a neutral observer to be found anywhere in the world today. The latest position is that a compromise proposal suggesting withdrawal of blockade and the introduction of Soviet currency to follow it has been rejected by the Soviet because there was no simultaneity of these two steps. There is power-politics involved as the following from the *Worldover Press* illustrates:

When Russia cut off the milk supply, it caused more indignation than anything hitherto. This was

playing politics with babies, and the people will not easily forget. But soon the city's Communist Party published the news that it would ask the Soviet authorities to relent. They had undoubtedly been tipped off that a favorable answer would be given, and their prestige thus enhanced. When the Russians gave in, the Americans refused to accept the milk, saying they had arranged for powdered milk in sufficient quantities by air. This seemed politics too, for powdered milk is considered inferior to cow's milk by the city's mothers.

Use of Atomic Power Dispute

Another dispute that high-lights the widening gulf between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union is centred round the use of atomic weapons in future wars and their interdict under international sanction. A United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has been engaged since 1946 with creating an institution under it that can control and regulate the abuse and use of this most devastating of scientific discoveries. An interim report submitted by it proposed inspection under U. N. O. auspices of research stations that were concerned with atomic research and of factories and mines, devoting attention to its application to human needs. The representatives of the Soviet Union to this Commission demurred to this proposal for inspection specially; since then the Commission has been in abeyance owing to this opposition. The Paris session of the U. N. O. General Assembly has been freshly confronted with the dilemma of finding a solution to it; it appointed an 11-Member Committee of which the Indian Union was one to thresh the matter out. Though they are no nearer solution, the Assembly's session was quickened into expectancy of success by a Soviet proposal for "the drafting of a convention for the out-lawing and destruction of atomic weapons and a convention establishing a control agency—both to go into force simultaneously."

The reaction of Western opinion to the Soviet proposal can be understood from the following extract from a *New York Times* article:

"Quite aside from the fact that it would take only a few hours to destroy all American atomic weapons, while it would take months and possibly years to create an effective control agency, Vyishinsky continues to repudiate all the other control features of the Atomic Commission's plan, including the elimination of a Russian veto by means of which Russia could, always prevent any control of Russian atomic activities behind the Iron Curtain. And that reduces his 'concession' to a propaganda manoeuvre designed not only to mislead the world but also to disarm the United States and eliminate the main factor which helps keep Russian force in check."

The leader of the U. S. A. delegation to the U. N. O., Warren Austin, dotted the i's and crossed the t's of this objection to the Soviet proposal. A summary of his speech stressed on the necessity of "effective and enforceable international control of atomic energy in the beginning and all the time"; he appears to have tried to raise a laugh over the Soviet proposal by saying that "if it referred to the destruction of the

bomb casings only, any machine-shop could make them in a short time, but if referred to the nuclear fuel inside, no one would advocate the destruction of that; . . . the production of nuclear fuel for beneficial purpose is similar to its manufacture for destructive purposes up to the very late stage, and would, therefore, require thorough and unhampered control from the very beginning."

China's Travail

On the 10th of October, 1911, the Chinese revolutionaries under the inspiring lead of Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Manchu regime. The day has since then been celebrated by our Chinese neighbours as a day of re-dedication to the cause of Chinese freedom, of dignity as one of significant events of the modern age. This is a day apart from the Republic's foundation day which fell on January 1, 1912.

Since then our Chinese friends have been passing through an experience of internal conflict and foreign intervention and attack under which a less tough race would have succumbed. This period coincided with the Japanese attack on their integrity and their grim fight against it for eight years, 1937-45. A New York weekly, *Time*, described in glowing words this episode in China's millennial life, surpassing in glory anything even in her own history or of any other people.

"His (Chiang Kai-shek's) people has been beaten and battered from one end of China to the other. Their cities have been bombed; their soldiers gassed, their women raped. From Valley Forge (a reference to the U. S. A. Civil War) through Valley Forge he has fought and gone on fighting. The aid that the Democracies promised him was never enough. But he kept on. In earlier years he had fought a retiring battle. But in 1941, he fought the Japanese to a standstill. That was an achievement neither British nor American have yet (1944) accomplished."

This epic of endurance deserved a better sequel. But fate has decreed otherwise. And we have been witnesses to a fight between Chinese and Chinese since the defeat of Japan. Communism and nationalism are in death-grip, and the world can only look on in mute helplessness at this frustration of hopes, at this tragedy in the life of one-fourth of the world's population.

Khurshed Nariman

Bombay mourns the death of Khurshed Nariman so soon after his return to the leadership of the civic administration of the city. Today it is hard to resist the regret that a good man and true should have been kept under the shadow and deprived of legitimate opportunity to serve the people in the way he was most capable of doing. We on this side of India, away from the heat of the controversy that raged round him in the middle thirties, can take a detached view of the personal factors involved in the matter. We

deplore now as we did then that the High Command of the Congress should have been led to put a ban on the activities of a public man who by his services was marked out as the leader of the Congress party when it chose to undertake ministerial responsibility in Indian provinces under the Act of 1935.

He came in line with the pioneers of political reform in India represented by such doughty figures as Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Edulji Wacha and other leaders of the Parsi community in India. He carried their traditions to a new altitude by his lone fight against the Back Bay Reclamation scandals when Lord Lloyd was Governor of Bombay. He was a young lawyer then unknown to the public, but the way in which he threw himself into the fight against corruption in high places put the seal of leadership on his brow. He identified himself with and led the Youth Movement in Bombay which brought him into intimate touch with Subhas Chandra Bose. This camaraderie made him one of the leaders of radical opinion within the Congress. Then came the eclipse. And by his dignified attitude under injustice Khurshed Nariman retained the esteem of disinterested Bombay. And just before his death—a month or two before—Congress leadership in the province did the decent thing in calling back the old warrior to his post of duty, and we have been looking forward to the fuller recognition of his worth in the expansive days of free India. Instead, death has come to rob us of this hope.

Benjamin Guy Horniman

Death has been busy robbing India and more particularly Bombay, of the fighters for her freedom. Benjamin Guy Horniman has been taken away from us, with whom he made common cause against the imperialism of his own people. Horniman came to Calcutta 42 years ago during the hey-day of the anti-Partition and Swadeshi Movement when the Calcutta *Statesman* under Ratcliffe's editorship had a spell of sincere friendship for Indian aspirations for a fuller life of dignity among nations. From Calcutta he was invited to Bombay when Pherozeshah Mehta planned the start of an English daily in Bombay vowed to the popular cause. Horniman organised the *Bombay Chronicle* and set it on the road to leadership of public opinion in Western India. He was a leader of the Home Rule League Movement during the second decade of the present century; for this crime of his he was externed from India by the British bureaucracy and kept in England. But his heart remained in Bombay into which he almost gate-crashed after seven years.

He lived to see the end of imperialist exploitation in India. To the memory of this sincere friend of India we pay our homage.

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BRITISH RULE AND INDIA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
University of Lucknow

Now that India has achieved her independence, it may not be inappropriate to attempt a historical review of the influence of British rule on our cultural heritage. Free India must necessarily take stock of the cultural legacy of British rule so as to be able to formulate her immediate outlook and future goal.

The period when British rule got itself entrenched in this country during the middle of the eighteenth century may be designated the dark age of modern India, for the old order lay prostrate with the disappearance of the Mughal Empire and the resulting vacuum was leading to a kind of cultural anarchy which reacted adversely on the people's morale and self-consciousness. The Company's early administration only aggravated the chaos, for being suddenly uplifted from the unromantic and dull monotony of factory accounts to the dizzy heights of political power, the Company's servants naturally got too much engrossed in personal aggrandisement to be able to think of cultural pursuits. They were out for shaking the pagoda tree, and they had no time or inclination for anything else. The outlook in those early days of British power was indeed gloomy for India, and a feeling of frustration seemed to weigh on the minds of thoughtful people everywhere. Indian vernacular literature of this period, for example, betrays the utter despair and escapism that had crept over the country's inner soul, and its passionately devotional or morbidly erotic notes revealed the temper of an age that was crumbling in the midst of the tinsel artificiality of a dying order.

But India's national culture has been a continuum always, and even in the politically decomposed and culturally disintegrated India of the eighteenth century a complete break with the past was not possible. Besides, the John Company could count amongst its servants a few who did not blindly follow the principle of "*get-rich-quickly-and-clear-out-of-the-country*." These rare individuals in the Company's service had the healthy zeal and determination to study India's religious and secular literature. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, was the most influential among those early European students of Indian culture, and his patronage was of vital importance to the growth of Indological studies in that age.

In fact, Hastings's interest in oriental learning had a potent influence on the cultural life of British India. With his innate sympathy for Indian learning, he became, unofficially, of course, the chief patron of India's old learning. He took an unusual interest in Indian law, Hindu and Muslim, and got it systematised at his own expense. This pioneer work prepared the ground for its ultimate codification, and modern adaptation and simplification. A number of Indian works

which were mostly in Persian or Sanskrit came to be produced under the direct patronage of the Governor-General to whom these were dedicated by the authors. Sayyid Ghulam Husain's *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhhirin* is a well-known example of this kind. The Calcutta Madrasa was founded by Warren Hastings himself, and the establishment of the great Asiatic Society of Bengal was in no small measure due to his encouragement and patronage. Warren Hastings was such a warm admirer of oriental classics that he even proposed the inclusion of their study in the courses of the University of Oxford. He took a keen interest in painting and other fine arts, and his patronage was responsible for the success of a number of European painters who came to India at this time.

Hastings's example was naturally a source of encouragement to other Europeans who wanted to study oriental languages and institutions. The most distinguished trio among these contemporaries of Warren Hastings were Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and William Jones. These three scholars may be regarded as the pioneers among European orientalists, and their historic contribution to Indian learning is of permanent value to modern India. Mr. Wilkins who was well-read in Persian, Bengali and Sanskrit was the father of Indian printing, for the Persian and Bengali printing types cast by him made printing in these languages for the first time possible in India. In order to achieve success in a country so remote from Europe, he had to play the role of a metallurgist, engraver, founder and printer—all in one. Apart from printing, he acquired such mastery of Indian classics that he produced the first English translation of the *Bhagwad Gita* which was published in London (in 1785) under the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company. His translation of the *Hitopadesha* appeared a couple of years later. But, Wilkins's achievement in the field of Indian epigraphy was no less profound and inspiring. His work, in short, marked the real beginning of Indological studies among Europeans in India. Mr. Halhed was an equally distinguished orientalist, and his Bengali Grammar is a pioneer work of immense value.

Sir William Jones was, however, the most brilliant of the trio, and his place among the European students of oriental learning is memorable in the history of Modern India. He had proficiency in nearly every one of the many European languages, and, what is indeed remarkable, he was master of Hebrew, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. His linguistic and also scientific attainments were a veritable marvel of that age, and it is indeed surprising how in the midst of his arduous duties, as a Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court he could find time for his oriental studies. His most historic

work was the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the study of the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia. He became its first President as Warren Hastings gracefully declined the honour in his favour. His scholarship as also his expert guidance of scientific and literary studies under the auspices of the Asiatic Society produced results of a high order, and laid the foundations of oriental research in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal soon became the prototype of similar learned societies in other Presidencies. Through these societies the portals of oriental learning were thrown open to the West, and Europe and America began to draw some inspiration from the East—a fact which was testified to by such great writers of the last century as Goethe, Schlegel, Emerson and Thoreau. The Indian people's self-esteem which had reached almost the vanishing point under the onslaughts of Western culture had a new and unexpected stimulus in the European appreciation of Indian culture. Thus, "Asiatic" Jones, and his collaborators may well be regarded as the pioneers of Indian renaissance itself.

The work begun by these early pioneers was continued with equal zeal and persistence by Henry Thomas Colebrooke—an eminent civilian in the Company's service in Bengal. His studies in Sanskrit were as profound as they were extensive, and his researches in Indian philosophy, Vedic literature, mathematics and astronomy entitled him to be ranked as the foremost orientalist of the early nineteenth century. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain which owed its inception to his personal efforts is one of his lasting contributions to oriental studies in Europe.

This enthusiasm for oriental culture was, however, confined to a select few. The Company's government officially took little or no interest in the promotion of oriental scholarship. The Calcutta Madrasa owed its origin to the personal interest of Warren Hastings, and its counterpart—the Sanskrit College of Benares—was likewise established through the efforts of the local British Resident. The Fort William College for the Company's servants was similarly founded by Wellesley on his own initiative. These Colleges, however, made little progress, for while on the one hand the Government provided insufficient funds, very few Indians on the other hand availed themselves of the instruction provided in these institutions. Things came to such a pass that there were often more teachers than students in the oriental colleges. The Fort William College meant for the Company's junior civilians did encourage vernacular studies for a few years, but this institution was closed down under the orders of the Company not long after its inception. This failure of oriental education was due, firstly, to want of adequate financial support, secondly, to missionary opposition and propaganda, thirdly, to the new-born craze for English education among the enlightened Indians, fourthly, to the recruitment of only English-knowing Indians to the services, and, lastly, to the misrepresentation

of the Anglicists who had no knowledge of oriental learning and who ridiculed the oriental classics as "*of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank.*"

While classical studies languished modern Indian literatures, however, received powerful stimulus from European missionary enterprise in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Serampore missionaries, for example, did valuable pioneering work in the development of modern Bengali literature, Bengali journalism and Bengali printing through their translations of the Bible and other original works of a useful nature. Of these missionaries, William Carey, J. C. Marshman, and William Ward formed an illustrious trio whose educational, cultural and journalistic activities are of vital importance to the history of modern India. The Anglo-Indian Press which began its long and historic career with the first English newspaper founded by James Hicky in 1780 made a profound impression on the mind of the educated Indians who along with their Christian missionary collaborators finally laid the foundations of a popular press in India.

One of the noteworthy contributions of the Britishers in the days of John Company was their momentous decision to make the new learning the foundation of Indian education and that through the medium of English. The uninformed criticisms of oriental learning in Macaulay's historic minute would sound ridiculous at the present day, and Macaulay's arrogant sarcasm about "*seas of treacle and seas of butter,*" or his impudent boast that a shelf of a good European library was worth the entire treasures of oriental literatures may not matter anything to us now, but the fact remains that the foundations of India's present-day revival as a nation were laid in the cultural movements which issued directly from the fountainhead of English education, or indirectly as an inevitable reaction against the excess of Anglicisation. That English education deeply stirred the depths of the Indian mind and broke up its inertness is an undeniable historical fact. Even the reaction which came against the fast-moving tide of Westernisation assumed an expression which was fundamentally based on a deep study of the Western civilisation. The educational policy of the Government was neither progressive, nor comprehensive, yet it helped to create a large and progressive educated middle class which became the mainstay of India's cultural revival and political awakening.

Secularisation through liberalisation was, however, the main contribution of British rule to Indian culture. The new wine of Western thought produced a natural ferment in India, and it resulted in the growth of a secular outlook on all aspects of life. Even in the sphere of Indian religion, European rationalism had a deep influence, and prepared the ground for a new rebirth. Ram Mohun Roy, who is justly regarded as the father of modern India was, in spite of his unrivalled oriental learning, essentially a rational humanist who was deeply influenced by Western liberalism and

Christianity. His zeal for reform as well as revival in the spheres of society and religion was much too rational and much too impregnated with Western liberalism to have any direct appeal for the common man. But it gave the newly-educated middle class a spiritual balm in the midst of the destruction of old values and the old way of life. Ram Mohun Roy was a great reformer, but he was more distinguished as the founder of various secular movements in India. He was, in fact, the first modern man in India. But, all his movements—social, educational, cultural or political—owed their prime inspiration to the fount of English education. The movement of social reform and female emancipation was, for instance, a direct offshoot of Western humanism. The abolition of *sati* and slavery, or the legal recognition of widow remarriages reflected a liberalism which came along with the introduction of English education. Even Indian nationalism was the child of Western influences in more ways than one. The wave of cultural reaction which was marked by the Rebellion of 1857 failed to stem the tide of secularisation, and in the ideological conflict that came in its wake, Western liberalism won the day, and finally broke India's cultural isolation as also her intellectual stagnation. The "Rebellion" virtually marked the end of the old order and the old way of thinking.

The complete ascendancy of the New Learning was the key-note of India's cultural history after 1857. But, it was through the New Learning that India redeemed its lost soul. The first phase of this revival was religious and the mighty minds like Ram Mohun Roy, Vivekananda, Dayananda and Keshav Chandra Sen formed the motive force of this awakening. That this religious revival is closely interlinked with India's freedom movement needs no elaboration. In short, a new India had arisen with the impact of Western culture, and the varied religious developments of the post-Rebellion period, such as the re-appearance of orthodoxy among a section of the educated Hindus, the growth of synthetic eclecticism in the Brahmo movement, the intensification of the Muslim reaction associated with the *Qadiani* and the Aligarh movements, the birth of the neo-Vedantic order of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the inception of the aggressive revivalism of the Arya Samaj, or the philosophic and spiritual latitudinarianism of the Theosophical movement fostered the forces which all served to strengthen and inspire the Indian national movement of our times. European thought wielded a potent influence on the mind of Young India. The democratic faith of the Victorian age, no less than its positivism and humanism moulded the thought-currents of modern India; and Comte, Mill, Carlyle, Mazzini, Kant and Fichte inspired new trends in Indian literature and political life. Even Western unbelief led to repercussions in Indian society in the form of intellectual agnosticism and moral epicureanism. Both the orthodox reaction and the modernist rationalism of modern India were thus a product of English education and British rule.

The post-Rebellion period witnessed cultural developments through official agencies in various other directions as well. The Archaeological Department prepared the ground for a renewed Indian interest in the country's art, architecture and epigraphy. The Education Department sought to revive oriental research on modern scientific lines. European scholars in India and abroad patiently reconstructed the missing links of Indian history, and made the Indians conscious of their glorious past. European savants gave a powerful impetus to the study of oriental philosophy and classics. The remarkable efflorescence of the modern Indian vernacular literatures was inspired and shaped by the European cultural influences of this period. Indian poetry, drama, and fiction underwent a process of modernisation, and found a new orientation as a result of the impact of Europe on the Indian mind. The growth of the scientific spirit was also a consequence of the new education that opened the way to the sciences and technologies of the West. This many-sided cultural awakening stimulated progress in all spheres of life—economics, industries, society, art, science, literature and philosophy. In short, British rule, despite its inherently conservative and mundane character, set in motion new creative forces in every domain of our national life. It may thus well be likened to the indispensable burning of the stubble as a prelude to the next crop.

This bird's-eye view of the cultural influences of British rule shows the steady re-orientation of Indian life and thought under the pressure of alien ideas. These influences were both positive and negative, and they operated both in the moral and material fields. The story of these diverse influences sums up the basic trends of Modern Indian history. This history has its lights and shades, for India has been moulded in different ways in different periods of British rule. The Indians entered the arena of the modern world in a mood of frustration. They began by aping the West. The early products of English education, in their first flush of enthusiasm for Western culture, paid almost fetish worship to all that was glittering in the Western way of life, and this craze for imitation assumed at times ludicrous proportions. The so-called *Babu* represents this phase of cultural mimicry and intellectual slavery. A reaction against this slavish imitation of the West was not long in coming, for Modern India soon tired of this new *Babu* culture, and realised the futility of merely copying the West. Young India began to chafe under the weight of the new shackles of cultural bondage, and gradually sought emancipation therefrom. This feeling of self-consciousness gave birth to aggressive Hindu and Muslim revivalist movements. India then began to denounce the materialism of the West, and became conscious of its ancient spiritual legacy. Political and economic discontent accentuated this cleavage between India and the West, and deepened the cultural conflict between the two.

Divergent sentiments, however, soon dominated

the cultural outlook of modern India. One was represented above all by Rabindranath Tagore according to whom the problem of Indian culture is in fact the problem of the world culture in miniature. The India that Tagore envisaged is one which cannot be restricted by the fetters of nationalism or any other *ism*. This India is said to be marching in quest of a higher ideal of universal brotherhood, which shall be for the gain of all humanity. The other school of thought represented by Vivekananda and Dayananda strove for the self-expression of India's own spiritual voice and genius for the salvation of the whole world. This spiritual revivalism has steadily developed since the latter part of the last century, and, re-vivified by the intellectual and philosophic asceticism of Sri Aurobindo Ghose in our own times, forms the basis of an intensely patriotic conception of Indian culture and India's spiritual mission. Yet another school of thought was represented by Mahatma Gandhi through his gospel of peace, moral force and *ahimsa*. Though he was the culmination of India's spiritual re-awakening, he was not communal, parochial or intolerant. His insistence on spiritual faith and moral regeneration marks a way of thought which free India and the world have yet to digest and assimilate. The clash of these conflicting ways of thinking

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has necessarily created a crisis in Indian culture which we can resolve in the light of our own traditions and ideals alone. Free India will after all have to stand on her own legs, politically as well as culturally.

The Indian mind which successfully stood the challenge of Western culture in the last century is now called upon to bridge the gulf between the old village system and the new technocracy, and between the ancient spirituality and the modern cults of force and real politics. British rule introduced to India the industrial civilisation and commercial culture of the West with all the attendant evils thereof, but it attempted no harmonious fusion of the Indian and the Western ways of life. The inevitable consequence of this failure was a maladjustment of these two, which caused all the ills of separatism, reactionism and communalism. India today is on the threshold of a new re-birth. The cultural problems that lie ahead of her may not be easy of solution, but free India, we all hope and pray, will eventually adjust her age-old culture to modern conditions of industrialism and nationalism, and evolve a synthetic culture which will be her distinctive contribution to world-thought and world-culture.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

PRINCIPAL A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (LONDON)

V

LET us now see what is the present position with regard to the conditions governing citizenship at the commencement of the Constitution and how far the requirements have been simplified with a view to accommodate the refugees from East Bengal. With regard to the first clause in the Draft Constitution regarding citizenship qualification no modification is called for, nor has any been made, as it concerns persons born in what is now Indian Union and those born of parents or grand-parents born therein. All such persons automatically become citizens of India at the commencement of the constitution unless they suffer from any of the disqualifications, such as being below 21 years of age, bankrupt, insane or making a foreign state their permanent abode before 1st day of April, 1947 and so on. It is with regard to the domicile qualifications set forth in the second clause that some simplification has been made. The present position as explained by Dr. B. C. Roy, the Premier of West Bengal at a Press Conference on the 26th of July last, is as follows:—

The domicile requirement would be deemed to be satisfied if a person fulfils either of the two following conditions:—

(1) If he makes a declaration before an enumerator appointed in connection with the preparation of electoral roll (and not the District Magistrate or any other high officials) that he had been residing in the Indian Union

and also desired to do so in future—not at all a difficult or complicated procedure beyond the reach of common men.

(2) If before the commencement of the constitution he deposited in the office of the District Magistrate a declaration in writing of his desire to acquire such domicile and if he had resided in Indian territory for at least one month before such declaration. The process has since been further simplified and embodied in Part II, under head "Explanation of domicile", of the "Questions for the guidance of Enumerators" issued by the Government of West Bengal. It runs as follows:—

PART II—Explanation of Domicile

(a) "A person may acquire domicile in India by taking up fixed habitation in this country as provided by Clause 10 of Appendix IV to memorandum No. 634(2) A. R. dated 22nd May, 1948. The taking up of fixed habitation is itself a fact which gives the domicile. No declaration is necessary in such cases."

Fixed habitation in the Indian Union is a phrase which includes staying at different places in the Indian Union at different times. The emphasis is on inhabiting the country, not on residing in a fixed place. In other words anybody who has taken up fixed habitation in India is *ipso facto* a citizen of Indian Union without the formality of having to make a declaration as required by the explanation of 'domicile' in Article 5 (b) of the Draft Constitution

It should be noted, however, that to acquire citizenship is not to acquire voting right. To be a voter a person has to satisfy more stringent residence qualification. In his statement before a Press Conference referred to above Dr. Roy described the position as defined by the instructions of the Government of India as follows :

"A person shall not be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for any electoral unit *unless he has a place of residence in that unit and has resided in such place for a period of not less than 180 days in the financial year ending on March 31, 1948.* For the purpose of this paragraph a person shall be deemed to have resided in a place if he sometimes uses it as a sleeping place and a person shall not be deemed to cease to reside in a place merely because he is absent from it or has another dwelling in which he resides, if he is at liberty to return to the place at any time and has not abandoned his intention of returning."

For the purpose of registration in the electoral roll in terms of the above instructions it would be enough if a person made a declaration before the enumerator that he had been staying in the electoral unit for the required period of 180 days and desired to reside there in future and also if a refugee made a declaration before the enumerator that he had come over to the Indian Union and desired to remain there in future. The residence qualification has been made sufficiently loose, so as to rope in the largest number of persons. The requirement as to 180 days' stay did not mean that it should be a continuous one. The provision regarding the place of residence did not mean that the house must be owned. A hired house, a hotel or even a refugee camp would fulfil the requirement. The only thing that was necessary was that the residence must be available for him at any time that he wants to use it during the period of 180 days. As regards refugees still further relaxation in the procedure has been made. On the subject of the enrolment of refugees as voters in the preliminary rolls in connection with the first general election to be held under the new constitution India Government's instructions as quoted by Dr. Roy at the same Press Conference are as follows:—

"It has been decided that for the present refugees should be registered in the electoral roll on a mere declaration by them of their intention to reside permanently in the town or village concerned irrespective of the actual period of their residence. Such enrolment is liable to revision in due time in accordance with the electoral law when enacted."

These instructions have practically been incorporated in "Questions for the guidance of Enumerators" under head "Enrolment of Refugees" which runs as follows:—

PART III—Enrolment of Refugees

"Refugees should be registered in the electoral roll on a mere declaration by them, of their intention to reside permanently in the town or village concerned irrespective of the actual period of residence."

According to the direction given by the office of the Constituent Assembly this declaration is to be given by a refugee in writing and before a responsible officer specified in this behalf by the Provincial Government. To make it easy for the refugees to make the declaration the West Bengal Government have specified for this purpose all Enumerators, Presidents of Union Boards, Presi-

dents-Panchayet, Sub-Registrars, Sub-Divisional Officers and District Magistrates as the persons authorised to receive the declaration.

It will be seen that a distinction has been made between citizenship qualification and voters' qualification. But ample concessions have been made in favour of refugees from Pakistan so that they may not be debarred from voting right on the ground of stringent domicile requirements. At the same time a 'domicile' qualification has been insisted on and we think rightly to guard against 'spurious voters' from across the borders influencing the elections from ulterior motives. To be a voter a person must give conclusive proof of his desire to make West Bengal their permanent home. Although there may be some justification for the relaxation in this direction that has been made in favour of refugees under the rules as stated above in view of the peculiar conditions of the refugees, when things get stabilised, we think, the domicile qualification should be rigidly enforced. We do not agree with the view that even those who are now habitually resident in Pakistan but who simply make a declaration of willingness to become Indian citizens should be enrolled as voters. Voting right is a very important right which should be given with due caution. It may spell incalculable injury to the State if the door is left open for its abuse by interested parties. When the present abnormal conditions pass away the relaxation now made in the rules about domicile qualifications to accommodate the refugees from East Bengal should be done away with and those who want to be enrolled as voters must not only be able to give evidence of being habitual residents of Indian Union, but also of having a permanent habitat therein. On the 16th of September last the West Bengal Assembly adopted a resolution recommending an amendment to Article 5 of the Draft Constitution regarding citizenship in the following terms:—

"A person may acquire his domicile if:—(1) he has a fixed habitation in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution or (2) he has made and deposited in some office or with some officers in the territory of India as defined in the Constitution appointed in this behalf by the Provincial Government a declaration in writing under his hand of his desire to acquire such a domicile provided that he has been a resident of the territory of India for at least one month before the date of declaration."

As West Bengal is mainly and vitally affected by the provision of the article in question the Constituent Assembly of India should give serious consideration to the amendment suggested above and adopt it. The amendment is conceived in a spirit of compromise, attempting in its second part to make liberal concession in favour of refugees while guarding against faked voters. It may appear to be a little irksome to refugees to have to make a declaration before an officer and produce evidence of at least one month's residence before the declaration although the rigour of the procedure may be softened by nominating an officer who may be readily accessible to common people, say, the President of a Union Board, or the Chairman of a Municipality, but the difficulty is unavoidable to prevent the greater harm consequent on throwing the privilege

open indiscriminately to all. As we have said above when things settle down the procedure should be stiffened and both the provisions in the amendment should be insisted upon instead of making them alternative. The term 'fixed habitation' in the first clause of the amendment should be precisely defined. It should include rented houses, quarters occupied by virtue of holding an office, rooms in lodging houses or hotels provided they are occupied habitually besides houses owned by person. As regards citizenship qualifications we may be more liberal.

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FRANCE'S DILEMMA Between the Left and the Right

By KMALESII DAS GUPTA

DURING the last Great War, Field Marshall Smuts, whose political prophecies have very often turned out to be bitterly true, said that France would cease to be a great Power after the war. It caused much uproar and great resentment in France. Today, three years after the conclusion of the war and after a dozen impotent Governments have been formed and overthrown, it seems France really has ceased to be a Great Power.

Governments of the Fourth Republic which set to work with the laudable determination of avoiding the political futility of the Third, have now surpassed the latter in its political instability. While the political leaders of France go on experimenting with new Cabinets, the people are faced with a grave economic crisis. Taking the index figure for 1938 to be 100, the cost-of-living index figure for January is 1,437, for July 1,569, for August 1,716. But then France is not the only country which has been adversely affected by inflation; inflationary trends are now visible, though in varying degrees, in almost all the countries of the world. But when all other countries are making vigorous efforts, and some successfully, to deal with the situation, France is lagging behind. What is fundamentally wrong with her?

Both economic and political factors are responsible for this. The report of M. Jean Monnet's Planning Commissariat on the state of French economy, published recently, is worth noting here. Although its tables carry the story only up to the end of 1947 (first year of the Five-Year Monnet Plan), its conclusions about the present and future trends of French economy and analysis of the obstacles to recovery are illuminating. The planners maintain that though French industry is today producing up to 115 per cent of its 1938 level (this no doubt represents a strenuous effort on the part of an exhausted and under-nourished working population working increased hours per week with worn-out machinery), the increased production has been used largely for reconstruction and re-equipment. On the other hand, the total amount of goods and services (representing home production plus exports) is below the pre-war level, causing great hardship to the common man. Moreover, the object of the Monnet Plan

We may be content with either residence for a certain prescribed period, say one year or six months, within the territory of the Union or birth or descent from parents or grand-parents born within the territory of Indian Union. In the long run this distinction between citizenship qualification and electoral qualification may perhaps be removed provided there is a return to peaceful conditions in the world, but for the present, situated as we are, we have to be cautious in the matter of admitting persons to franchise.

(To be continued)

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to increase French productive capacity has not yet been realised. Labour productivity is still about 20 per cent lower than it was in 1938. Allowing for strikes, lock-outs, war-weariness, shortage of trained specialists, the special reason for this, they say, is the worn-out and antiquated industrial and agricultural equipment.

The imperative and urgent task is to bring French economy up to date. The difficulty is how to finance it. The French private investor is not expected to meet this deficiency in the essential sectors of industry and agriculture, which either have been or might be nationalised. Wealth accumulated during the war and post-war periods is in the hands of vested interests who prefer to raise their own standard of living and scale of comforts rather than invest their money with a view to returns in some distant future. The situation has worsened as the old-fashioned investor is himself unable to live today on the returns of capital invested yesterday. *In short, the planners believe that if an adequate flow of investments is to be maintained and directed into right channels—without which economy will continue to stagnate—the state must resign itself to financing it.* The conclusion evidently suggests increased state enterprise in the national economy as the only remedy. But the trouble arises from the fact that once you drag in the government, you introduce political, and more specifically electoral, factors which are hardly compatible with long-term planning. And some governments aimed at budgetary equilibrium by cutting expenditure rather than by raising taxation.

If the immediate problem of achieving monetary stabilisation can be solved, the long-term plan of modernisation of industry and agriculture can be undertaken with the arrival of Marshall aid. Such a programme can be financed by allocating to it the entire resources accruing to the government from the sale of commodities provided under Marshall aid. The equipment and machinery can be largely manufactured in France and paid for in francs.

But internal stabilisation must be achieved first. Prices as well as wages must be kept under control. But here the governments recently formed have miserably failed. The successive governments of the

Fourth Republic have failed to carry out, in order to achieve monetary stabilisation, any bold financial reforms. This can be ascribed to the inherent weakness of a coalition government. The futile attempt to form a government of a middle-of-the-road policy, avoiding the extreme right-wingers—the de Gaullists, and the extreme left-wingers—the Communists, is mainly responsible for this. As the Communists form the largest single party and the de Gaullists also enjoy great popular support, the shaky coalitions of the Socialists, Popular Republicans and the Radicals, (Blum's Third Force), which from time to time manage to secure a majority of the National Assembly, hardly represent the French majority sentiment.

This Third Force, an imaginary middle between capitalism and communism, between Washington and Moscow, has in actual practice proved to be, only negatively, a frontline defence against communism, lacking any positive economic programme of its own. Very much to the disappointment of the Socialists, the Third Force Coalition, with a precarious parliamentary backing, have to depend for its support on the parties of the Right including, up to a limit, the de Gaullists. Hence the vacillation of the Socialists and the consequent Cabinet crises in France.

Wherein lies the remedy? Can a de Gaullist regime bring stability? No doubt, repeated Cabinet crises and the resultant political instability have greatly increased the popularity of General de Gaulle, but what can the General do without subverting the whole structure of French life? The peasants might under certain circumstances co-operate, but the workers, faced with a drastic deflationary policy of wage restriction, which is the General's only possible programme, will resist the formation of such a government, and resistance may mean repression and civil war.

The fact is that price racketeers and peasants who are doing their best to destroy the Fourth Republic must be dealt with strongly. The vested interests in agriculture and industry have badly let down the governments. (The dissolution of Paul Ramadier's Cabinet was caused last November on account of an inflation for which the commercial classes, that is, the electors of the Right and Centre parties, were largely responsible). Stern financial and economic measures must be taken and the burden must fall equally on all elements of the nation.

Austerity, which should be the keyword of the day, must be shared by all, not by the poor wage-earners alone who are most hard hit by this inflation. A thorough reform of the fiscal system to make it more equitable and more remunerative is required, while on the retrenchment side, the present heavy military expenditure should be reduced.

All these suggest a bold socialist programme. A Government of action and not of coalition is the only remedy and that cannot be formed by avoiding the largest single workers' party. The present coalition of the parties of Centre and Right, with a shaky Socialist support has nothing more to offer. I do not think that the present Government of France will enjoy a very long lease of life, as the equipment of the new Cabinet to solve France's crisis is no better than that of its predecessors. If the Socialist party cannot shake off its indecision, there is destined to be a marked fall in its support among the workers, as the rank and file is already discontented with its present policy of hobnobbing with the Right, which is making the ground clear for the establishment, not of Socialism but of Fascism.

A renewed understanding with the workers' party is certainly preferable to the growing pressure of reaction and incipient dictatorship that is bound to accompany the political instability of the present phase. A truly Socialist economic and financial policy alone can help France stand on its legs again, in which the co-operation of the workers is an essential prerequisite. A Government of a progressive coalition between the Socialists, Communists and other Leftists is the need of the hour. The French Communists also should change their present attitude to the Marshall aid as in her present state of economic affairs France can hardly go without it. As the state of emotional tension and panic subsides, second thoughts should urge them to think less of dogmatic party ideologies and more of the long-suffering people. Lately, the Communists have also expressed their eagerness to create a Democratic Front to form a stable Government. Many good Republicans among the Centre Parties would also rally to such a call. Then only France can become a Great Power again. The wretched process of degenerating compromise of the present Governments holds no prospect of relieving the sufferings of the French people.

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A PLEA FOR INDO-AFGHAN UNDERSTANDING

By H. K. SONDHI, M.Sc.

A giant statue of Gautam Buddha, the prince of peace, looks across the mountains at Bamian, a small town in Afghanistan. It is an eloquent reminder of the days when India and Afghanistan were bound to each other by ties of a common religion and culture.

More than a thousand years back, Afghanistan cut herself adrift from India. The rising tide of Islam en-

gulfed that part of the world and she began to look to the Caliphs of Baghdad for inspiration. She became a part of Khawrizmia Empire and experienced the full fury of Mongol invasions. Later, under the great Moghuls some kind of unity was restored, but it was only superficial and even that was lost when the Imperial power at Delhi began to decay.

With the coming of the British, the relationship between the two countries underwent a radical change. The foreign policy of India was decided at Whitehall, thousands of miles away, and the beautiful land of Afghans came to be regarded as a buffer which effectively screened off the brightest jewel of the British Empire from the envious gaze of Czarist Russia. Afghans themselves became unwilling pawns in the game of power-politics, whilst India was forced to fight the whiteman's wars. The natural result was that fear and mutual distrust took the place of peace and goodwill which were once prevailing among the two peoples.

After decades of arduous struggle India has achieved independence and is now able to formulate her foreign policy, unhindered. Having cast off the shackles of western domination, she is now free to renew contacts with her Asiatic brethren, and to the oppressed oriental peoples she sends a message of good cheer. She is now ready to take her rightful place among the nations of the East and is also willing to champion their cause against occidental economic exploitation and political overlordship.

With freedom has also come laceration of our country and a new-born state, whose very foundations are laid in religious exclusiveness and mutual hate, now strides between India and Afghanistan. The leaders of this new state as also the foreign vested interests which are strongly entrenched in it and find it a welcome refuge from the rising tide of Indian nationalism, feel that it is to their interest to keep our two countries always apart.

However, it is left to the Indians and the Afghans to think and to realise as to how their best interests would be served. The new set-up has ended the various causes of friction existing between them for all times. Both have chosen the democratic way of life and have common problems to face. On their heads hangs a potential sword of Damocles and the bonds of common interest should serve as a great cementing force between the two nations. Let them come to a mutual understanding.

When the Indian Ministry of External Affairs asked Wing Commander Roop Chand to be their representative at Kabul, they made a very wise choice. W. C. Roop Chand combines a proved business acumen, inherited from his father R. B. late Lala Ramsaran Das, along with an intensive military experience. A happy synthesis of these two admirable qualities would no doubt make an appeal to Afghan heart. He is also fortunate in having with him a very able assistant in the person of Lala Girdhari Lal, a former M.L.A. of N.-W. F. P. The latter has made a special study of Afghan history and is thoroughly conversant with the present trend of thought in that part of the world.

However, His Excellency Roop Chand will need all his enthusiasm and discretion if he is to make his mission a success. He will have to endeavour ceaselessly if India and Afghanistan are to be made friends.

Afghans have their aspirations. Which nation hasn't? A million of their kinsmen living across the borders of Afghanistan fervently long for the day when

they will again be united with the mother country and be delivered from the tyranny of the hated *jawans* of the West Punjab. The failure of the mission of Sardar Najibullah Khan to the newly set-up court of Qaid-e-Azam at Karachi cast a gloom over the beautiful valleys of the Sulaiman range. On the occasion of the opening of Shorai Mali, the Afghan Parliament, H. M. King Zahir Shah feelingly referred to "our Afghan brothers on the other side of Durand line" and pleaded that they be allowed to determine their own destiny.

Afghans admire strength and the task of our representatives at Kabul would be rendered very much easier if the military prestige of India is maintained at a high level. Kashmir gave us a splendid opportunity to test our armed strength and now that we are in mid-summer the Afghan statesmen have naturally begun wondering as to what is keeping the greatly publicized Indian army back from clearing away the raiders to the last man. In this conflict Afghanistan has maintained a strictly correct attitude and has shown no sympathy with the misguided tribesmen, whose ignorance is being exploited by another power to achieve its own ends. A speedy and a total victory in Kashmir would raise India's stock very high in the whole of the Middle East.

Cultural relations between the two countries should also be cultivated. For a number of years, Afghan students have been coming over to India for advanced studies. They are found to be refreshingly free from the virus of communalism and are proud of our common ancient heritage. Let more of Afghan youngmen be encouraged to come to India and learn not only the various sciences and the different branches of technology but also something about our Indian civilisation. An exchange of cultural missions between the two countries would also be a factor towards increased mutual understanding.

A few words of advice might here be given to the non-Muslims living in Afghanistan. They owe their loyalty to H. M. King Zahir Shah and they must learn to identify themselves completely with the sons of the soil. Forsaking big business and its huge profits, they should take to agriculture, industry and the army and should try to become valuable and trusted citizens of the state.

In the so-called tribal areas, India's case should not be allowed to suffer by default. The tribesmen have been pretty badly licked by the Indian army and it must have put them both in reflective as well as in receptive frames of mind and if they are approached along the right lines, there is no reason why they should not be made to distinguish between their real friends and foes. They must begin to realise that in India's friendship and not in her enmity lies their welfare.

It is a herculean task which faces His Excellency Roop Chand. India and Afghanistan must be made friends. Good work done on the banks of the river Kabul would bear fruit on the Ravi—the same old Ravi, on the banks of which he used to play while young and where Indian independence was first pledged.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

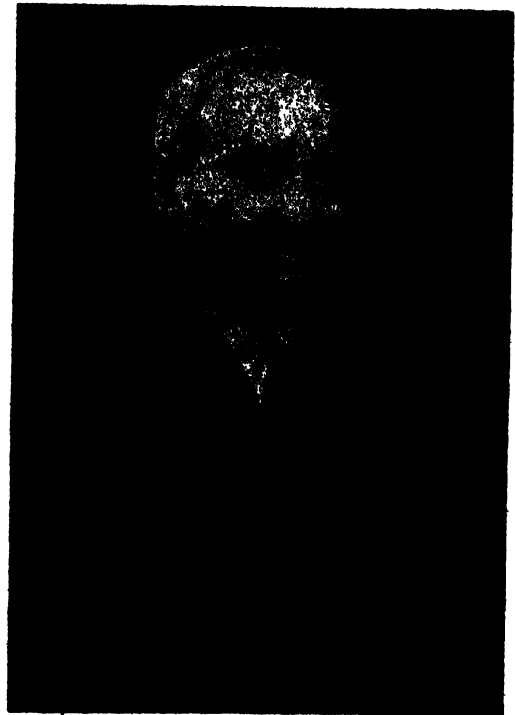
Portrait

By ANNE Z. BOSE

Born in 1883 in the village of Keotkali, not far from the city of Dacca, Bengal, Sudhindra Bose spent his happy boyhood under the watchful supervision of a stern father and an adoring mother. He was full of life and mischief and he often puzzled his elders as to the outcome of such a disposition. He loved to listen to stories told in the quiet of the evening by his mother or some friends who visited the house. Accounts of travels fascinated him. The books in the Dacca Library inspired the mind of the eight-year-old boy with awe, but the missionaries could never satisfy him with their stories of foreign lands and especially of America. Some day he would cross the various waters separating the East from the West and which his mother called "the black waters." Someone said: "If you wish a thing hard enough, you will get it." The scant, little, home-made diary which Sudhindra kept has the following entry, dated Tuesday, April 23th, 1904: "I am going to America on board the *Tioga* as a working passenger. We left Calcutta on the 8th of March and hope to get to Philadelphia next Saturday. We passed this morning the city of Delaware and anchored at noon off Point Bridge near the dockyard. I was dejected, but I soon screwed up my courage." On the 2nd of May he writes, "God be blessed. I set my foot on the free soil of America this evening." May 4th he writes, "The Reverend Janvier took me to the store of John Wanamaker. It is a very big store. . . . When I first saw the place I felt a little dizzy." John Wanamaker was a kindly man and gave Sudhindra a job at the "very big store" at \$5.00 a week. That was not a brilliant salary and the work-day was long, beginning at 7-30 a.m. and ending at 6 o'clock p.m. He found a room in one of the old streets called Vine Street. It was a modest room up in the garret of an old house but the rent was cheap and good enough for the summer. His first pay-day came on the 16th of May and Sudhindra spent part of his wages on an English dictionary. An abscess in the arm-pit troubled him greatly for the next two weeks and he longed for home and the comforting care of his mother. Then came the 4th of July. "The Fourth is the most glorious day in the history of America, for, it is the birth of the United States of America. One hundred and twenty-eight years ago it was on this day and in this city that the Representatives of the thirteen colonies proclaimed that the United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states. Early this morning the stars and stripes flew from every public building . . . the band played the national anthem and school girls dressed in white were waving small American flags and sang with a band and the United Singers of the town."

September 9th, 1904, Sudhindra Bose is enrolled in Park College, Parkville, Mo., a co-educational

institution. This is a college where the students work half time and study half time. The work varies from manual labor in the dormitories and fields to clerical work in the offices of the college. Sudhindra was assigned to the potato field where he dug potatoes until his back ached. The atmosphere of this college was essentially religious. Morning devotion was compulsory and on Sundays none was excused from the morning and Vesper services, and the Bible study was part of the curriculum. This course also was obligatory. Sudhindra hated it; still it was a hope and an ambition of some of the grey beards to make out this young Hindu a convert, a Christian. In this they were very much disappointed, for Sudhindra apparently was immune to the doctrine of Christianity. Two years later he was called to the President's office and told that his attendance in the college was terminated because of his lack of interest in the religion for which the school stood.



Dr. Sudhindra Bose
1883—1946

Reading through the dog-eared pages of his diary, one perceives neither a startling intellect nor the staunch defender of his motherland of later years. Sudhindra Bose was just another Indian student who had to accustom himself to wearing Western dress

with the celluloid collar—for glossy, well-ironed, linen collars were not in his budget—and the bow-tie with its rubber band that never held the tie in its proper position and which caused a great deal of merriment when that little bit of superfluous wearing apparel slipped to the side of his neck or even to the back. The student parties were invariably a source of pleasure to him. The freedom between the boys and girls embarrassed him at first but by and by he was amused, for the girls had many queer questions to ask of this young Indian. But the part of college life which meant much to him was the annual inter-collegiate oratorical contest. To get to the platform and to debate and match wits with the best of the contestants, that fired Sudhindra's soul and made tense every nerve in his body.

The little diary next carries the date of October 21, 1906, Champaign, Illinois. "Illinois University is a big place. President James gave a reception to the senior class. It is a large class, there must be four hundred seniors on the roll. The President is very sociable and interesting, full of cheer and sympathy. There is a ring in his voice that inspires confidence. He has the rare gift of entering your life with sympathetic interest." Sudhindra Bose entered the University of Illinois as a senior student and, studied English literature and journalism. But again as in Parkville, the lack of funds troubled him and had it not been for the kindness of some friends, Sudhindra might have had to quit school and seek employment "Where there is a will there is a way" and Sudhindra had the will and found the way. He had Saturday jobs and did odds and ends to bring in a bit of money for his sustenance. He waited on table in the Men's Common in the morning and evening and worked in the Library at night. The summer vacation was hey-day for him, for then he went on the road and going from door to door he sold the "Volume Library" and made good money. In doing this, he became acquainted with the rural population of America. In later years he often spoke about the adventures when he was a "peddler."

In June, 1907, he proudly enters in his diary that his year as an undergraduate is up, but at the same time a feeling of whither now comes over him and he realises with sadness that he must leave Champaign and seek another school for the furtherance of his advanced studies. He turned to the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, for that school was well-known for its school of journalism, for its studies of sociology. He worked as a reporter on the *Maroon*, (the Chicago University student paper). In connection with his social study classes, he visited Hull House, the Chicago lodging houses which are the supervision of the police, the Juvenile Court and the Mary Crane Nursery. These trips brought a release from the monotony of India and at the same time he has not? A million who oftentimes, through no fault of their own, are forced to look stark misery straight

in the face. Their utter wretchedness and helplessness touched him to the quick and on one of these trips he writes in his little booklet: "I must do something to relieve the suffering of humanity."

Sudhindra's great ambition was to be a journalist. He liked the work, reported faithfully and diligently. He studied all the courses pertaining to that subject; still his progress was not what he had hoped for. Was it because of the medium of a secondary language and its difficulties or just a natural slowness? He could never write as fast as his fellow-journalists. That fact he noted very sadly, "I shall never be able to write as fast as a journalist should. There is no use to make myself believe that I can; perhaps with years of training I shall be able to write as fast as one should, but have I the time for it? I shall have to turn to the field of magazine writing rather than to the newspapers."

In the summer of 1909, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him at the University of Chicago. Then suddenly, without any explanation, we find that Sudhindra is in Birmingham, Alabama, selling stereoptical views and the "Volume Library." His journal is silent on the reason for this odd choice of locality. I have a suspicion that he was sent there by the company he represented without having anything to say about it. His experience was dismal. He was disappointed both in the people and in the country. The color-bar distressed him greatly and the arrogance of the poor whites was repulsive to him. He applied for the position of reporter on the *Birmingham Ledger*, but expectations and joy of being at last a newspaperman were knocked into a cocked hat when the interview with the editor-in-chief was over. "The world seemed in a second like a dismal, dreary, dark blank." The only bright spot during his stay in Alabama was a trip to Havana with its pleasant climate and its deep blue waters.

On the 23rd of September, 1910, the entry in the diary reads as follows: "Sunday, 10 p.m., 213 East Market Street, Iowa City, Iowa. After a week's apprenticeship in journalism at the office of the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, I came to Iowa City, Iowa, and entered the State University for the studies of the Ph.D. degree. For a long time I was undecided whether to make my major work in English or in Political Science. Prof. Ansley was anxious to have me in his English Department. On introducing me to his assistant he said, 'Professor Thompson, this is Mr. Bose. You know that we have never allowed any student so far in our English department to take the doctor's degree. I have made up my mind to admit Mr. Bose to our department. He has already done some advanced work in English. Will you please talk the matter over with Mr. Bose and arrange a subject for his thesis.' I felt proud of such a compliment, but I knew my shortcomings so well that I finally decided to give up English and to choose Political Science." It must have been the correct choice, for he writes in



Sudhindra and Anne in the library in their home, Winter, 1946

his little booklet again: "I am very much pleased with my work. My teachers are all reasonable and sympathetic. They are constantly inquiring after the progress of my studies."

November 4th, 1910, brought a high light in Sudhindra's simple student life. Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt came through Iowa City and stopped at the small station for ten minutes. "The entire town turned out to greet the 'world citizen' who spoke to the crowd from the platform of the rear parlor car. I too went to get a glimpse of the man. He is strong and vigorous; he has a round face, keen, piercing eyes and firm square jaws. His voice is excellent and he can pitch it high or low. He is all enthusiasm and earnestness. About six or seven thousand people turned out to meet the colonel. They climbed the railroad cars, on the roofs of the nearby houses, telephone poles and tree-tops, so eager were they to see the greatest contemporary American."

On the 3rd of December, 1910, he confides again to his booklet, this time with warm feelings: "I am glad I came to school here. The teachers are interested in me." Among these friendly teachers is Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, the Head of the Political Science Department. To this excellent scholar and great man, Sudhindra was drawn right from the start. Dr. Shambaugh was not only his teacher but also the best friend a man ever had. It was he who discovered the ability to teach and to lecture in the young Indian student

and it was he who gave him the opportunity to teach a class at the University of Iowa. This was not only a boost for Sudhindra, but it was a signal and generous gesture, for until then, no Asian had ever been given such a chance. And Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh remained his staunch friend throughout their relationship which only ended with Dr. Shambaugh's death in April, 1940.

Even a bear becomes friendly at the sight of good food and even the most intellectual individual comes out of his shell and can be gay when invited to a delicious dinner. Sudhindra was no exception to this. Now and then he had the good fortune to be invited to a good meal and good company. So he betrays his feelings to his journal when he writes: "I had a good dinner indeed and good company too." By the end of 1910, Sudhindra seems less gloomy, less isolated than ever before since his coming to America. Here on the Iowa campus, he met young instructors like himself and faculty members of high rank who took a liking to him. This association was responsible in the change of attitude toward existing conditions. He felt that he had made a beginning and a faint feeling came over him that he could do what he wanted to do if he persisted and even more than that, that he was not altogether an outsider, here in this great Mid-Western University. His New Year's resolution was heartening. "As I am about to enter the New Year, I resolve to live a life of hope, of good

cheer and of happy optimism. I believe that a positive attitude of mind towards these qualities will enable me to win success quicker than a negative one. It is of little use going through life bemoaning. Let me make the best of what I have and strive for what I have not. Past experience tells me that that is the only way of attaining my goal. I have discovered that nothing in the world will make me happy till I learn well the art of writing. The object may be hard to attain, but attain it I must. Let nothing in the world stand between me and my object in life. In all my studies, in all my work I resolve not to lose sight of the main thing which has been haunting me in all these years. I therefore take fresh heart and renew my pledge to keep practicing writing until I learn it."

In 1912, Sudhindra Bose received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa. His thesis, "Some Aspects of British Rule in India" was considered a splendid contribution on the subject. At the same time Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Chief of the Political Science Department, appointed him as lecturer in his department at a salary of \$500.00 per annum. The position was a half-time position. At that time, the following notice appeared in the *Iowa City Daily Press*, dated August 19, 1912 :

"A Hindu from Calcutta, Sudhindra Bose, has been engaged by the University of Iowa, to fill the first faculty chair ever occupied by an East Indian in this state. He will be professor of "Oriental Politics and Civilization," and he will treat the relations between the United States and the Orient. Prof. Bose has won his degree at Iowa and has established his reputation as a man of scholarly attainments here."

In 1915, the little journal contains this cheerful entry : "I am finally in the Chautauqua (pronounced shatakuwa). I tried for ten years and have at last landed a job as lecturer in the Chautauqua circuit." The Chautauqua used to be very popular before the invention of the radio. During the summer months, a good many towns held Chautauqua for a week. This Chautauqua may be described as an assembly for educational purposes, combining lectures of various types, entertainments, such as plays, vocal and instrumental music. The performance was always given in a tent. The audience was usually made up of farmers and small townspeople. They enjoyed a popular lecture far more than they did a learned one. Sudhindra liked this type of work. It threw him in contact with the common people and kept him on the move. He saw a lot of America and had many experiences. His lectures on India were well-liked and they secured him contracts with the Chautauqua circuit for quite a few successive summers.

If Sudhindra was going up and down the country giving summer lectures, he picked up with all the more zeal the broken threads during the school year. His half-time teaching permitted him to practice the art of newspaper writing. He contributed regularly to *The Modern Review*, *Indian Review*, *Hindustan*

Review, and the *East and West* of Calcutta. He also found time to organize the Hindustan Association of America, which elected him as the national President of the National Board of Counsellors of the Association, and he was also very active in the organization of the Cosmopolitan Club. It was his constant endeavour to bring East and West nearer to each other and to bring co-operation and understanding among the different students representing the various lands on American campuses. The Hindustan Association established branches in every important center where Indians, students and non-students, desired to meet with one another. Their program was ambitious ; the ultimate goal was to form a world federation. Among the officers of the local chapter in Iowa City, we find the name of Sudhindra's life-long friend, Dr. Rafidin Ahmed, Calcutta, India. He acted as Vice-Chairman of the association.

His activities increased and shaped themselves in rapid succession, and Sudhindra was working out his destiny. In 1914, the Hindu Exclusion Law Bill, or better known as the Raker Bill, was pending the U. S. Congress. Sudhindra was sent to Washington, D. C. by the Indian Defense Association of the Pacific coast and the Hindustan Association of America of which he was the President at that time, to present the Indian point of view before the committee in charge of the Raker Bill. The men with whom he conferred were W. J. Bryan, Secretary of State, and the British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice. He secured a hearing before the House Committee on immigration and naturalization which was in charge of the Exclusion Bill. They had given him an hour to present his case, but so eloquent was the argument of this earnest defender that those busy men in Washington, forgot the time and listened to him for three hours more, then they cross-examined him on various points. Here are some of the most outstanding points Sudhindra made in the defense of his cause :

"The British Government in India does not favor the idea of Indian engineering students going to America, because American-trained engineers import American machinery. He firmly believed that America would violate its time-honored democratic traditions, if it were to bar from the gates of its institutions of learning, students with limited means."

He then suggested that the Raker Bill should provide for a minimum income of not more than \$200.00, a year from such prospective students. In regard to the Hindu laborers at the Pacific coast, Sudhindra contended that they did not undersell the native American laborers and he pointed out that their literacy was not below the level of those immigrants from Eastern Europe, Southern Italy, Mexico, Syria and Turkey.

"There is no reason to fear the Hindu. There are at the present time only 4,781 Indians in continental America and these people are sober, law-abiding and conscientious workers."

Finally, he suggested to the legislators in Washington, that

"If the Government thought it necessary to exclude or restrict the Indians from the United States, then it should be brought about by diplomacy and through legislation. A special law excluding Indians would humiliate us in the eyes of the world. That is not necessary."

He further pointed out, that the wording of the Raker Bill should at least be altered in order to avoid the juxtaposition of the "Hindu laborer" with "idiots, imbeciles," etc. . . . As the Bill stood at that time, it enumerated the classes of excluded persons in the following fashion: "All Hindu laborers, idiots, imbeciles, paupers, etc." Sudhindra stayed about one week in Washington, D. C. defending the Indian cause. His expenses were paid by the Sikhs at the Pacific coast.

Very notable Asians visited the State University of Iowa in rapid succession. Sudhindra, representing both the University and Asia, played official host to all of them. The first on the list was the poet laureate and Nobel Prize winner, Rabindranath Tagore. The second was the distinguished orator from Northern India, Lala Lajpat Rai; then came the noted physicist, Prof. Jagadish Chandra Bose, "who makes plants tell their feelings." These were followed by many more distinguished Asians from many lands. Sudhindra was always at the station to meet them and to extend the hand of welcome.

In November, 1916, the "Volume Library," a condensed encyclopedia, for school children, invited him to the editorial staff for the Oriental section of the book. In this work he was responsible for all the editing of political, economic, historical, literary, religious and philosophical items concerning the nations of the Orient.

Tuesday, February 20th, 1917, was a momentous day for Sudhindra Bose. On that day, he became a naturalized citizen of the United States of America. But owing to Sudhindra's dark skin, very black hair and black eyes, his admittance to citizenship was opposed by a United States immigration official on the grounds that he was not a "white person." Consequently, the question arose as to the definition of a "white person." Judge R. G. Popham, of the District Court, in Iowa City, Iowa, differed with the view of the immigration official, saying that a "white person" was a member of the Caucasian race irrespective of the color of the skin, hair and eyes. He contended that Sudhindra Bose had been declared a "white person," that he had taken his oath of allegiance and had been admitted to citizenship. That Judge R. G. Popham's decision in this matter would have widespread discussions was to be expected and this case had also definite bearing on several other cases of similar nature throughout the country. We shall see directly what the outcome of the granting of this citizenship really was.

Sudhindra taught during the scholastic year and lectured on the Chautauqua circuit during the summer

months until 1920. His lectures were well-liked and he had a good platform personality. His remunerations also became more and more attractive so that they supplemented nicely his very low income at the University. He had tried many times through Dr. B. F. Shambaugh to get an increase in his salary since the enrollment of his classes had grown each year. But the Board of Education did not see it that way. Be it said very frankly, their opinion was, that an Oriental should consider it a privilege to be on the teaching staff of an American institution of learning the size of this University. Sudhindra knew well, that Dr. Shambaugh who was his trusted friend, had tried earnestly



Bose's faithful collie dog, Rani

and sincerely to help him, but to no avail. He was not to be daunted in this either. Since he taught only half time, he started to give lectures during the scholastic year in different colleges and High Schools as well as to clubs and organisations. His articles appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. Sudhindra worked and studied with all his strength. In spite of all these activities, he was dejected and lonely. In this mood, he confided again in his diary: "I have been teaching here for four years for five hundred dollars per annum. They say, and the Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Dr. Shambaugh, confirms it, that my work is entirely satisfactory. But what is my reward? None whatever. Those who began to teach in the Department long after I did, have been promoted over my head. Can I afford to stay here the rest of my life on five hundred dollars a year? It cheapens me, it lowers me, it humiliates me in the eyes of my friends as well as in my own eyes." At the time Sudhindra wrote these lines in his diary, he was 34 years old, an age when a man is full of vigor and life promises fair. But life did not promise fair to him and he was despondent and lonely. Again

he writes: "I am sick and tired of this awful lonely life in America. I feel that my position in this country is precisely like that of the ostracized man. I have no social standing in this benighted, caste-ridden land. They say that I am now a free American citizen, but I am looked down upon because of my race and the color of my skin. I am treated like a pariah. Far, far better it were that I had never taken out my naturalization papers."

This complete dependency was of course not due altogether to homesickness and ostracism. Sudhindra wanted a home of his own. Neither did romance pass him by, of that the numerous snap-shots of very pretty, young American girls are testimony enough. And why should he not have been popular with young ladies? Sudhindra had a splendid personality, to be sure he was rather small of stature, but he was well-built and had a finely shaped head. His forehead was high, his nose slightly aquiline and his eyes glorious and soft. His whole person breathed neatness and cleanliness, in fact, he was always well-groomed and carefully attired, though not elegant. He had an air of distinction and was somewhat haughty, but not offensively so. Well, he was popular with the young ladies, for there was real glamour about him. There was Lena with the curls; Florence, the chemist who was very friendly, but that was all. Sentiments in Florence seem to have no place in her make-up. I also read about Susie in the little diary. Susie was very young and her mother was proud of her musical accomplishments. Then came Marjorie with whom he liked to go hiking across country and build bonfires in the open. Kathrine too did not lack charm in Sudhindra's eyes. Ruth disappointed him the most, for she was fickle. Then came blonde, little Mary, but she was too devoutly catholic to fall in line with Hinduism. Indeed, the photograph album contains a veritable collection of pretty girls, which must have made a selection rather difficult. However, Florence ruled supremely in the heart of the young Indian. Indeed, she caused almost a calamity for Sudhindra, for according to the diary, Florence really captivated his heart. She was pretty—the writer can vouch for that—, exact, gifted in her line as chemist. At home she combined the charming hostess and the careful homemaker. She could cook, preserve, sew. She was neat and very clean in all her habits and duties. She was also loyal and her sense of integrity was much above the common conception of it. She was not much of a conversationalist to be sure, but what of that, she was a good listener. Besides, Sudhindra could talk for both of them. Carefully he weighed all these essential and good qualities against that one great virtue, love, but the scales dipped too much and love was found wanting. Florence was too practical. No doubt, she too weighed all the pros and cons in regard to a marriage with this Indian who was at odds with his Government, who, living in a foreign land found it difficult to make a living for himself and who, in the eyes of

American society was a member of the barred zone not even eligible to citizenship. The fact of the matter was, that Florence was afraid of such a marriage. She preferred economic and social security to "a loaf of bread, a jug of wine and thou" marriage with the man whom she greatly admired, but did not love. Did Sudhindra propose formally to this unusual girl? The little journal is silent on this score. Well he knew that he could not support a wife on his present salary. He also knew that conditions for him would not substantially improve. That rankled in his bosom and embittered him, for he did want a home and a normal life to which every human being is entitled.

September 1920, we find Sudhindra Bose in London, England. He had asked for a year's leave of absence from the University to travel and to study abroad, that is in Europe and Asia. In America, he had received a visa to visit India, but in London this visa was contested and after two months' stay in London, during which he vainly attempted to secure the permit to proceed to India, he left without it for France and sailed from Marseilles for the Orient. Why the objection to his visit to his home-land at the hands of the British is not clearly stated and all we can do is to surmise and guess. Said Mr. Montagu:

"I have had thorough inquiry made into this case. This Indian gentleman is now a citizen of the United States, having applied to renounce his British Indian nationality a few weeks before the outbreak of the war. Dr. Bose's original application for a visa to travel made no mention of his mother's health, and I am not prepared to facilitate his return to India."

This was the first ominous obstacle of his trip, on which he wished to study political and social conditions in the Orient. The following three publications among his possessions brought him into direct conflict with the Hongkong Police. They were: (1) a copy of *The Open Court*, for August, 1920, containing an article by Sudhindra himself, entitled, "Home Rule for India"; (2) a publication entitled, *The Labor Revolt in India*, by Basanta Koomar Roy; (3) a compilation published by the Indian National Party, entitled *British Rule in India*. In Hongkong his trunk was searched. The above-mentioned three publications were taken from his possessions by zealous officials whose language was sneers, jeers and taunts. There was not much that he could do about this. All three publications were considered by the police as seditious, hostile and couched in "extreme and violent language." The purpose of his visit was of course clear to them. In the eyes of the Hongkong police, Sudhindra was a renegade who sought the protection of another flag to cover up his evil intentions and to attack with all the more viciousness the regime of the country of his former allegiance. The police was determined to keep him out of India and from the areas adjacent to India. He protested through the United States Consulate, but to no avail. The British remained adamant in their decision; he did not enter India in 1921.

Adds from these unhappy incidents, Sudhindra's trip to the Orient was a great success. He came in contact with many of the leading figures in Asia, among them, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and many other notable Asians. The fresh contact with the Orient, its peoples, their philosophy, their political aspirations, their point of view, showed him clearly that Asia was on the march. This gave him renewed courage to carry on the fight for freedom. He returned to the United States in the early part of September, 1921, and was again at his post at the University of Iowa when the fall term opened. Throughout his Asian trip, Sudhindra was correspondent for the *Des Moines Register*, one of Iowa's leading newspapers.

Life seemed rather uneventful to him for about two years. His experience on the trip had sharpened his wits and opened his eyes still more to the evils of imperialism. Now he applied himself vigorously to denounce it by word of mouth and with his pen. Some of the anglophiles did not like these attacks upon their so-called "motherland," and thus they demanded his dismissal from the University teaching staff. But as usual, Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh stood by him and tendered his resignation in case "this drastic step should be taken against Dr. Bose."

In the spring of 1923, the naturalization question loomed again on the horizon. Bhagwat Singh Thind, a man who had served for six months in the United States army and who had received an honorable discharge, was refused the citizenship by the United States Supreme Court. This man was not a common laborer, but a graduate from the University of Punjab, India, and a former student of the University of California. Sudhindra Bose promptly took up his pen in defense of his countryman. His was a valiant fight, but a futile one, for the Supreme Court ruled that the words, "free, white person" were not to be taken in the ethnological meaning of the term, but in the popular sense. Thind was, accordingly, not a "white person" and therefore not eligible to the American citizenship. Furthermore, the decision of the United States Supreme Court was retroactive and held that, since the Hindus were not of the Caucasian race, the lower courts, which had granted them their naturalization, were in error and their grants were null and void. Consequently, those affected by this regulation, found themselves to be men without a country. Sudhindra felt this blow keenly. In his opinion, India and her people were humiliated, since the best of them could not cope with the poorest of Eastern Europe's immigrant. There was nothing that could be done about it, for when the highest tribunal in the land makes such a final decision, there is no court of appeal to turn to.

It is understood that there were at this time about one hundred Indians who had received their naturalization papers prior to 1923. Of these, about half moved elsewhere, but those who still remained in the

United States, banded together decided to reopen the case with the United States Supreme Court. It was not until the spring of 1927 that a decision was agreed upon by the law-makers of this land, that those, who had been deprived of their citizenship were to be reinstated. In Sudhindra's files, there is a letter from the State Department in Washington, D. C. confirming the reinstatement to citizenship. It is dated May 19, 1927, and reads in part :

"The Department refers to your letter of May 5, 1927, in which you request a copy of a ruling, which you have been informed has been made, permitting Hindus who were naturalized before 1923 to retain their American citizenship."

Thus closed the chapter which brought so many anxious moments and the feeling that Indians were definitely discriminated against by the Government of the greatest republic in the world.

August 13, 1927, Sudhindra Bose married Anne Zimmerman, a graduate student in the Romance Language Department of the State University of Iowa. But even here the sailing of the event was not a smooth one. The Justice of the Peace who was to unite them in holy matrimony, had a stroke while he was reading the service. Helped by the members of the household, Sudhindra and Anne carried the stricken man to a couch. He passed away the next day. The ceremony begun by the Justice of the Peace was terminated by a protestant minister. When the news of Sudhindra's marriage reached the Political Science Department, there was consternation, but Dr. Shambaugh said humorously, "These Hindus woo and win our best and prettiest girls. Dr. Bose how did you do it?" He raised his salary by \$500.00 a year. But even that was not sufficient for Sudhindra to establish a home, for with that increase, his salary was only \$1500.00 a year. Anne took up a position in Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Mo.

In March 1928, Sudhindra, accompanied by Anne, started out again to go to India. His mother was still living but very feeble and aged. But Sudhindra's joy of seeing his native land and his kin once more was, however, mingled with misgivings. Would the British again annoy him and not let him enter India as they had done in 1921? It was not until the permit to land was granted by the British police in Karachi, that Sudhindra breathed a sigh of relief and rejoiced while deeply inhaling the fresh morning air. All the gloom had disappeared. He was glad to be alive and among the people he loved. Four wonderful months followed. Every day was crammed full with interviews, talks, gatherings, visits. India revealed herself to him worn and poor, but full of dignity and her people poverty-stricken but not discouraged. It was at the time when Catharine Mayo's *Mother India* was first out of the press. This book sold like hot chestnuts on a cold winter night while Dr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* was proscribed. The vociferous indignation of the Indians against the vicious attack by sewer inspector Mayo rang out genuine and sincere. The fearless revolt

of the Bardoli peasants fired and assured Sudhindra of the ardor and hidden strength of his people. Everywhere he went, he found the people dissatisfied and trying to find a way to throw off the foreign yoke that bound them so firmly to the wheels of bondage. Sudhindra had secretly hoped to secure the permission to remain in India. With that intent, he went to Simla to see the Viceroy. He had already sounded the possibility of obtaining a position in some educational institution, if not at that particular time, then at least at some later date. But without the co-operation of the British, a definite arrangement was futile. He was not encouraged by the Viceroy to stay in India, and so Sudhindra returned again to the United States accompanied by Anne ready to teach at the fall session.

The visit to India proved to be invaluable to him. It had given him a shot in the arm; he had a new approach, a new outlook. India's problems were his problems, her struggle his struggle. He lectured and wrote. His attitude toward imperialism in India and elsewhere was unshakable. The slights he received at the hands of the "pure Aryans" troubled him little now, for he had a much greater cause to defend. Altogether, Sudhindra seemed to have a clearer vision, a wider horizon, a greater activity. His classes were larger than ever and more than once did Dr. Shambaugh commend him for his clear thinking and his brilliant presentation of his subject. He was friendlier than ever in his contacts and students sought his company and his advice. Life really smiled at him and he smiled at life. His contributions to the various newspapers and magazines were regular and numerous. He never feared to attack an opponent, who, either through poor judgment or willful misrepresentation, jeopardized the real issue regarding India and her people. His language was direct, terse and forceful. He never left anyone in doubt as to the question in his mind. To bombast he answered with caustic sarcasm. Often he answered a question by asking another one. In regard to imperialism, his stand was uncompromising. Anglophiles and imperialists viewed him with anger and openly accused him of subversive activities. The United States F. B. I. agents frequently attended his lectures and found them delightful. Many admired him for the courage of his convictions, for he was ever ready to defend them to the end.

As a teacher, he was a success. In the words of Dr. Shambaugh, his good friend and Chief, "Dr. Bose has become one of the most outstanding teachers in this University." He was patience itself when it was a matter of bringing a difficult point across to the students. He never discouraged anyone as long as he sincerely tried to achieve his goal. Often groups of young students gathered around his fireplace in his library and while they sipped coffee and munched cookies, he would discuss world problems with them until the late hours of the night. In the summer, he would ask some well-informed person to join them and under the bright moon and in his secluded garden

they would talk over current events and problems of the day. Untiringly he strove to disseminate knowledge about the East, its philosophy, its religions, the social and political life of the people. The freedom of India was his great dream; he never thought that Pakistan could ever become a reality. He firmly believed in the goodwill of his countrymen toward one another and in their true love for their motherland. "Let us be Indians first and foremost, and then only, Muslims or Hindus," he would say to visiting Indians. He thought of a free India, united, strong and great as of old, stepping into the ranks of the leading nations and the leader in Asia.

Sudhindra Bose had a number of hobbies. He loved books. He bought them regularly but with care. He was fond of good paper, good binding and he was very fussy about the general set-up of the book such as: printing, type, margin. In reading a book, he took time to digest all important points. He was not interested in telling people how fast he could read or how many books he read over the week-end. Every point of importance, he underlined and indexed on the empty fly-leaves of the book. The margins too served him for annotations. He would explain that this method enabled him to go back to the book and use it for quick references. His books were neatly kept in closed book-cases in his cheerful library. His yard or lawn, which resembled a green carpet, received almost as much of his attention as did his books. He kept it weedless and well cut. It was a standing joke in the neighbourhood that Dr. Bose brushed and combed his lawn every morning before breakfast. Evenings, he and his faithful collie dog, Rani, loved to sit under the spreading weeping willow near the house. There he would read and meditate and enjoy the peace of the descending night. Sudhindra loved his modest home on that short side street, near a small wood with all his heart. He had wondered the world long enough to appreciate this little haven of a storm-tossed traveller. Each Friday, on returning from his last class of the week, he would enter the house and symbolically shut the door behind him and say: "I am shutting out the world and its people for a moment. If anyone wishes to see me, I shall be glad to see him, but he must come here to my refuge, and he shall be welcome."

"Man proposes and God disposes." Sudhindra's longing for India became ever greater and he hoped that the time would come when he could return once more to the land of his birth and to his dear brother Jotindra Nath Bose. It was not to be. A skin disease had troubled him for years, a disease for which modern science has not as yet discovered a remedy, scarcely a check. He had consulted every medical authority on dermatology he heard of, but there was no cure. They told him that the disease was not "killing" but that it weakened the system in general. The doctor never spoke a truer word. Sudhindra's resistance weakened visibly. He closed his book earlier and stayed in bed longer. The care of the lawn became too

much for him. He who never rested in the day-time, now pulled the shades at the windows and reclined for a while. His quick step slackened. The University lectures, which he religiously attended, held no interest for him any longer. He refused to make calls. More and more he found solace in reading the *Gita*, meditation, in telling the beads. He sought earnest advice from Swami Nikhilananda and even arranged for a visit with him in order to learn more about prayer

and meditation. Strangely, he felt that the sand in the hour glass was running fast. Still he insisted on going to Columbus, Ohio, to give a radio discussion on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's poetry. This was his last lecture. A week later he succumbed to the third attack of pneumonia. This time there were complications of the heart and on the 20th of May, 1946, Sudhindra breathed his last. A valiant son of Mother India had at last gone home.

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INDIAN JOURNALISM AND OUR FREEDOM MOVEMENT

(The first Phase)

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE story of the growth and development of journalism in India is an interesting and instructive study. Newspaper is called the fourth state in a democratic country, whereas in the case of a dependency it proves a veritable thorn in the way of its rulers. The reason is not far to seek. In one case the country is ruled by the will of the people, while in the other the ruler never cares for it in the governance of the land. Similar was the case with India. Since the battle of Plassey this country became a dependency of Britain though it was under the aegis of the East India Company. Any protest against the vagaries of the rulers was not to be tolerated. The press is the principal medium of public protest against any governmental misdeeds, and it became the first victim. This is writ large on the pages of the history of Indian journalism.

The first newspaper in India was the weekly *Bengal Gazette* started in Calcutta on 29th January, 1780. It was edited by James Augustus Hickey. After two years of its existence the paper was suppressed by the Government as it slandered the wife of Warren Hastings as well as some highly placed officials.

More newspapers were started in the wake of the *Bengal Gazette*: *The India Gazette*, *The Calcutta Gazette*, *The Bengal Hurkaru* were the principal of them. It should be noted here that the editors of these journals were all non-official Englishmen. At this time no love was lost between the servants of the Company, that is, the actual rulers of the country, and these non-official Britons. The latter had to take licences in order to live and move in the land. Any offence committed by them against the State was punishable by deportation to England at Government expense. Indians were not organised, they had no organ, their views remained unheard. It was these non-official Britons nurtured in the ideas of democracy who expressed their indignation through newspapers against the actions of the government which were too much despotic. The annexations of Lord Wellesley were severely criticised by them, and the result was the order of pre-censorship of news, views and even advertisements by the Government in 1799. Newspapers oftentimes came out with many

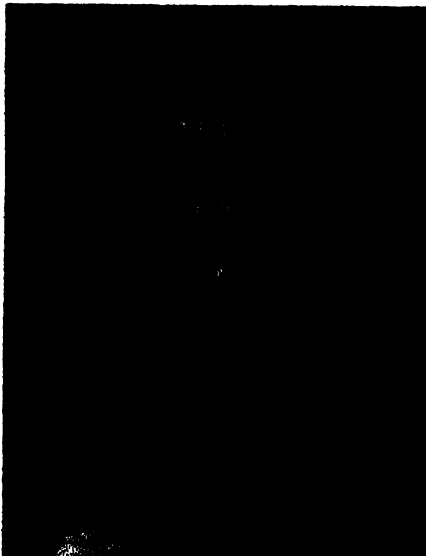
asterisks in their columns, as the editors could not make time to fill up the gaps caused by the deletion of words by the official censor. Our freedom struggle, so far as the expression of free opinion through newspapers was concerned, dated from 1799 and this was done on behalf of the mute millions by the generous-hearted non-official Britons.



Rammohun Roy

The censorship continued till 1818. Lord Hastings' government found that the Wellesley regulations of cen-

sorship were not proving effective. Anglo-Indians had by now become editors. India being their homeland, they could not be punished by deportation for the breach of the Regulations. The Government then had no other alternative but to withdraw them. But this they did temporarily, only to pass fresh Regulations in 1823 for shackling the Press. But more of this later.



James Silk Buckingham

Meanwhile in 1818 even before the withdrawal of the Press Regulations two Bengali newspapers were almost simultaneously published, *Bengal Gazette* by Ganga Kishore Bhattacharya in Calcutta and *Samachar Darpan* by the Serampore Missionaries at Serampore. The latter took care from its very inception not to offend the authorities in any way. *Bengal Gazette* was a progressive journal and supported the reforms sought to be introduced by Raja Rammohun Roy in the Hindu Society. The paper was however short-lived. *Sambad Caumudi* followed *Bengal Gazette*. It came to light on the 4th December, 1821. The principal inspirer and writer of this weekly was Rammohun himself. Not only the need of social reforms was broached in the journal, but all news both Indian and foreign found space in it. To improve social economy the value of insurance and banking was stressed for the first time in this paper. Bhawanicharan Banerjee who was a collaborator of Rammohun in conducting and editing *Sambad Caumudi*, severed connection with the journal and started *Samachar Chandrika* which soon became the exponent of the orthodox school. The liberal and orthodox schools thus parted ways as early as 1823. Rammohun Roy was himself the editor of the Persian paper *Miras-ul-Akhber*.

During the four years 1818-1823, the Government were busy finding out ways and means to put new shackles on newspapers, both English and vernacular. The Government view regarding the freedom of the Press was aptly put in these few lines, "The liberty of the Press,

however essential to the native of a free State, is not in my judgement, consistent with the character of our institutions in this country, or with the extraordinary nature of their interests." The Government of Lord Hastings forged new shackles for the Press in 1822. And it was left for John Adam, the acting Governor-General, to issue the new Press Regulations on March 4, 1823.

The Press Regulations of Wellesley were directed against English journals (as there were none other), and those of this year were directed against both English and vernacular papers. Needless to add, the nascent vernacular journalism was hard hit by the latter Regulations. Rammohun Roy thought it beneath his dignity to publish his journal any longer under these servile Regulations. His letter to the Government is a unique specimen of the first public expression of our love of freedom.

It should be mentioned here that, amongst the Europeans, James Silk Buckingham, the erudite scholar and editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, was the first victim of the Press Regulations of 1823. A friend of Rammohun, Buckingham fought bravely for our cause. He had already earned the opprobrium of the Government. The latter lost no opportunity of resorting to the law and deported him to England on a frivolous charge.



Debendra Nath Tagore

Our struggle for freedom really started from cessation of publication of *Miras-ul-Akhber* by Rammohun. In this respect Rammohun may be called the first non-co-operator in India. He did not rest content with this. He at first sent an appeal to the Supreme Court, and when it proved unavailing, he preferred a memorial to the British Crown. Among the signatories to the appeal, besides Rammohun, were Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and three others. The memorial is regarded as the first

charter of our freedom movement. During the liberal regime of Lord William Bentinck, however, the Regulations were not stringently applied. Some new journals belonging to the progressive school made their appearance in the early thirties. *The Reformer* of Prasanna Kumar Tagore, *The Enquirer* of Krishna Mohan Banerjee and *Inamawesan* (a



Tarachand Chakravarty

diglot paper) of Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee and, later of Rasik Krishna Mallik, kept the torch of free expression alight. These journals discussed politics from a new angle of vision. Bengali journalism also flourished in early thirties. *Sambad Prabhakar* appeared as a weekly in 1831 under the editorship of Iswar Chandra Gupta, the famous Bengali poet. The movement started against the Press Regulations by Ram-mohun bore fruit after a decade. Sir Charles Metcalfe, then acting Governor-General, appreciated the importance of the movement against the Regulations and withdrew it on 15th September, 1835. From that year newspapers in India enjoyed freedom for another twenty-two years, till it was again disturbed during the Sepoy Mutiny.

After the Press had been set free, Indian journalism began to rise to its full stature. In Bengal many Bengali weeklies were started. *Sambad Purnachandrodaya* (1835) and *Sambad Bhaskar* (1839) became the leading Bengali weeklies. *Sambad Prabhakar* which had stopped for sometime, reappeared as a tri-weekly in 1836 and three years later became a full-fledged daily, the first of its kind in Bengali language. *Sambad Prabhakar* was not aggressively orthodox, and it represented what was best in our religion, culture and society. *The Bengal Spectator* founded in 1842 as a monthly and edited by such stalwarts of the Hindu College as Tarachand Chakravarty, Ram Gopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitra and the Reverend Krishnamohan Banerjee, appeared with a new ideal of service of the motherland. In the prospectus it was declared that the conductors of the paper would not seek any monetary gain from it. Over and above providing news both Indian and foreign, they would do everything in their power to serve their country. When George Thompson arrived in India late in 1843, and with his help

the Bengal British India Society was founded, *The Bengal Spectator* became their mouthpiece and was turned into a weekly. It propagated the views held by the progressive school. The paper was a diglot one, and the ruling race could grasp its contents easily. The views expressed in this journal made the Anglo-Indian papers like *The Star*, *The Englishman* and *The Friend of India* fly into a great rage. They criticised George Thompson severely for helping Indians to be politically conscious. The Young Bengal, promoters of the Bengal British India Society, were criticised no less severely, and were nicknamed "Chucker-buty Faction" after the name of their leader Tarachand Chakravarty. *Tattwabodhini Patrika* of which Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore was the founder, and Akshoy Kumar Datta, the first editor, supplied what was wanting in *The Spectator*. The Bengali life and culture found a ready exponent in this Bengali monthly. It fought vehemently against the Christian Missionaries while the latter were engaged in proselytising activities in this province. This gave no less impetus to our future freedom movement.

The struggle for Indian freedom had up till then been mostly on the plane of idea, but henceforward it began to take a practical shape, so far as political agitation was concerned. Political societies had hitherto been established more or less for sectional ends. But this time the Bengal British India Society commenced striving for the well-being of the whole of India, and for all classes of people.



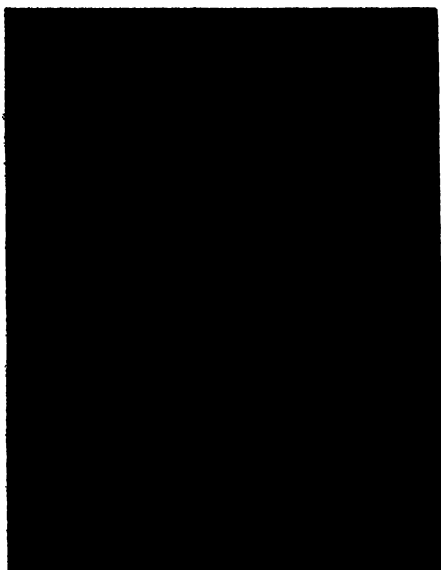
Ram Gopal Ghose

The Bengal Spectator could not continue long. *The Hindu Intelligencer* of Kasiprasad Ghose was started in 1846 and took up the cause advocated by the *Spectator*. But much water had flown by this time under the bridge of the Hugli. The Charter Act of 1833 had removed all the restrictions against the Europeans settling and carrying on business in the country. The latter became self-conscious, and instead of broaching the cause of the Indians, pleaded for their separate entity as distinct from the children of the soil. The official Bills of 1849 to put an

end to this sense of separatism could not be proceeded with owing to European pressure. The causes of conflict between the official and non-official Britons having been removed, they became allies to one another. This was more than sufficiently proved during the Sepoy Mutiny and the Indigo Disturbances. *The Hindoo Patriot* (started in

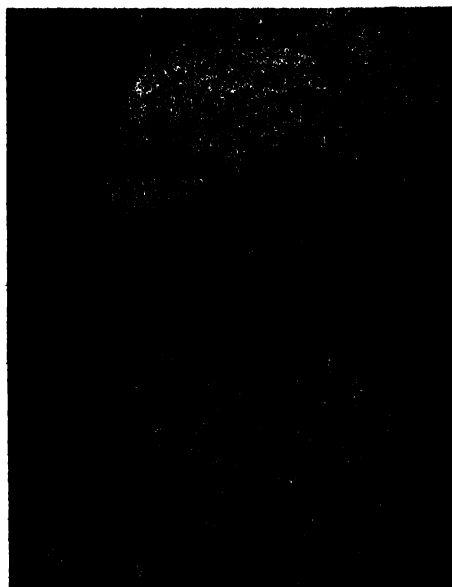
effective. The Indigo-planters' various forms of oppression and torture came to light; they became disgraced before the public eye. *The Hindoo Patriot's* services in this regard were unique. *Somprakash*, the Bengali weekly, of Pandit Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan, was started in November, 1858. It did yeoman's service at that time for the political education of our countrymen.

Racial animosity of the European community could not but react on the mind of the educated Bengalees. *The Bengalee* of Grishandra Ghose, *The Indian Mirror* started under the auspices of Maharshi Debendra Nath, *Mookherjee's Magazine* of Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee, both old and new series, took up the cause of their countrymen and criticised the conduct of the Whites and their official henchmen whenever occasion arose, without the fear of frown or favour. In *Siksha-Darpan* Bhudeb Mukherjee commenced discussing political, educational and social questions in pithy Bengali. His line of approach was altogether new. By the mid-sixties Rajanarain Bose issued a prospectus from Midnapore advertising to the necessity of a Society for the all-round improvement of the nation. Our language, literature, art, system of medicine, costume, customs, traditions—in a word our own culture must be revived and improved. Dependence on foreigners in this respect was proposed to be discarded and self-reliance



Nabagopal Mitra

1853) under the editorship of Harischandra Mukherjee was perhaps the first paper to draw attention to the race-consciousness of the Europeans. The racial animosity as a corollary to this race-consciousness would prove fatal both to the Indians and Europeans. But its voice was then like crying in the wilderness. When the Sepoy mutiny actually broke out early in 1857, the Europeans were up in arms against the Bengalees and induced the Government to punish them as they were also complicated in it. The Bengalees were an eye-sore to the Europeans. While decrying the Mutiny in no uncertain terms, *The Patriot* proved to the hilt the hollowness of the above charge. The Government, too, paid no heed to this outcry. *The Patriot* was then a power, and Lord Canning, the then Governor-General, was in most cases guided by the views expressed in it so far as the Mutiny was concerned. The Indigo Disturbances came in the wake of the Mutiny. This time *The Patriot* championed the cause of the Indigo ryots. Accounts of the tyrannical and, sometimes, murderous acts of the Indigo-planters appeared in *The Hindoo Patriot*. The ryots were goaded to rise in combination against this brutish class of exploiters. *The Hindoo Patriot* appointed correspondents in the mofussil to give authentic accounts of this rising. The Government could not sit idle. They appointed a Commission, late known as Indigo Commission, to enquire and report on the Indigo question. They did not pass any laws on the findings of the Commission, but the administrative arrangements made by them proved

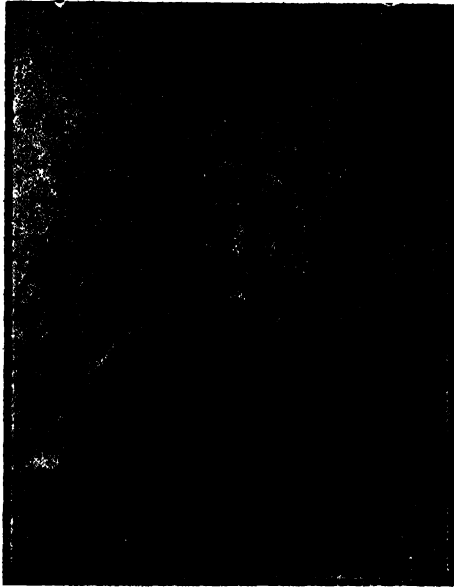


Sishir Kumar Ghose

encouraged. Nabagopal Mitra gave shape to this idea of Rajanarain by starting Hindu Mela (or, 'National Gathering' as it was called in English) in April, 1867. He had already started *The National Paper*, a weekly financed by Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore on August, 1865. Now this paper began to espouse the cause of the Hindu Mela and naturally became its spokesman. The cause of the Hindu Mela was taken up by other Indian journals also. In this connection, the services of *Madhyastha* of Man-

mohan Bose and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, of which more presently, should be specially mentioned.

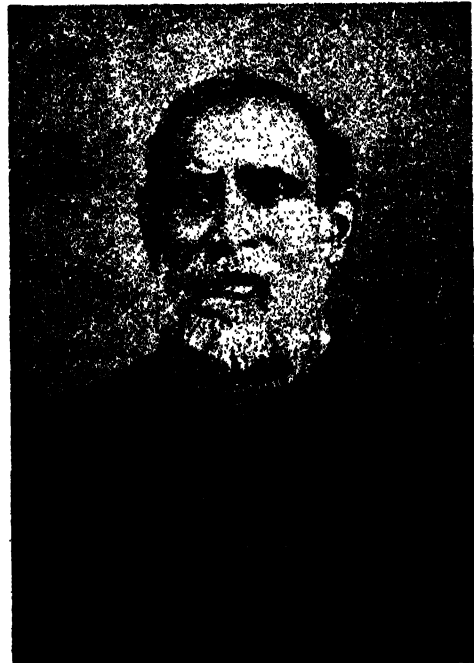
The publication of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* from a remote village in Jessore on February 20, 1868 is a landmark in the history of Indian journalism. Our freedom movement is closely interlinked with this journal. It was at first



Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

a Bengali weekly. From the second year some English articles were inserted in it. From 1872 it became a regular bilingual paper. But it had to forego its Bengali portion altogether owing to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. The English and the Bengalees, or for the matter of that, the Indians, are two distinct races. Their interests are different, and diametrically opposite to each other. These two races could never meet to solve the country's problem. Hence we, the Indians, must stand on our own legs and strive for our own progress. One thing the *Patrika* used to emphasise even in those days. That is, political dependence is the root of our misery. Removal of this is the panacea of all our evils. The sooner it is achieved the better for all concerned. While advocating this, the *Patrika* was not unmindful of the then progressive movements of the country. It advocated reform in society and religion, espoused the causes of the Hindu Mela and all its offshoots. National and scientific education, physical culture, Bengali literature, National theatre—all these nation-building activities of the time, and most of which were affiliated to the Hindu Mela, found a ready exponent in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Needless to add, *Patrika's* politics was very much disliked by the officials, and within a few months of its start *Patrika* found itself involved in a libel case. The officialdom stood as one man against *Patrika*, and though the Printer and the contributor of the article for which the libel case was instituted, were found guilty and punished, the editor came out unscathed

to the great chagrin of the officials. *Bangadarshan* of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, a Bengali monthly started in 1872, served to rouse the educated people from the state of stupor. It unravelled to them the immense possibilities of our language, literature, arts and culture. *Sadharani* of Akshoy Chandra Sarkar, a Bengali weekly, did not lag behind in educating the people in the affairs of the State. But *Amrita Bazar Patrika* alone claimed the honour of virulently attacking the Governmental measures which it deemed anti-national, harmful or notorious. Various regulations restricting the freedom of expression, apathy of the Government to employ Indians to responsible positions, educational policy of Sir John Campbell, deposition of the Cackwar. European onslaught against natives, the famine in the southern provinces, the Afghan war, the Delhi Durbar—these were only a few of the topics that agitated the public mind during the seventies, and to each one of them the *Patrika* did not fail to pay adequate attention. It was mainly due to the fearless discussion and vehement criticism of these measures in the *Patrika* that Lord Lytton's Government thought it fit to pass the obnoxious Vernacular Press Act of 1878. The authorities of the *Patrika* saw through the machinations of the powers that be and turned it into an exclusively English weekly almost overnight. This was not only a great relief but also a source of great encouragement for the man in the



Surendra Nath Banerjee

street. The intentions of the Government were brought to light and the people, especially the educated section who were more dependent on the State, resolved more than ever to rely on their own selves. *Aryadarshan* of Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan took up the case from the

Patrika and encouraged, through its articles on Mazzini, Garibaldi and other heroes of Italy's liberation movement, the intransigent spirit of the educated Bengali youths. *Sulabh Samachar* of Keshub Chunder Sen, one pice Bengali weekly, did much for the propagation of progressive ideas amongst our countrymen.

The services of *The Bengalee* of Surendra Nath Banerjee in the first phase of our national struggle should be mentioned. The Indian Association was founded in July, 1876. It took up the Civil Service question just after its inception. It conducted the agitation against the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act. Agitation against the former met with success when the Act was repealed in 1882. Reform of the tenancy laws, introduction of local self-government and similar other things also were attended to by the Association. Surendra Nath Banerjee, the main-spring of the Association, purchased the proprietary rights of *The Bengalee* in 1879, became its editor and began to express the cause the Indian Association stood for. *The Bengalee* also did not spare to criticise the Government whenever the occasion arose. It was involved in a contempt of court case in 1883 in which editor Surendra Nath was imprisoned. Surendra Nath was at that time at the hey-day of his glory and his imprisonment was deemed a national insult by his countrymen. The *Bengabasi* and *Sanjibani* also came into being in the early eighties and served our cause vigorously in the days of the Ilbert Bill Agitation.

To sum up, the services rendered by Indian Journalism to bring about political consciousness cannot be over-estimated. During the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century non-official Britons championed our cause. The Wellesley Regulations of 1799 and the Adam Regulations of 1823 were mainly directed against them, though the vernacular papers and local editors also came under the latter's purview. Sir Charles Metcalfe repealed these Regulations in 1835. The freedom, thus conferred on the Press, gave a fillip to the cause of Indian journalism. More and varied types of newspapers appeared and continued political discussion. The Government of Lord Canning was constrained temporarily to check the venomous effusions of the Anglo-Indian Press during the Sepoy Mutiny. Partly for the governmental measures and partly for the racial animosity of the new class of Britons, Indians were gradually estranged from the ruling race. Journals, mostly those in vernacular, became their spokesman and opened their columns for continuing agitation, political and otherwise. This was not tolerated by the Authorities, and the sinister Vernacular Press Act of 1878 put tremendous shackles on it. Our journals also did splendidly on the occasion of the Ilbert Bill Agitation in 1883. Among the factors that contributed to the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885, growth and development of Indian journalism can be fairly counted as one. Contribution of our journals to the cause of freedom movement in the pre-Congress days must not be forgotten.

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YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

One of the Scenic Wonders of the United States

By JOSEPH LANDAU

THE spectacular grandeur of Yosemite National Park, one of the most scenic in the United States, has brought gasps of admiration and astonishment from everyone who has ever seen it in the short time it has been known to the white man. Here is Nature in her most rugged and grandest dress. In Yosemite are gigantic granite monoliths—single blocks of stone that rear up out of the valley floor and tower many thousand feet. Here are waterfalls, one of which plunges more than 2,000 feet. Here are lakes and streams; cloud-scraping mountain summits and spectacular waterfalls; Nature in her rawest—and most pleasing aspect. Yosemite National Park is a 1,189-square-mile area about 200 miles east of San Francisco, California. The scenic grandeur that annually attracts thousands to this park is compressed into a valley about seven miles long and a mile wide—a valley walled in by nearly perpendicular cliffs surrounded by breath-taking vistas of giant rocks and lovely waterfalls. Around this valley lie the ridges and peaks of the rugged Sierra Nevada Mountains.

Here are to be seen those great single granite rocks, Half Dome and El Capitan. El Capitan is the largest exposed single block of granite in the world. Its cliff rises in a sheer line more than 3,000 feet above the valley floor. Half Dome, next only to El Capitan in size, has one sheer cliff reaching almost half a mile in height. Yosemite Falls tumbles in three steps 2,425 feet from the valley of Yosemite Creek down to the floor of the valley. Bridalveil Falls is never entirely dry, and drops 620 feet. Nevada and Vernal Falls give an unparalleled display of water acrobatics.

Yosemite is a scenic playground. There are miles of auto-roads leading to the many sights; additional miles of bridle paths and trails for hiking. There are camping facilities and fine hotels complete with golf courses and swimming pools. And there are 300 lakes and many miles of mountain streams stocked with trout to tempt the fisherman. Saddle horses and bicycles can be rented. And it is not only a spot to visit in summer; there is an all-weather road leading into the park, and in the winter there is skiing, ice skating,

tobogganing and other winter sports available, including a ski lift.

Yosemite Valley first entered the white man's history in 1776, the same year the 13 American colonies 3,000 miles to the east were starting their war of inde-

waterfalls. Later glaciers came, in some places 500 feet thick; but thick as they were, they never covered such eminences as Half Dome. Even then Half Dome and El Capitan towered above the sea of ice that covered the valley floor. The ice was responsible for many of the vertical rocks that make Yosemite so spectacular.

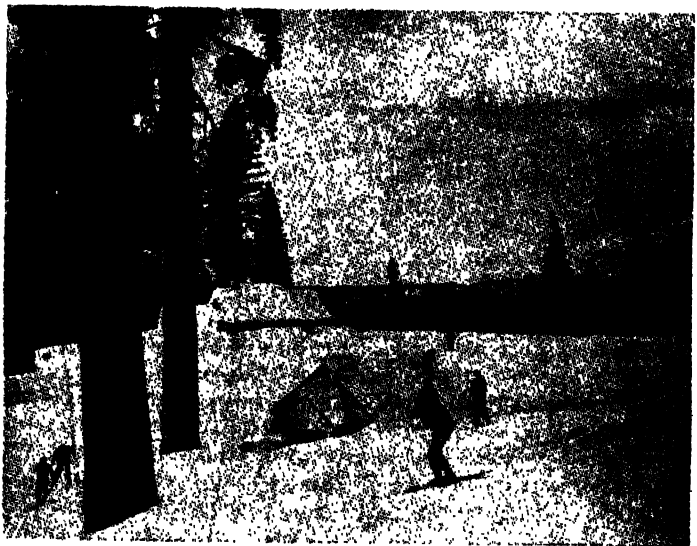


The gates of Yosemite Valley showing famed El Capitan on the left, Clouds' Rest and Half Dome in the distant centre, and on the left Bridalveil Falls which drops 620 ft.

pendence. A Spanish explorer, looking across the great valley of Central California noted "a great, snowy range" which he marked on his map. But while the American Indians knew of this area, no white man is known to have entered it until 1851. Prospectors worked through the valley in the 1850's, but apparently did not find enough to make it a mining center. By the 1860's, surveys were being undertaken, and a few brave parties of sightseers made the trip into the valley. In 1864, the valley was set up as a state recreation area. Yosemite National Park, surrounding the California area, was established in 1890, and the United States Government took over the entire area in 1906 as a national park.

Yosemite Valley once was ocean bottom, covered by an arm of the Pacific Ocean. Geologists figure this was about 200,000,000 years ago. The land generally rose, eroded, and then rose again. The Merced River cut the valley itself; the other streams in the area were not able to cut so fast, thus causing those tremendous differences of elevation that make the magnificent

In Yosemite are to be found some groves of the Giant Sequoia, the oldest and biggest living things. Some of these giant trees tower almost 300 feet. They are not so tall as the Redwoods along the California Coast, but they surpass those Pacific Coast trees in girth. In the park, too, are many kinds of wild life. There are black bears, many standing as high as 40 inches at the shoulder. Visitors have to be warned constantly that these animals are dangerous. However, the grizzly bear has been practically extinct in this region many years. There are also deer, mountain lions, wildcats and coyotes, as well as smaller animals, such as ground squirrels, chipmunks, gophers and porcupines. There are many varieties of birds, and quite a collection of reptiles, of which only the rattlesnake is poisonous.



Beginners at Chinquapin Ski School try out their skis on the heavy snows in Yosemite National Park in the western state of California

Every effort has been made to keep Yosemite National Park as nearly natural as possible. Anyone who cares to can leave the road or trail and in a few feet be in virgin wilderness. The United States National

Park Service provides ranger service ; these men conduct auto-caravans, short nature walks, and even longer trips through the beauties of this wonderland. Nightly programs are provided at many camps. Yosemite Lodge is open all year around. Other hotels are open only in the spring, summer and autumn months. Water, garbage facilities, comfort stations and lavatories are provided. There is a charge of \$2 for entering the park.



The upper Yosemite Falls of Yosemite, one of the highest sheer falls in the world, plunges 1,430 ft. in its first drop. The lower Yosemite Falls, immediately below has a drop of 320 ft.

Here in the park is Yosemite Valley, one of the scenic wonders of North America. Around a little stretch of land about seven miles long and a mile wide are eight of the most beautiful waterfalls in the world, towering rocks that rise above the clouds, streams and scenes of grandeur. The visitor is not long left in doubt as to what awaits him. His first view of the valley is through the gateway formed by El Capitan on the left and Cathedral Rocks on the right. Everything here is

on a gigantic scale. Single rocks tower thousands of feet ; streams drop in falls by like amounts ; the trees are among the biggest in the world. Yosemite Valley is but a small part of Yosemite National Park. Around the valley lie other attractions ; Wawona Basin, Hetch Hetchy Valley, with its dam that stores San Francisco's drinking water supply ; Tuolumne Meadows, and many gorges and canyons. And towering over all is the High



Yosemite National Park in the western state of California is famous for its giant sequoias

Sierra. Nor is this just a summer playground ; there are winter sports here as well.

Yosemite got its name from the Yosemite tribe of American Indians, a tribe of aborigines who lived in this area. Their name means grizzly bear—but the grizzly has been extinct in this region since about 1880. The name was bestowed upon the valley by a doctor who accompanied the first white men into this country. "Yosemite" is pronounced in four syllables—"Yo-semm-mitt-tea," with the accent on the second syllable.—From *The (Louisville) Courier-Journal Magazine*, June 27, 1948.



AS STONES SPEAK—JAIPUR

By SATYA PRAKASH, M.A.,
Superintendent of Archaeology, Jaipur

Stones speak but they speak in symbols understood and grasped like words written in a book by those who have trained ears. Trained ears silently receive sermons and musings of the country's glorious past from stone or wood, which is but an unintelligible record to the naked eye.

Symbols in stones and wood are indicative of styles and decorations which are largely conditioned by the character of the material employed in them. So far as the age of the city of Jaipur is concerned it is not very old. It is only a little over two hundred years old. Its look is very deceptive, for the city is more gay and attractive than its age. It has been very little affected by the ravages of time so much so that even in this mechanised age artists and craftsmen of the place are continuing to work wonders in stone with age-old instruments which are simple and materials that are easily available everywhere. It is but a wonder that they produce work of a very high quality by such insignificant means.

Jaipur, the city of victory as it literally means, presents a good many attractions to a foreigner. One is simply charmed to see this city of extraordinary beauty and grandeur as one moves on its broad roads and straight streets. The view of the picturesque buildings in bright pink colour is soothing to the eyes and refreshing to the mind. Numerous sights, natural and archaeological, fill one with delight. Needless to say, the city is one of the very well-known places of India. It is famous not only for its romantic past but also for its beauty and symmetry.

The credit for this well-designed and regular construction of the city goes to the Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh II, who may well be called the father of this city. The true glory and magnificence of the ancient east have been allowed to be kept up by the present ruler His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sri Sawai Mansinghji Bahadur who has contributed much to the material improvements and modernisation of the city.

The city is surrounded on the north and east by rugged hills crowned with forts. At the end of the ridge overhanging the city on the north-west is the Nahargarh or "Tiger Fort." The face of the ridge is scarped and inaccessible on the south, i.e., city side, while on the north, it slopes towards Amber.

A crenellated wall with seven gateways encloses the city which is the pleasant healthy capital of one of the most prosperous independent States of Rajputana. It is a very busy and important commercial town with large banks and other trading establishments. It is a centre of native manufactures specially those of many kinds of jewellery and of coloured printed cloths and muslins. The enamel work done is the best in India, and the

cutting and setting of garnets and other stones found in the State is an important industry. The crowded streets and markets are most lively and picturesque. The city is remarkable for the width and regularity of its main streets.

The streets are laid out in rectangular blocks and each of them is divided by cross streets into six equal portions. The main streets are one hundred and eleven feet wide with paved foot-paths on both sides. The city is lighted by electric light.

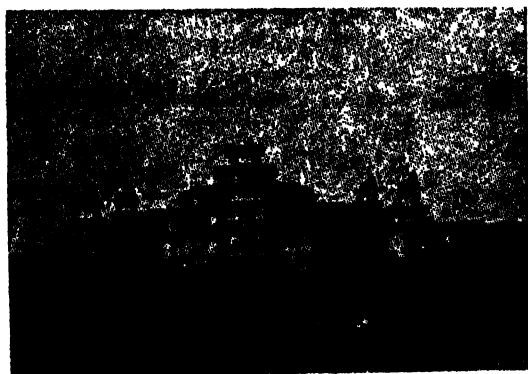


Chandra Mahal, Jaipur

The city of Jaipur is a planned city. Its founder Maharajah Jaisingh and his learned Jain assistant Vidyadhar are said to have adopted this plan from ancient treatises on the art of architecture and planning, the *Silpasastra*. The general style of architecture is Indo-Saracenic. Its buildings have not been hybridised through the western influence. The old traditional Rajput style is manifest in majority of the buildings. The latticed terraces, the airy pavilions and the verandahs with their slender colonnades are enough to enchant a visitor. The uniform colour scheme running through all the buildings enhances the beauty of the city and nicknames the city of Jaipur as the 'Rose Pink City of India.'

All these attractions are for all and sundry, and the streets, as one moves on them, present a homogeneous atmosphere for all the visitors. From the high-powered cars and elephants of the nobility and the State, down to ordinary camel and oxen carts there is room for all. In spite of the dense traffic pedestrians do not find themselves inconvenienced in any way. The religious-minded pilgrims visiting Jaipur meet their deity too on the way when they cross the main road and thoroughfare, for gods have their shrines in the middle of the road and there is usually room for a *Bo* tree beside the shrine.

India is a land of charity. It is an object of pride here for people to resort to acts of charity. This is manifest here on the roads and streets where regular herds of cows and bulls are seen wandering and also staying at some quarters in wait for the meals served to them at public expense at regular intervals. Langurs, peacocks, kites and pigeons too share the bounty of the State and its people and it is a sight to see pigeons hovering on the streets and waiting to be fed by some one. Peacocks are in evidence everywhere, even in crowded streets, where their presence is very pleasing to the eye, and their dance seen from some vantage ground is all the more lovely and graceful.



The Art Museum—Albert Hall

Everywhere in Jaipur State stones have played the most prominent part in the field of architecture. The latticed terraces and parapets of the houses and the verandahs with their slender colonnades are, no doubt, influenced by Persian art in the matter of construction, but the old tradition and the Rajput style of architecture have not been marred in any way. The general impression which one gets from the sight of its buildings is of harmony in style and form but there is no monotony to be found anywhere. Usually the architect and decorator is at liberty to follow his own creative impulses but he has also catered to the taste of the people whose requirements have hardly suffered any change here. The grandeur of the town is much enhanced by the sense of unity which is in its colour-scheme. It is the same rosy colour of the desert at sunset—the symbol of renunciation—not of the type of an ordinary *sudhu's* robe but the dress of a chivalrous Rajput who, after having renounced the ordinary ties of love and weakness, rushes to the battle-field either to win laurels or to die in glory.

A glance at a plan of the walled city of Jaipur would enable one to find that about one-seventh of the area within the city walls is occupied by the vast *sarhad* or palace enclosure. The first and the foremost enclosure is the seven-storeyed palace, the Chandra Mahal. The whole is surrounded by a high embattled wall, built by Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh, but many of the buildings included in it are of a later date.

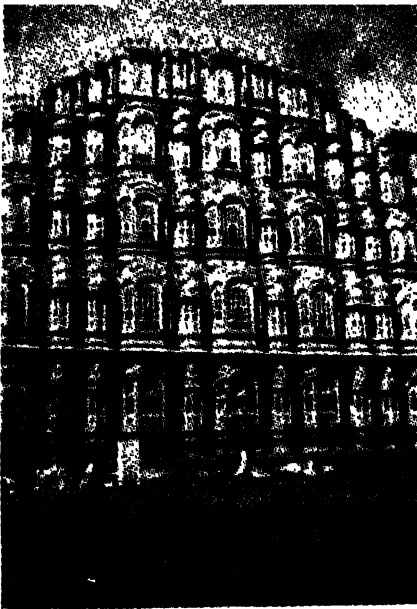
The lofty and striking character of the seven-storeyed Chandra Mahal, the gaudily furnished modern buildings containing the apartments of the Maharaja, his courtiers and the queen and their retinue, the milk-white structure of the Diwan-i-khas, the elaborately planned and constructed observatory, the beautifully designed and executed buildings of white and other kinds of stones in the shape of Mubarak Mahal, the fantastic, elaborately designed and stucco-decorated buildings of Hawa Mahal, the extensive and massive structure of the Albert Hall and Museum are sufficient to present an onlooker some of the wonders of the city of Jaipur wrought in stone. This building of Hawa Mahal, to be more precise, is of a singularly vivid rose-colour, rising in the form of a pyramid bristling with a nine-storeyed facade, composed of a hundred bell-turrets and sixty-five projecting windows adorned with colonnades and balconies pierced in open work with countless flowers cut out in stone. The palace is a mere mask of stucco, and it is more fantastic than beautiful. The structure is not of so high an order as that of the Chandra Mahal. ♀

The houses on its different sides in the main city with small windows and filled in with slabs of perforated stone are beautiful-looking. The mud walls are made to look like stone-houses and are painted pink. This type of beauty is perhaps responsible for the remark from the pen of a famous writer, "Jaipur is the India of novels and the opera, fairy-like and incredible." But this is not all. The stone buildings of the place here present in them certain traces of the past, which find themselves expressed in style and decoration. The facade of the building, Hawa Mahal, is formed into a broad front consisting of several storeys of polygonal windows with curved roofs and cupolas. The tiny flags on its small cupolas and roofs give it a great charm and make it a nice blend of Indo-Saracenic style of structure. The frontal side of this elaborate construction is based on walls which are hardly six inches in breadth, but its different parts are very beautifully arranged. The distinguishing mark of this building as also of other heavy structures is that each storey finds itself more and more elevated over the flanks till at last the big central pavilion of the top-most storey assumes the form of a mountain peak over the small lateral forms.

The State palaces of Jaipur, though not very ancient, provide great attraction, and present in them a good specimen of art. In the beautiful building, Mubarak Mahal, Jaipur marble is at its best. Other local stones have shared the credit of being nicely fitted in them so as to turn the building into a delightful example of Hindu architecture embellished as it is with artistically carved screens, balconies, arches and brackets.

As we pass on we come to a beautifully carved marble gate fitted with brass doors. This is also a good specimen of local brass work of art. On either side of

this gate are found fine frescoes, depicting Hindu gods in the foreground and places of interest in Jaipur in the background. It is the entrance to the Palace within. The beauty of both the Halls—Diwan-i-Khas and Diwan-i-Am—is delightfully charming. The former is a big hall open on all sides and protected against light and heat by nice red cotton-stuffed curtains. The hall is painted with colours and lighted with crystal chandeliers. The latter is decorated with delicate colours on ivory ground, which has given the edifice a very delightful appearance. There are soft tints on an ivory ground of the ceiling, columns and walls to produce a very cool and invigorating effect on the minds of the visitors.



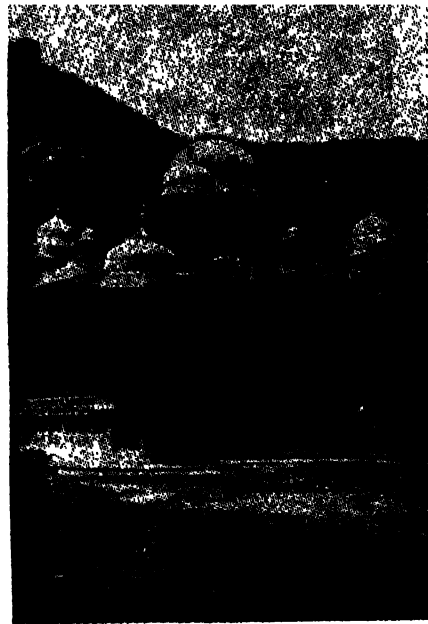
Hawa Mahal, Jaipur

The valuable and fascinating stones employed in the buildings tell their story in detail when one studies them rather closely. We learn from them that many of these stones are quarried in Jaipur territory. A little sandstone comes from Hindaun near the Bharatpur and Karauli border; valuable marbles are obtained from the quarries of Bussi and Rajabo in the northwest; enormous slabs of mica schist used in roofs have come here from the hill of Bankri close to the town of Dausa.

Jaipur is essentially a land of stone and stone-carvers, and stone-buildings predominate here in their best, but this does not mean that the use of wood, the basic material for work in primitive India, is ignored here. Several rich businessmen have employed wood also in their buildings to advantage. Since good durable wood was scarce, they imported it from distant places and had it carved into door-frames, windows and balconies. Wonderful old traditional designs have

thus been preserved. Thus, in some of the buildings in the city cut-timbers have afforded opportunities for the development of that exuberant surface decoration in which the genius of India has excelled.

To the east of the Chandra Mahal is the famous Observatory, the largest of the five built by the celebrated Royal Astronomer Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh at Benares, Mathura, Delhi, Jaipur and Ujjain. It is not under cover, but is an open courtyard full of curious and fantastic instruments invented and designed by him. It was constructed in the years between 1718-1734 A.D. The principal instruments are, first on the west, the two circular Rama Yantras for reading altitudes and azimuths with twelve horizontal sectors of stone



Cenotaph at Gattore

radiating from a round vertical rod; then to the east of these the twelve Rashi-valayas for determining celestial latitudes and longitudes and next, the great Samrat Yantra, or Gnomon, 90 ft. high, situated between two quadrants with sextants in a chamber outside them. The gnomon's shadow thrown by the sun touches the west quadrant at 6 a.m., gradually descends (this at the rate of 13 ft. per hour) till noon and finally ascends the east quadrant. To the north of it is a Dakshina Bhitti Yantra or meridional wall, near which is a large raised platform known as Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh's seal and near it are two brass circles, one of which is a map of the celestial sphere. Between these and the Rama Yantra are a number of other instruments known as the Kranti Yantra, the Kapali, the Chakra Yantra, the last being a graduated brass circle corresponding to the modern equatorial.

Near the Observatory, to the south-west of it, are

the Royal stables, built round large courtyards and beyond them towards the east is the Hall of the Winds—the Hawa Mahal. This is a fantastic and elaborate building and overlooks one of the chief streets of the city. It was built by Maharaja Sawai Madhosingh I.



Galta, Jaipur

In the central court of the palace are the Clock Tower and the Armoury. Close to it is situated the old Record Office or the Potbikhana—a place where the rare paintings and records are preserved. This palace library of ancient manuscripts is housed in a pavilion in the garden and contains great treasures the most famous and the most priceless of which is the illustrated translation from Sanskrit into Persian of the Mahabharata by Abul Fazl. An amazing collection of carpets (some of which date back to the times of Jehangir and Shahjehan and are almost worth their weight in gold) are housed in this pavilion.

To the west of the capital and beyond its walls is a Westernised modern town in the making. This suburb has a vast new royal palace with its beautiful and well-planned gardens which are considered to be the finest in India. The barracks of the Sawai Man Guard are very much imposing. The Lady Willingdon Hospital and Maharaja College are on the same imposing scale. The new town has streets with shops which are elegant in style and more modern in form.

Attached to this is a fine menagerie and aviary. There is a fine statue of Lord Mayo in these gardens which are zoological in character and surround the Art Museum, better known as Albert Hall. It contains a large Darbar Hall and a beautiful museum—an oriental South Kensington—beautifully housed.

The Albert Hall is a very imposing structure. It is also in Indo-Persian style with certain modifications that suit modern times. Nevertheless, the building in the details of its stone carvings presents in them vivid and careful reproduction of the decorative art displayed in the famous historical buildings of Rajputana, Delhi, and Fatepur Sikri. The large portico is adorned with careful reproductions in distemper of contemporary portraits of the Maharajas of Jaipur from 1503 A.D. to 1922 A.D. which remind one easily of the processes through which the work of fresco and wall-paintings had to go through in ancient India. The copies of well-known pictures from China, Japan, Assyria, Chaldea and Persepolis as well as examples of ancient Egyptian and Ajanta Art give us an idea of the skill of brush demonstrated by artists of the different parts of the world.

The Albert Hall contains in it a very old Persian carpet beautifully designed and worked and also some Indian carpets finished on Persian pattern. The paintings representing the different notes of Indian music through visual aids are both instructive and interesting. The Museum collections, divided as they are under four heads—Economic, Educational, Industrial and Art, present in them a vast treasure of modern works of art, industry and also of antiquities from every part of India and outside. These collections are very complete and highly interesting. Besides the display of foreign and Indian industrial arts in the museum, there are also splendid and beautiful models depicting all forms of animal life (invertebrata and vertebrata), antediluvian animals, comparative anatomy and physiology. Here are also models to illustrate botany and geology. There are numerous collections of clay figures to illustrate local industries in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. A series of figures in clay present studies in life, such as Hindu ascetics and persons holding different occupations.

Of other things worth seeing in the city of Jaipur is the Maharaja's Public Library, which is near the Tripolia and is a treasure of knowledge in several ways. On the Kishan Pole Bazar Road is situated the School of Art, a handsome modern building, which holds technical and industrial classes for teaching and reviving various branches of native artistic industry—such as metal and enamel work, embroidery, weaving, etc. One can also purchase from here at moderate price any product of the school boys, if it appeals to him.

The cenotaphs of the Maharajas at Gettore situated just outside the north-east city wall, the Museum of Archaeology at the Purana Ghat and the Sun Temple at Galta are also places of great attractions for a visitor from outside.

Though the architecture in Jaipur city shows traces of Persian art in it, it need not be stated that it shows marked deterioration when we compare it with that of Amber. Here architects have affected a graceful compromise between the

Hindu and Mohammedan styles by combining Persian domes with Bengali bent-cornices and Hindu columns. Excellent examples of this pretty style, as used for both civic and religious buildings, are to be seen here. The existence of a number of Brahmanical and Jaina styles in the country helped a good deal in the fusion of different styles and thus several threads of earlier art tradition appear to combine themselves in Jaipur stone-buildings. Strictly speaking, Rajput architecture from the 15th century to the present day is a continuous growth of extraordinary grandeur and beauty, in which is to be seen the original type, of which the Moghul buildings of the 16th and 17th centuries were mere imitations and Moslem adaptations. Thus, Jaipur buildings are Hindu and Rajput in

character influenced by Muslim contemporary decorative tradition which is to be expected because of the Persian and other west-Asiatic influences.

It is interesting to note that we find references in old treatises of Indian architecture of a decorative style known as Manisila Karma or Manibhumika Karma. It appears that 17th century Renaissance did revive this ancient art.

Jaipur, in short, exhibits in perfection the plans of its designer and founder Maharaja Sawai Jaisingh II, who, to repeat the remarks of Abul Fazl with regard to Akbar, dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay. In other words, it is a reflex of the mind of the great Maharaja.

-O:-

ROAD TRANSPORT IN BRITAIN From Chariot to Motor Car

By RALPH STRAUS

IN the last war Britain's war effort was immensely helped by her communications. The highroads between her big cities compare with any in the world while the minor roads which link villages equal the principal thoroughfares, both in the smoothness of their surface and the skill with which they have been drained.

The Romans were Britain's first roadmakers, and the lines of the highways which they drove through the forests can still be followed quite easily.

As one crosses England today along wide, white stretches of road—some of the finest in the world—it is hard to conjure up the countryside of two thousand years ago.

It was strangely wild—thick forest and scrub, with only the roughest tracks meandering through. Yet, though a man rarely ventured far away from his own hamlet, unless on horseback, you would have seen a primitive form of cart on the tracks and, in time of war, the far-famed British chariot.

The British people may not have been the actual inventors of this engine of war, but they adapted and improved it. After the Romans had shown them what roadmaking could mean, a long, four-wheeled vehicle with a hooped body was evolved which was certainly British in its origin. In spite of a furnishing of thick tapestries it must have been an uncomfortable carriage.

The roads throughout the Middle ages and for long afterwards, remained appallingly bad. Some of the monks built serviceable bridges and repaired the worst ruts, but complaints about the "wicked ways" did not grow less. It was not so much the state of the roads as the fear of being considered effeminate that retarded innovation in carriage building. This form of travel might be all very well for the women and children, but for a man to permit himself to be carried in a box was not to be thought of.

The next step forwards was a body swung on leather braces, and by 1670 this was in general use. Even so, these coaches with their glazed windows and



This eighteenth century road tariff is an amusing reminder of the vanished state of things

gaily-painted panels were incapable of any speed. Very soon a new rival was making its appearance: the man-drawn litter, or sedan-chair.

All this while little had been done to improve the roads. A nobleman setting out from his northern castle to attend Parliament might take three weeks to reach London—excellent for the inn-keepers with whom he had to lodge each night, but a source of irritation to everybody else.



This view of England's old Roman highway shows the straight determined direction which Roman engineers gave to their road-building

However, transport was increasing rapidly, and while the first public carriages were plying for hire in the streets of London, the mails were being despatched by huge *stage-coaches*. Travelling post was introduced from France, and the *post-chaise* made its appearance. The driver (*postilion*) was mounted, both horse and postilion being changed as often as was necessary. And with the lofty *gigs* and sometimes fantastic *traps* which the fashionable "sparks" of the day delighted to use, a touch of new gaiety was added to the countryside.

The problem of the roads became more acute when farmers found it necessary to use heavier carts to bring their goods to town. The resulting damage led to many experiments, and for years there was waged a fierce Battle of the Wheels, one faction advocating comparatively small, broad wheels (or even rollers), the other pinning its faith to lighter carts with large, slender wheels.

New stringent laws were passed and tolls were instituted to pay for repairs, but there was little improvement. At the end of the eighteenth century there came, however, an Ayrshire magistrate with revolutionary ideas, John Loudon McAdam.

McAdam's innovation in roadmaking was a double one. For the unsatisfactory gravel he substituted a thin layer of stone broken into small pieces, all roughly the same size. These pieces, gradually consolidated by the traffic, would ultimately produce a smooth surface. More important was his idea of raising the road level above that of the land adjoining, and constructing drains on either side. His work, carried out over years in various parts of the country, surpassed expectations, and by 1825 *macadamisation* was general throughout Britain.

Real roads now connected the principal towns. There was a speeding-up of the mails. Travelling became safer and even reasonably comfortable.

And then an entirely new method of transport came to transform the whole countryside and give new impetus to commerce. In the face of the fiercest opposition—far greater than that which was to greet the coming of the motor-car—the "iron-horse," or steam engine, appeared in 1825.

Landlord and farmer raised their voices against this "stinking iniquity"; the prophets spoke warningly of the



These sweeping highways, England's later-day achievement, with their strips of grass and plantations of trees, are among the finest in the world

grave danger to human life should railroad-travel be put within reach of the common people. But once it was realised that accidents were comparatively rare and investors in railroad stock were rewarded for their boldness, opposition died, to give place to a mad era of *railroadomania*. If all the projected railroad companies had been able to carry out their proposals,

there would hardly have been an acre in all England without its network of "lines."

As a result the main country-roads saw less traffic. Many a once-popular house of call became a village inn with empty stables. Road repairs were neglected, and milestones and sign-posts became defaced.

Meanwhile, traffic in the towns was also being transformed. Lighter carriages were built; landau, brougham, hansom, and that ugly, useful *four-wheeler* were crowding the streets. In 1829, too, a coach-builder, George Shillibeer, astonished Londoners with the first *omnibus*, while more than one inventor produced a steam-carriage. Twenty years later, G. F. Train, an American adventurer, introduced the tram into England.

Down to the nineties the average townsman knew little of his country's roads. Had he ventured on their exploration, he would have found little to admire. True, the coming of the bicycle, at first the lofty "penny-farthing" and subsequently the more convenient "safety," sent him into the country. But dust was a problem nobody attempted to conquer. At the

beginning of the twentieth century few people would have thought that road transport was on the eve of its greatest forward step.

The horseless carriage had come to stay. Speedily it turned itself into the rubber-tired motor-car. As the engineers produced one improvement after another, pioneers again turned their attention to the roads. Tarrad wood had been tried as a road-surface in the towns.

But the country? Innumerable experiments were made, but the dust showed small inclination to disappear. And then, almost overnight, it seemed, the metalled road we know today appeared and the motor-car entered into serious competition with the train.

The first world war showed the need for wider, straighter, smoother roads. We had reached the age of concrete. The lesson which the old Romans had given us was re-learned. Great by-passes were designed, along which the heaviest lorries could travel without causing damage, and today Britain might boast, if she chose to, of some of the finest highroads and assuredly the best bye-roads in the world.

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HEINRICH HEINE The Poet and the Rebel

By DR. ANITA KASHYAP

HEINRICH HEINE, the great German lyricist, whose works were forbidden in Germany during the 12 years of Nazi rule, has become very popular again in Europe to-day.

Born in Düsseldorf in 1791, he is a true representative of the era of romanticism which dates roughly from the Battle of Waterloo till the middle thirties of the 19th century. After Napoleon had been banished, reaction set in in the whole of Europe and especially in Germany. The German princes started a reactionary policy with the aim of suppressing all democratic tendencies.

The literary spirit of that time was opposed to what we call to-day realism. The men of poetic impulse found their inspiration in the far away past, in distant lands, in the realm of the supernatural. The present was felt to be vulgar and depressing, poetry therefore was not to be an expression of the time but a relief and a flight from reality. The German poets of that time were escapists—though the word did not yet exist.

Heine, the most popular among them, on whose shoulder, as Matthew Arnold puts it, "the largest part of Goethe's mantle fell," was different from them. He was a romantic poet alright as far as his emotions were concerned but intellectually he was a rationalist and an intelligent and sharp critic. Whereas the other poets of this period do not reveal any discontent with life or revolt against established ideas in their verses, Heine was a true heir of the revolution. His life and a good part of his work show him as a fighter against reaction,

against narrowness and stupidity. His famous *Travel-pictures* show not only unusual wit but an unheard-of audacity with which he attacks the bigwigs and solemnities of his time and pokes fun at German parochiality and prejudice. Nothing so wicked and at the same time so amusing had been written before in the German language.

It is astonishing how Heine, a hundred years ago, foresaw the ultimate results of that reactionary militaristic fanaticism which made Germany the curse of Europe. One of the passages in the first volume of his *Literary History* written in 1834 reads like a prediction of the anti-rationalistic paganism and the war-mad megalomania of Hitler's Reich. For instance, the following lines:

"The philosopher of nature will be terrible, because he will appear in alliance with the primitive powers of Nature, able to evoke the demoniac energies of old Germanic Pantheism—doing which they will awake in him that battle-madness which we find among the ancient teutonic races, who fought neither to kill nor conquer but for the very love of fighting itself. It is the fairest merit of Christianity that it somewhat mitigated that brutal German "*gaudium certaminis*" or joy in battle, but it could not destroy it. And should that subduing talisman, the Cross, break, then will come crashing and roaring forth the wild madness of the old champions, the insane Berserker rage of which the Northern poets say and sing. That talisman is brittle and the day will come when it will pitifully break."

No wonder that the reactionary Government of the German Bund did not like Heine, especially after he had

joined the "Young Germany" party whose aim it was to establish, in the German states, and restore the principles of the great French Revolution. Life became increasingly difficult for Heine in Germany. When in 1830 the news of the July revolution in the streets of Paris reached him, he hailed it as the beginning of a new era of freedom and in 1831 he finally said farewell to his fatherland to settle for ever in France.

The first few years there were the happiest in his life. He was at once acknowledged by the literary elite of France and lived for the first time in a congenial atmosphere. He earned his living for some time as correspondent of German newspapers. In 1839, however, the Government of the German Bund forbade the publication of any writings by the members of the "Young Germany" party and the name of Heine was the first on the list. As Heine's sources of income were greatly curtailed by this measure, the French Government, realising that a man of genius had found refuge in its capital, granted him a small annual support from a fund "for the benefit of political refugees." In 1841 Heine married a Frenchwoman. A few years later the first attacks of the terrible spinal disease appeared, which forced him for eight years—till his death in 1856 on his "mattress grave" as he has called it. He bore the years of suffering with great fortitude and with his never-failing sense of humour and irony. Having read all the books which dealt with his malady he said once:

"This reading will qualify me to give lectures in heaven on the ignorance of doctors on earth about diseases of the spinal marrow"

These years of suffering which left his intellect clear and vivacious as ever brought forth the best in his nature. His genius grew more and more spiritual. The lyrics of his last books *Romanzero* and *Latest Poems* surpass in sincerity anything he had written before.

Though the prose writings of Heine make a most inspiring reading even to-day, because of the clearness of their analysis and the accuracy of their foresight, it is only as a romantic poet that Heine has become so very popular all over the world and his fame rests mainly on his *Book of Songs* which is a rich treasure of poetry. Here we find an abundant variety of subject and style, a great depth of feeling, often mixed with a subtle sense of irony and an art of expression unparalleled in German literature so far. Like the other poets of the Romantic era, Heine had learnt from Goethe, that the greatest poetic effects can be produced by the simplest of means. Here is an example which also in its English translation has kept its charm:

E'en as a lovely flower
So fair, so pure thou art,
I gaze on thee and sadness
Comes stealing o'er my heart.
My hands I fain had folded
Upon thy soft, brown hair

Praying that God may keep thee
So lovely, pure and fair.

Many of his poems have been put into music by Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn and other famous composers and have become popular songs which were sung all over Germany, not only in concert halls, but in schools and colleges, in homes and on the streets, by the farmers on the fields and the shippers on the rivers. "On the Wings of Song," "The Three Grenadiers" and "The Loreley" are the best known among them. German mothers sang these songs to their children often not knowing who the author of these simple and beautiful verses was, whose words were so familiar to them. Heine had reached the highest place a poet can reach: his poems had become part of the nation's heritage.

This was particularly the case with the "Loreley" song which every child knew. It is the story of the fair enchantress who sits on the rock at the Rhine combing her golden hair and who sings so lovely that the boatman who gazes at her, does not heed the waves and finds his death in the river. If you went on the Rhine by boat or steamer, the music on board—be it an orchestra or single concertina—would start playing this song as soon as the Loreley Rock came in sight and everybody would join in the song and feel his heart stirred by the simple beautiful rhymes which express so perfectly and with true sentiment the atmosphere of an evening on the Rhine.

For more than a hundred years Heine was acknowledged as the most popular and with the exception of Goethe as the greatest German lyrical poet. Then came Hitler and the dark ages dawned over Germany. One of the first things Dr. Goebbels, the new master of German culture did, was to organize huge bonfires of all so called "undesirable" literature, which was forbidden in Germany. Heine's works were burnt together with those of Karl Marx and Freud and Einstein, with Zola and Proust and Thomas Mann, with H. G. Wells and Jack London and Upton Sinclair and tens of thousands of other books which obedient students brought from the great libraries at Goebbels' bidding.

The Nazis had two reasons for burning Heine's works. He had been a Jew—though professing the Christian religion—and he had been a fighter for freedom and liberalism. All over Germany monuments and statues of Heine were destroyed, busts and pictures removed from schools and Universities and public places. His works were no more to be mentioned. German students were no more to be taught what one of the greatest German minds had given to the world. Heine, who already during his lifetime had been forced to live outside Germany, was driven out again.

He has come back now, because Europe is free. Not yet free from want and fear, but at least free to enjoy again those treasures of her culture which Hitler tried to destroy and of which the poetry of Heinrich Heine is one of its most precious flowers.



A general view the Assembly Chamber in the converted theatre of the
Palais de Chaillot Paris



Mr. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States, addressing the
General Assembly of United Nations



Mr. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States (*left*), with Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Chief Delegate from India to the Assembly of United Nations



Sir Benegal Naarasimha Rao, India, addressing the one hundred and forty-sixth plenary meeting of the General Assembly of United Nations

PROGRESS AS THE CONCEPT OF CHANGE

By SWAMI BRAJNANANDA

Progress connotes the concept of motion. The theory of progress explains the process of change, evolution or involution, through gradual movements, upwards or downwards. The course of change moves from one point to another either in a straight line, in a circular or spiral way. It appears in successions or series as a flux of connected or disconnected fragments, as flowing current of a river or as changing flame of a candle or as a flying patch of clouds. It emerges as a substance or as a quality totally new in form, or repeats and represents the past in the garb of the present.

The wheel of progress rotates from the beginningless past and will continue to do so through the endless eternity. There is no crying halt to the march of progress. There is no rest in this ever-recurring rotation until it fulfils its mission, until it comes back to its casual state. Even this vast universe in which we live, move and have our being, has been shaped out through the gradual process of evolution. As regards the gradual shaping out of this universe Swami Abhedananda mentions:

"The basic material of the world goes through various phases of transformations, such as liquid, gaseous and solid before a planet or a cosmic body becomes inhabitate, either for vegetables or animals. A large mass of the vegetable substance, or whatever it may be called, passes through the gaseous state, liquid state, solid state, as it is cooled, it becomes the home of various planets and animals of different kinds. This process may take millions of years and then, in course of time, the solid body begins to dissolve and gradually evolves into its original nebulous material, or ethereal substance. Ascending through the process of evolution, matter gradually passes from one form to another until organic life is possible."¹

The process of progress may be called Nature or Prakriti though practically it forms the category of Nature as a whole. The function of Nature is to weave eternally the net of events of matter and spirit. But its historical development is the record of the annals of living beings: their races, their cultures, their societies, their births and deaths, ups and downs, and thus it makes a history of the world in its organic wholeness.

Dynamicism belongs, in reality, to the very stuff of Nature. It may be called an evolving practical history that knows development in a dialectical process. Well has it been said by Sir Brajendranath Seal, the greatest Indian savant, that the historical dialectical change does not know the stamp of finality on any particular stage in its way of development, but is left to follow freely its own course.² But it is a fact that an evolution is always

preceded by an involution, growth is always followed by decay, and the repeated occurrences of the two opposites create a cycle in the bosom of eternity. Some say that this series of cause and consequence is the prime factor in the process of progress. They make an eternal progression or marching with an ever-recurring circle that rotates and does not know how to stop. But this cannot be possible. It may be a fact in the world of imagination and fancy, but in the pragmatic field of experience, this seems to be an impossibility. Because what has a beginning, has also an end. The initial is followed by the final. When a ball rolls it begins its start from a point and marches forward until it reaches the terminus. Every movement proceeds with a motive behind it, it can never be blind and aimless. It cannot run or rotate eternally without any ultimate aim or goal. Every progression has, therefore, a beginning and an end, and it moves gradually towards a goal as its finality.

Progress or development can generally be divided into two main heads: (1) It appears without producing any qualitative and quantitative changes, and (2) it appears as an emergent evolution of a different new element with qualitative and quantitative changes. The former is called *sadrissha-parinama* and the latter, *visadrissha-parinama* in Indian philosophy. In *sadrissha-parinama* the change goes with repeated forms without disturbing the primal quality and quantity, whereas in *visadrissha-parinama* the change appears in a quite new form. Kanada, the author of the *Vaisheshika* philosophy, Gautama, the exponent of the *Nyaya* philosophy and the *Tantrikas* in the East, and Lloyd Morgan, S. Alexander, Marx, Engels and others in the West, are the exponents of *visadrissha-parinama*. Kapila, the author of the *Samkhya* philosophy and the Vedantists in the East, and Bergson, Croce, Gentile, Clifford and others in the West, maintain the theory of *sadrissha-parinama*. The Greek philosophers Empedocles and Heraclitus believed in the theory of *visadrissha-parinama*, whereas the Ionians, Plato and Aristotle maintained the theory of *sadrissha-parinama*. Empedocles put forward the theory that the existing universe came into being through the gradual process of evolution. Heraclitus said that none can take bath twice in the same river, and so the world-appearance is a "continual and all-pervading change." Plato like Ionians believed the progress to be constant or continuous. He maintained that world of 'nature' as such is process, growth, change'. It is a spontaneous movement. It moves by itself and it is a self-causing and self-existing process. Aristotle called this progress a movement as a process or a development, and not an evolution. Because "for Aristotle the kinds of change and of structure", says Prof. Collingwood, "exhibited in the world of nature from an eternal

1. Cf. Abhedananda: *Attitude of Vedanta Towards Religion* (1967), p. 103.

2. Cf. Prof. B. N. Seal: *New Essays in Criticism* (1903), p. 14.

repertory and the items in the repertory are related logically, not temporally, among themselves."³

It has been mentioned that the *Nyaya-Vaisheshika* schools are the upholders of *visadriśha-parinama*. And in defence of their theory they say that when milk is changed into curd, the latter becomes entirely a new substance with its new characteristic ingredients. But the *Samkhya-Vedānta* schools refute the arguments of the *Nyaya-Vaisheshika* schools in favour of its theory of *sadriśha-parinama*. They say that though different kinds of ornaments are made up of gold, yet the gold-element remains the constant factor in the midst of all changes in its forms. The theory of *visadriśha-parinama* is also known as the production theory or *parinama-vāda* that is reduced to the doctrine of dualism, and *sadriśha-parinama* is known as the theory of superimposition or *vivartana-vāda* redurable to the doctrine of monism or non-dualism.

II

Well has it been said by Prof. Joad that

The progress which "we know as evolution advances by increasing the size, not of the cell or of the individual, but of the *unit of organization*. Evolution, in fact, is a process by which ever more numerous and diverse units are integrated into ever richer and more comprehensive wholes."⁴

It has already been said that progress or development cannot be an aimless marching. It moves to reach a definite end or destination. The human life is also meaningful and purposive. A purpose implies an inclination to reach a definite goal and that is realized in the way of progress. Life "is conceived initially as a mere blind thirst of impulsion, a *will-to-live* as Schopenhauer calls it expressing itself in a never-ending stream of impulses and desires."⁵ In fact, the idea of purposiveness emerges "as one of the qualities that life acquires in the process of its own evolution" and the height of hope and aspiration flash on the mental horizon as it discovers the path to further upward progress. Those rays of hope and aspirations are the Schopenhauer's "first dim light of dawn" that shares "the name of sunlight with the rays of full midday". Swami Abhedananda also says that in the process of gradual evolution in man's life there must be "some definite purpose at each step; it does not evolve blindly as some think, but gain some definite object to fulfil the desire that has existed potentially in that particle of life from beginningless past."⁶

Everything in this world represents, as it were, a stage in progress or development. The concept of progress presupposes the idea of growth. For example, a man has developed from an amoeba that

is a compound of the protoplasmic of homogeneous character. A man is simply an organism, that evolves or develops gradually from the lower to the higher stages. This growth from the lower to the higher structure, or from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, is nothing but an ever-increasing complexity and diversity in the character of the actions that take place in the process of evolution. Or it can be said that evolution "not only exhibits a constant process of differentiation and a constant increase in the diversity of parts and organs, but there goes along with this what might be called a process of unification whereby the parts are brought into ever closer and more essential relation to one another."⁷ So an evolution does not only mean a mere assemblage of component parts in the structure, but also "a real and organic whole", and that is formed by the gradual process of progress or development with necessary adjustment and readjustment according to the varying situations in the life-process.

Prof. Radhakrishnan says that

"There is real temptation, genuine struggle involved in every transcendence of the natural man. * * * This transcendence is a phenomenon common to all progress. From the pursuit of its prey by the amoeba to the spiritual struggles of the striving soul, we have a continuously graded series of purposive efforts."⁸

He argues further that

A man "is never satisfied with mere acceptance or adjustment. There is an urge in the breast that makes him go forward and upward. The ultimate aim of life is not simply to maintain but to elevate the plane. The individual desires to live more and still more and surpass himself in order to reach plenitude of living."⁹

Truly speaking, hunger is life as it is the chief factor in the struggle for existence. Swami Abhedananda says that satisfaction is death and dissatisfaction is life. He means to say that when the word *satisfaction* is used in a very high sense it denotes *perfection* or the achievement of the highest good. But, found in the ordinary usage, it signifies a suicidal halt in the way of aspiration in a life, and that means the fulfilment of all the further desires. Ordinarily such satisfaction of desires kills the spur to further advance. Viewed in this light, satisfaction carries with it the germs of death, dissatisfaction serves as the driving impulse to progress whose course is finished with the attainment of *moksha* or the highest apprehension of the Absolute.

All progress, says Prof. Radhakrishnan, is due to rebels. Rebellious attitude is the logical outcome of one's deep-seated discontent. Discontent in its turn gives momentum to life and its activities. So adventure in the form of creative activity is necessary in every human life as it promises the genuine security of bringing immortal perfection to mortal man. Inactivity in higher life is adorable, because it

3. Cf. Prof. R. G. Collingwood: *The Idea of Nature* (1945), p. 82.

4. Vide Prof. C. E. M. Joad: *The Philosophy of Federal Union*,

C. E. M. Joad: *Guide to Modern Thought*, p. 138.
Abhedananda: *Attitude of Vedānta Towards*

7. Vide J. E. Creighton: *An Introductory Logic* (1946), p. 370.

8. Vide Prof. Radhakrishnan: *Kalki* (1934), pp. 63-64.

9. *Ibid*, p. 66.

signifies the self-resignation to the cosmic will. But inactivity in ordinary life means idleness that indulges the mind and body to sink in the dark grave of despair and pitiable loss. Activity brings with it the inspiration and enthusiasm in every sphere of life. Activity brings in return a purposive and meaningful progress that bestows the blessings of permanent freedom.

"Mere acceptance without adventure, mere adjustment without alteration" says, Prof. Radhakrishnan, "may mean perfection of a kind, peace of a sort, but it is not the perfection of a human being or the peace of a spiritual nature."¹⁰

Peace of the blessed spiritual nature breathes the holy atmosphere of serene calmness that leads to God-realization. God-realization is the final goal of all human progress. Man alone enjoys the peaceful bliss of Immortality. Man "alone has the surest conquest on the conflict between what he is and what he can be. He is distinguished from other creatures by his seeking after a rule of life, a principle of progress." Again it should be remembered that the epithet "man is choicest son of God" does not mean that man of all kinds or man of all grades will achieve the bliss of Immortality, but it signifies that he is only chosen to get perfection, who rises on the crest of progress, who has finished his toilsome journey of the deceitful world, and who is willing to correct his error or false knowledge that chains him and deludes him in the world of change.

The world of endless *becoming* cannot stand as static. It is ever dynamic. It is an ever-changing actuality like a flux or a flowing flame. It creates the present, past and future.¹¹ It marches onward through its passing phases and thus makes an eternal chain of changes. Change is its life, and change constitutes its stuff. So, with the changes eternal, the world evolves with its races, peoples, cultures, societies, civilizations, philosophies, religions, arts, and literatures that build a history of the world. The German sociologist-philosopher Spengler's remarkable hypothesis lends also the similar conclusion. Spengler's thesis submits that

"Races and cultures are units which undergo a rhythmically ordered sequence of birth, growth, decline, and decay * *. In the past, perhaps, regional civilizations succeeded one another or passed through the stages of infancy, youth, maturity and old age, and when they decayed, they left their inheritance to the younger ones which sprang up after them."¹²

Impulse to progress lies at the very heart of creation. It is the vital force in the cosmic order. From the amoeba to man there are innumerable changes and developments, and through them the

human society with its immense wealth and beauty marches onward towards its ideal perfection. The human society is not a steel-framed cell that can defy growth or expansion. It has an adventurous history of progressive events and incidents. It is mobile and ever-shifting. It marches with its aims and objects. Its present merges into the depth of the past and the future appears in the hollow of the past. The cycle of present, past and future builds the immense structure of eternity. The dynamic dance of *Nataraja* goes on all the time without cessation. Everything in this world will pass, nothing will remain as static except the immutable transcendent Reality. This present civilization and culture delude us with their pseudo-permanency, will also be merged into a newly shaping future, and that future ones will reappear in a new aspect. The progress thus moves with its phases upward and downward upon the breast of the undying Time or *Mahakala*. To describe this ceaseless change of the world in the words of Prof. Radhakrishnan:

"The world is casting off its old garments. Standards, aims, and institutions which are gradually accepted even a generation ago, are now challenged and changing. Old motives are weakening and new forces are springing up. Anyone who has an insight into the mind of the age, is vividly conscious of its restlessness and uncertainty, its dissatisfaction with the existing economic and social conditions and its yearnings for the new order which is not yet realized."¹³

The changing or shifting phase is thus the nature and stuff of progress. All progress involves the complexity of potentiality and actuality, and potentiality, says Prof. Collingwood, "is the seat of a nexus in virtue of which it is forcing its way towards actuality." This actuality is another form of the evolutionary progress. Aldous Huxley also raises the question: whether this evolutionary progress can be regarded as genuine. He says that "lower forms of life posits more or less unchanged; but among the higher forms there has been a definite trend towards greater." So he admits that the evolutionary progress can be divided into two heads: "general, all-round progress and one-sided progress in a particular direction." The last one leads, he says, "to specialization, and the first one being one-sided makes it impossible for itself to achieve generalized form."¹⁴

But whatever may be the phases and volumes of progress, it is an undeniable fact that progress always expresses the idea of change. This change is conscious and continuous and it knows the finality as its end. It moves towards eternity with an impatient longing and urge to complete and not to continue its marching all through the ages. It will reach its goal where there will be no marching, no change and no concept of dynamicity. Then it completes its journey in the final analysis of perfection which is the permanent solace and peace.

10. Cf. Prof. Radhakrishnan.

11. Oswald Spengler defines present, past and future thus: "The possible is called the *Future* and actualized the *Past*. The actualizing itself, the centre-of-gravity and, centre-of-meaning of life, we call the *Present*."—Cf. *The Decline of the West* (1946), Vol. I, p. 54.

12. Cf. Kelly (1934), p. 10.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

14. Cf. Aldous Huxley. *Ends and Means* (1946), pp. 262-266.

INDIA'S LABOUR AT THE CROSS-ROADS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S.

THE most disturbing features of post-freedom life in India are continued labour unrest and increasing prices of necessities. Our statesmen, public men and press are alive to the problem, and are trying to ameliorate the condition of our labourers; but still they go on on strikes; industrial disputes are of daily occurrence. The number of working days lost in the last few years is as follows:

Year	No. of working days lost		
1939	49,92,795
1941	30,30,503
1943	23,42,289
1945	40,54,499
1946	1,29,17,762
1947	1,65,44,666

Are they genuine expressions of their grievances? Or are they being led by some foreign-controlled forces of evil out to embarrass our infant State.

The Central Government is putting more and more emphasis on the industrial development and production of wealth with the motto "Produce, or Perish." They are tackling and they are out to tackle Sir William Beveridge's "five evil Giants affecting Labour," Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Unemployment. Apart from the administrative actions, and changes in rules, the legislative output in regard to labour is enormous. To give a statistical idea, between 1858, when the Queen assumed the direct Government of India, and the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921, there were eight central legislations affecting labour, between 1921 and 1937 there were 37 such Acts, since 1937 there were, up to the end of 1947, 41 such Acts; this year they have already passed 7 or 8 Acts.

Since the new set-up on the 2nd September, 1946, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed the Vice-President of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Labour Department, or Labour Ministry, under Sri Jagjivan Ram has drawn up a five-year programme of legislative and administrative measures to be undertaken by the Central Government for the amelioration of labour conditions in India. The programme is not a mere executive fiat, it was discussed and approved at conferences with Provincial Labour Ministers, States' Ministers, and of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations. It was formulated to remove the chief defects or grievances revealed by the investigations of the Royal Commission of Labour, generally known as the Whitley Commission, in 1931, and the Labour Investigation Committee (Rege Committee) in 1946.

The programme aims at a uniform to-ordinated labour policy for the entire country to promote social security and industrial peace, ensure fair wages and satisfactory conditions of work. It embraces not only workers in organised industries but also workers in agriculture, commercial undertakings and unorganised

industries. In enacting legislative measures for giving effect to the programme, effort will be made to implement the International Labour Convention. Tripartite Industrial committees on the model of the I.L.O.—the International Labour Organisation—are going to be set up in Coal, Plantation, Jute, Cotton textiles and Engineering industries. The programme provides for the creation of a labour Bureau for collection and maintenance of statistics relative to cost of living and labour statistics. It has already been set up. Of the 13-point legislative programme, 6 have already been enacted. Of course, it would require some more time to put it in force effectively.

I seek to demonstrate below how this increase in pay has not been wholly beneficial, where output is concerned.

Absenteeism is increasing. The following data speak for themselves:

	Percentage of Absenteeism in—		
	1939	1943	1944
Cotton Mills—			
Bombay	10.5	10.8	11.4
Ahmedabad	3.3	4.8	5.7
Sholapur	10.8	14.7	15.4
Mudura	10.1	11.1	13.6
Railways—			
Bengal	5.1	6.2	
Others—			
Assam	0.7	3.0	4.0

The loss due to absenteeism is two-fold, first, there is a distinct loss to workers, because the irregularity in attendance reduces their income, even where "no work no pay" rule is not endorsed but only half-pay is given. The loss to employers is still greater, as both discipline and efficiency suffer. Either an additional complement of men has to be maintained throughout the year to meet this emergency; or the industries have to depend solely on workers who present themselves at the gates of the mills in search of employment, and who are normally agricultural labourer and are not up to the mark.

The maintenance of an extra complement of workers leads to serious complications and evils. In particular, it provides a justification to the employer to provide sufficient work to the substitute-workers, and as has been happening, for example, in some industries, not only cotton textiles and jute. The management have to "play off" workers and force some of them to take "compulsory leave." This is resented by the workers' organisations and trade unions, which to some extent think legitimately and justly that the "compulsory leave" is only one method on the part of employers to maintain 'a second line of defence' in the event of strikes and lock-outs. On the other hand, it is represented by the employers that they had no option but to "play off" workers, in view of the serious

degree of absenteeism among them and as they cannot always anticipate their precise requirements of labour from day to day in certain departments, e.g., reeling and winding departments.

The causes of absenteeism in West Bengal for January and February, 1948, have been analysed, and they are :

	Total	Percentage of absenteeism due to -			
		Sickness or accident	Leave other than holidays	Social or religious causes	Other causes
January	9.26	2.50	4.19	0.46	2.11
February	10.02	2.39	4.58	0.70	2.35

Thus of the total absenteeism, more than half is due to what one is tempted to call "preventible causes." Because the labourer earns so much per week, he does not care to attend to his work. To him the increased pay affords opportunity not for leisure, but for idleness. Next let us consider the position in the Railways. The importance of the railway in the life of the country cannot be over-emphasised. The railway is the lifeline of the country, carrying as it does food, fuel, cloth and other essentials of life. If the railway stopped working, the vital industries would come to a stand still; in fact, the very existence of the country will be at stake.

Today the railway is the largest nationalised industry in the country. With the attainment of independence, the railwayman must consider himself as a national worker if free India's dream of progress is to be translated into reality. The prosperity of the country depends on the efficient working of the railway.

A heavy responsibility, therefore, rests on a railwayman. It must be realised that he is no longer serving an alien Government which is apathetic to him. Any slackening in efficiency on his part would inevitably be of great detriment to the cause of free India.

Much has recently been heard of the railwaymen's grievances and there have even been occasional threats of strike unless the railwaymen's "demand" are met. It is necessary to examine and understand how far these demands are just and, what is more important, to what extent the national exchequer can bear the expenses.

The recommendations of the Pay Commission have effected considerable improvement in the structure of wages and allowances of the railwaymen. The recent Rajadhyaksha Award, which has been accepted by the Government, is a special concession to the railway worker. With these and various other concessions and amenities which railwaymen enjoy a very heavy burden has been put on the railway's budget. The economy of the country cannot bear any more strain on the wages and concession bill of the staff unless there is a substantial increase in productivity. In certain circles, wage bill of the railways is regarded as being exorbitant and there have been suggestions that this should be reduced. It is to be noted that

94 per cent of the total wage bill for all railways represents the wages of all non-gazetted staff in Class III and Class IV.

Let us examine the figures available from the two railway headquarters in Calcutta, namely, East Indian Railway and Bengal Nagpur Railway.

On the E. I. Railway although the average earning per staff fell from Rs. 2,482 in 1945-46 to Rs. 1,885 in 1946-47, the average expenditure per staff increased from Rs. 505 in the pre-war year 1938-39 to Rs. 661 in the post-war year 1946-47. Similarly on the B. N. Railway, the average expenditure per staff increased from Rs. 519 in the pre-war year 1938-39 to Rs. 773 in the post-war year 1946-47, in spite of the drop in the average earning per staff from Rs. 2,200 in 1945-46 to Rs. 1,972 in 1946-47. It will thus be seen that there has been a progressive increase in the average expenditure per staff on both the railways. This is, however, exclusive of the average expenditure per staff on account of grainshop concessions and Pay Commission Award, and various amenities and staff welfare activities.

The expenditure incurred in the case of inferior and daily rated staff and the workshop staff is specially noteworthy. The average expenditure for unskilled labour increased from Rs. 11 in the pre-war year 1938-39 to as much as Rs. 67 in the post-war year 1947-48; that of semi-skilled labour from Rs. 12 to Rs. 72; and that of the skilled labour from Rs. 13 to Rs. 92 taking into consideration the Pay Commission scales as well as the grainshop concessions.

On the E. I. Railway, the average expenditure per head under the category of inferior and daily rated staff was Rs. 263 in 1938-39 and progressively increased to Rs. 393 in 1946-47, thus registering about a 50 per cent increase. On the B. N. Railway, the average expenditure per head was Rs. 275 in 1938-39 and increased to Rs. 523 in 1946-47, thus showing nearly 100 per cent increase.

The figures will be substantially higher in 1947-48 having regard to the fact that the E. I. Railway's expenditure to implement the Pay Commission's recommendations has been approximately Rs. 2,62,35,000 and that of the B. N. Railway approximately Rs. 1,77,00,000. It may be mentioned that the Pay Commission Recommendations have benefited specially the lower grade staff.

From the Railway grainshops it is estimated that a railway employee derives benefit to the extent of about Rs. 23 per month by obtaining at a concessional rate rationed and non-rationed food-stuffs which are actually purchased by the railway at considerably higher prices. In 1947-48, the E. I. Railway incurred a loss as high as Rs. 7 crores and the B. N. Railway a loss as high as Rs. 4 crores.

The railwaymen, their wives, children, as well as their dependent relatives enjoy free railway passes and privilege tickets at one-third of the rail-fare.

There has been a progressive increase in the expenditure of the railways to provide amenities for staff. On E. I. Railway, the expenditure increased from Rs. 26,47,000 in 1938-39 to Rs. 89,34,000 in 1946-47. On the B. N. Railway, the amount spent in 1938-39 was Rs. 20,35,116 and in 1946-47, the expenditure was Rs. 54,51,843. These amenities include such items as quarters for the staff, medical facilities, facilities for recreation, health and welfare services, schools and educational help.

Today our national government is faced with serious problems created by the fall in production and at the same time with the continuous demands from the railwaymen. It will be noted, from what has been stated above that the Government has not neglected the railwaymen, but nevertheless the efficiency of the railway has been steadily deteriorating.* Each railwayman must, therefore, regard it as his national duty to

do his very best in building this great country into the glorious India of our dreams.

This inefficiency is serious. Punctuality of trains has suffered, though of late there has been a distinct improvement.

The same is the case in coal-mines. The output of coal raised per man is decreasing, although the wages and amenities are increasing.

May not the common man ask labour what services to the nation at large are they giving for the increasing wages? For increased wages to coal-mine labour means increased price of coal to the householder; increased pay to the railway, increase in railway fares and so on. We are entitled to ask on behalf of the 95 per cent who form the onlookers, and we do ask—will the question be answered?

* In the first six and a half months of 1948, strikes and harrals by Railwaymen resulted in a loss of 50 per cent of the output of workshops and of 433000 mandays.

○:-

STORY OF SAKUNTALA AND DUSYANTA IN HUNGARY

By V. K. MATHUR, M.A.

The story of Sakuntala and Dusyanta first told in the Mahabharata and then in the *Abhijnan-Sakuntala* by Kalidasa is one of the most popular stories of Indian literature. Being a characteristic product of Indian genius like the story of Rama and Sita or Nala and Damayanti, it has endeared itself to countless generations of our people ages after ages. But its popularity has not been confined to the country of its origin. Far far away in the heart of Hungary, the land of the romantic gypsies with their songs and dances, a vivid echo of this loveliest of all tales is heard. There is a popular poem by Mihaly Vorosmarthy founded on an old folk song. It is a tale about the youth of Mathias Corvinus Hunyadi, a king of Hungary (1458 A.D.).

"He goes to the chase and while dashing after the deer in the heart of a forest he sees a beautiful young girl who is chasing a butterfly. He immediately forgets the deer and begins in his turn chasing the girl. Just at the moment she gets her butterfly, she puts her arm round her and kisses her. She leads him into her father's house not knowing he is the king. There he stays sometime enjoying in her company the beauties of the forest. But the king cannot tarry longer; matters of state hasten his departure. When he takes leave of the beautiful Llonka he invites her to come to Buda (Budapest), tells her and her father that they will be welcome at the court of Mathias Hunyadi and he ends by saying that whenever they want him they will always find him at the court of the King. Beautiful Llonka who has fallen in love with the gay and charming hunter urges her father to take her to the court of Mathias. They set out on their long journey and arrive at the stronghold of Buda. Just then

Mathias comes riding along the street and everybody does homage to him. At that moment both father and daughter realise that their guest, the gay hunter of the forest, is no other than the king. The old father leads his fainting daughter away and they go back to their quiet forest home without having been able to see the king. In the autumn when the leaves are falling and the birds of passage leaving, beautiful Llonka also leaves her home and is carried to her grave to rest under the great trees of the forest in which she loved to roam."—From H. Tarnai's *Koner's Hungary*.

The reader will at once perceive that the story of Sakuntala and the folktale of Llonka are substantially the same in outline, although, but naturally enough, the sad ending is absent from the Indian tale. The poem by the Hungarian bard follows more the details in Kalidasa's *Abhijnan-Sakuntala* than the crude outline in the Mahabharata.

How did this popular tale of India reach Hungary? Perhaps it was taken there by the migrating tribes of the gypsies who crossed the borders of India in the 14th or 15th centuries and spread over many countries of Europe. To Hungary and Rumania specially, these gypsies gave a good deal of their romantic ways of life, their songs and dances, picturesque dress and language. No wonder that with their ever-moving caravans of trotting ponies and slow bullock-carts, also went some of the lovely old folk-traditions of India and if such a study were possible, a good many elements of our ancient culture will be discovered in a foreign guise influencing the lives of an alien people with whom we seem to have had no relations in the past.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN PRESS

By V. B. KULKARNI

With the advent of freedom the Press in India has a new and constructive part to play in her national affairs. By its sustained and vigorous opposition to foreign rule it made history. In the shifting politics of the country under British dominion, when the tide of nationalism flowed and ebbed, the national press stood out as a towering and massive bulwark, reminding the people of their glorious destiny and urging them on towards their cherished goal. The Gandhian movement of non-violent mass struggle was based on sound strategy. The Mahatma, who felt the pulse of the people as none else could, did not believe in a continuous fight. It was in the nature of things necessary that mass movements should have mass backing. And when this was not forthcoming, he diverted the nation's energies from politics towards less spectacular social and economic activities.

It was during these periods of political inactivity when the nation was overcome with a feeling of frustration, that the nationalist press played a useful part in galvanising public opinion and in sustaining the country's morale. Its trenchant and unsparing assaults on the Government and its ruthless exposure of bureaucratic machinations, designed to defeat and disrupt the forces of nationalism, gave hope and courage to vacillating patriots and strength and determination to those who had pledged themselves to fight freedom's battle to its successful conclusion. But, despite its devotion to the national cause, the Press had its difficulties as well as limitations.

It is obvious that it could not function freely under the shadow of repressive laws which a foreign bureaucracy made no bones about invoking at the slightest provocation. Even temperate criticism was condemned and punished as seditious. I have not kept a count of the number of securities forfeited by the Indian newspapers and weeklies under the previous regime, but I have no doubt that the Government reaped a rich harvest from them. Journals with small means had often to close down and it is a tribute to the nationalist Press that it preferred death with honour to any surrender of its cherished principles. This is one reason why the expansion of newspapers in this country has not been so rapid as it could have been under normal conditions.

Another great handicap to the Indian Press was and still is the limited reading public. A large percentage of our population is illiterate and has no use for newspapers which it cannot read. It is true that the great upheavals in the world, such as the last war, and the political developments in this country stimulated the interest of our people even in the countryside. But this interest, however encouraging and desirable, hardly affected the position of the newspapers. One copy did service to an entire village and not infrequently to groups of villages. The village

school master or some other literate person was helplessly looked upon to unravel for his illiterate fellow-villagers the mysteries of the world through the medium of a solitary newspaper. These conditions still persist and their effect on the circulation of newspapers can be easily imagined.

Even in urban areas the scope for Indian language papers was most constricted. Here again they were faced with the problem of illiteracy, though not on so wide a scale as in the countryside. Moreover, newspapers in English were their most powerful rivals. The English-knowing readers preferred to subscribe to papers in that language. It was not prejudice alone which influenced their choice. Well-established English dailies gave more and dependable reading matter and enjoyed great prestige with the Governments of the country. The Anglo-Indian Press in particular drew the patronage of a considerable section of the English-educated public both for its efficiency and influence. There was a belief that whatever appeared in Anglo-Indian papers must be true and authoritative.

The primacy which the Anglo-Indian Press won in the world of Indian newspapers was, of course, not entirely due to its enormous financial resources or to the preferential treatment which it enjoyed under the previous regime. Lack of enterprise and organisational ability on our part gave easy success to it. Great nationalist dailies, however, soon came into existence and acquired the same dominating position as their Anglo-Indian rivals through efficient service. Today, foreign interests in the newspaper "industry" are fast fading away and it may not be a rash prophecy to say that ere long the Press in India will be fully "nationalised."

The language papers, however, derived no substantial advantage from the competition among the English journals. At any rate, their reading public did not increase. The partiality for the former remained for substantially the same reasons set forth before. They have, however, a great future if they can raise their standards, as many of them have already done. Two circumstances favour their growth. First, it is the declared policy of the Government to reduce the influence of English and to foster the development of national languages. None can cavil at the proposed reform, although precipitate action would be disastrous. Despite the British Government's strenuous efforts to transform English into India's *lingua franca*, it has failed to permeate our national life.

It is not mere prejudice which has militated against its progress. As a foreign tongue, with its fundamentally different idiom and grammar, it cannot reach the masses. Even to the English-educated classes it is an elusive language which constricts thought and lures them into weaving sonorous phrases with negligible thought content in their composition. There are,

of course, noble exceptions and India's contribution to English language and literature is not insignificant. But it is a plain fact that English has no great future in this country. I do not, of course, share the extremist view that it should be banished from our shores forthwith. It must remain with us, not as a menace to our own languages, but as a window on the wide world beyond our frontiers.

I am, therefore, convinced that so long as we do not choose to sink into parochial illiberalism, there will remain, at least for a long time, a real need for English language papers in this country. But their influence will be less decisive and even their circulation, never too large, may suffer considerably. This is an inevitable development. With the progress of education the demand for language papers will increase. No paper in India has, I believe, exceeded the one lakh mark in circulation. This position is likely to be reversed with the coming up of a generation of educated men and women, large in numbers and with a keen appetite for news about the happenings in their own country and in foreign lands. The development of newspapers in India is thus bound up with the speed with which the education policy is implemented.

The second reason why I envisage a bright future for language papers is that there has been a general improvement in the purchasing power of our people. It is true that their present prosperity is artificial and that when depression comes, as it is bound to come sooner or later, the clock is likely to be put back. But against this development there is the assurance that the fruition of the various reconstruction plans may achieve for the country a stable and balanced economy conducive to the prosperity of the masses. If, as a result of these measures, there is an appreciable rise in the per capita income, it is possible that newspapers will form an indispensable item in the budget of every household. I do not know whether I am counting the eggs before they are hatched, but the rosy picture I have painted here can be transformed into reality if the Governments are earnest about putting into effect their educational, industrial and agricultural schemes.

It is on this hypothesis that language papers should, I suggest, make plans for the future. I do not think that their present standards are high enough, but it would be wrong to emphasise their shortcomings by ignoring their handicaps. Many of them have no sound financial resources and no newspaper can be run efficiently on the basis of make-shifts. Secondly, English is the medium of all news agencies and other news services. A newspaper office is like a crowded railway station when the train is about to steam off. It has to work at a break-neck speed. Hurred translations of news served in English must necessarily suffer in quality and not infrequently even in accuracy.

Moreover, our languages are in a state of stagnation. At a time when they could grow, adapting and adjusting themselves to the manifold needs of a

modern civilized society, the hegemony of English relegated them to the background. How difficult is the problem of adjustment is borne out by the slow progress registered by the Osmania University in transforming Urdu into a modern language. So long as this handicap remains, I cannot envisage a high degree of efficiency in our language papers. It has sometimes occurred to me that prosperous newspapers should have on their staff a small body of experts in philology whose main function should be to translate and bring into currency difficult and technical words in English and foreign languages. How soon we will be able to get over the handicaps of linguistic stagnation I cannot say, but if we can do it early serious consideration should be given to the supply of news through the languages of provinces, if possible. This is a consummation to be devoutly wished for, because then and then alone will our language papers grow to their full stature.

Another factor militating against a rapid growth of newspapers in India is her dependence upon foreign countries for her newsprint. Her average imports of newsprint before the war were 37,000 tons a year. During the war even this small supply was drastically cut down and in 1943 the allotments to individual newspapers and journals were reduced by 87½ per cent. The control of circulation and the reduction in the pages gravely affected the newspapers in the country. There has been an improvement in the newsprint situation for sometime past, but it is futile to expect that this serious "bottleneck" can be overcome so long as the shortage continues to be worldwide. It is expected that India will soon need 100,000 tons of newsprint each year. We cannot improve the circulation of our papers or give efficient service so long as we lean heavily on foreign imports. It is stated that "there is not now under construction a single newsprint mill in the world." Let us hope that the new venture in India, which is expected to produce newsprint by the end of next year at the rate of one hundred tons a day, will rescue us from dependence on foreign sources.

The importance of newsprint to the dissemination of information cannot be sufficiently emphasised. In April, the U. N. Conference on Freedom of Information adopted a resolution inviting the attention of governments "to the harm and dangers which inadequate production of newsprint, and unequal distribution thereof, have on the exercise of freedom of information." The fact that Mr. Hoffman, the ERP Chief, has included this commodity in his list of American aid to European countries emphasises its importance to democracy. There is a world shortage of newsprint which is aggravated by its increased consumption by America. Before the war she consumed 44 per cent of the total world output, but last year the level of its consumption rose to 61 per cent.

The Indian Press Year Book, the first of its kind

published in India this year, quotes Sir Walter Layton as telling his American friends that

"If 60 lbs of newsprint per head per year, which is the present rate of consumption in the United States, is necessary and needed to instil and maintain the democratic way of life, there is only sufficient newsprint in the world for 200,000,000 democrats. The other 2,000,000,000 of the world's population must presumably all be totalitarians!"

This is not a rhetorical poser but a vital question which America must answer. If she believes that communism is a "disease of the soul" it must provide the sinews of war to the democracies in the world to fight this menace.

Pleading for an equitable distribution of newsprint, the London *Economist* writes under the caption "Not By Bread Alone":

"Every argument that induces the American people to send to Europe food and raw materials which they could use at home, applies with equal force to paper, which also they would like to use at home. Indeed, in the long run, it applies with even more force. For democracy does not live by food and raw materials alone."

The fact that India, which has to keep the torch of democracy burning for her three hundred million people, cannot obtain even a paltry quota of 37,000 tons of newsprint in a year is a revealing commentary on the maldistribution of this vital commodity. Her aspiration to sell newspapers in millions must remain a dream unless she ceased to depend on foreign supplies.

Assuming that in years to come Indian newspapers will overcome the present obstacles in their way one cannot be too sure that their growth will be along right lines. The basic function of a newspaper is to make a fair and impartial presentation of news, reinforced by equally fair and impartial comment. If this right is assailed, no matter from what source, the *raison d'être* of its existence is lost. The fear is expressed in certain quarters that the organs of public opinion in India are fast coming under the sway of capitalists. There is no doubt that such developments are undesirable, but the question being important should be examined in its true perspective.

It is a plain fact that newspapers cannot be started in a big way, much less maintained at a high level of efficiency, without a huge capital investment. In a series of articles entitled "The Newspaper Industry," which appeared in the *Economist* of London in 1937, a well-informed writer suggested that a sum of the order of £2,000,000 had to be spent before the *Daily Mail*, the last comer among national newspapers, "reached a self-supporting position." He added that "there are few industries which impose an entrance fee as high as this." In India initial investments need not be so large, but, according to our standards, the capital necessary to start a daily paper cannot be less than a million rupees.

Now the point at issue is whether there are other

means by which a paper can be started and whether it can sustain itself without advertisements which also emanate from the capitalistic source. Some ingenious solution might be offered to this problem, but it is yet untried.

If it is conceded, as indeed we must, that, like every other enterprise, newspapers should have a sound financial support, the fact has got to be faced that their ownership should be vested in those who finance them. The question whether this is an ideal or even a desirable arrangement is irrelevant, when no other workable alternative suggests itself.

Capitalistic ownership of newspapers in India should, I suggest, be condemned only when they are interfered with by their owners. In conformity with the right of the man who pays the piper to call the tune, interference may be taking place, but I believe it is not so serious or so widespread as to negative the claims of such newspapers as organs of public opinion. I quite agree that no capitalist-owned paper is free to advocate Communism, but none can prevent fellow-Communists to start their own journals for propagating their doctrines. The Labour Government in Britain is striving for a Socialist State and has the vigorous support of some very influential dailies and weeklies, all or most of which have sound financial support.

The point I wish to emphasise is that the mere fact that newspapers are owned by capitalists is not an evil in itself. In the first and last resort, much depends upon the integrity and independence of the journalists themselves. If they are disciplined and well-organised, they can always successfully resist encroachments on their province. I recall here the satirical lines which Mr. Humbert Wolfe wrote in his *Unceasing City* (reproduced by Mr. Wickham Steed in his *The Press*):

"You cannot hope
to bribe or twist
Thank God! the
British journalist
But, seeing what
the man will do
Unbribed, there's
no occasion to."

It is only when we expose this noble profession to such biting satire that there will be a real menace to the freedom of the Press from its capitalist owners. If we are firm none can threaten its integrity. Are we prepared to accept this challenge, if it comes? If not, mere fulminations at the present order if things will take us nowhere.

There is, however, a real menace to the freedom of the Press from the State. We have borne the full brunt of it under the former regime. That danger still exists, not because the national Government is afraid of the press, but the exigencies of the times demand strict vigilance over the irresponsible section of it. On principle, the recent security measures adopted by the Central and provincial Governments are indefensible. The authorities have departed from the democratic

procedure by insisting that their hand-outs should be published and by reserving to themselves the right of pre-censoring and even suppressing news and comments. The Indian Press, while critical of these measures, has not launched a crusade against them because it is unnecessary. It is only when there is a flagrant misuse of the powers taken by the Governments that the cause of action will arise against them.

But the price of freedom is eternal vigilance which cannot be relaxed just because we are now a free nation. In order to make democracy safe we have yet to develop a party system in this country. One-party rule, no matter how high-minded the rulers for the time being may be, cannot conduce to the growth of democratic traditions, for power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is the duty of

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the Press to encourage the birth of a balanced party system in the country. This is not to suggest that the Congress should be crippled or dissolved. It only means that other non-Congress democratic forces in the country should also grow.

These are some of the problems which the Indian Press has to face in the coming years. I set no limit to its growth into a powerful bulwark of democracy if it plans its development carefully. Much depends upon the journalists themselves. We have passed the stage of agitation in our careers and our new role is constructive. We are as yet unorganised and we are very individualistic. We cannot gain strength or prestige except through organisation and corporate activity. By ourselves becoming strong, we can render better service to the nation.

THE DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT

By R. N. SEN GUPTA, M.A., B.COM.

Rivers, which comprise one of the most forceful of nature's resources, have been utilised for the service of man in the form of facilitating transport, providing irrigation and water supply, and depositing alluvial silt on the land. Like all other natural forces, however, rivers as well may sometimes be potential sources of trouble and unfortunately the world possesses some such naughty rivers as China's "River of Sorrow."

The commonest form of danger emanating from a river is flood. Rivers are mainly snow-fed, and partly rain-fed. It has been estimated that in a temperate land, on an average, one-third of the rainfall flows to rivers, etc., over the surface of land (technically known as "run-off"), one-third percolates into the ground and the rest is lost by evaporation; in tropical latitudes the percentage of evaporation is higher. "Run-off" is the chief controlling factor in the occurrence of floods, because any increase in the rate of "run-off" is sure to swell the volume of water pouring into a river to an extent more than her capacity to hold, with consequent overflowing.

If the vegetation of an area through which a river flows is removed, or its density reduced, there is less absorption of rain-water and the proportion of "run-off" is increased. Moreover, being devoid of the protective influence of the vegetation, the soil invariably exposes itself to drastic denudation or erosion through which a substantial layer of the land surface including the alluvial deposit is carried off into the river, so that her holding capacity is gradually diminished by silting up of the river-bed. Floods are, therefore, frequent in those river-valleys, where erosion is extensive due to thoughtless deforestation. Besides, soil erosion imparts serious deterioration in fertility.

Floods prevent uniform irrigation, in addition to

destroying crop, live-stock, as well as human life and property, and rendering navigation extremely hazardous. On the other hand, the potential energy of mighty streams which usually gives rise to floods of a serious nature, if properly harnessed, may well be diverted towards generating hydro-electric power. Hence, problems of flood and soil erosion, irrigation and navigation, and power production—all go hand in hand and they can be successfully tackled only through unified river-control fighting all the evils simultaneously. Herein lies the basic doctrine of "Multi-purpose River Control Schemes"—a very popular and vital aspect of present-day economic planning.

T.V.A.—THE MODEL

Established as a public Corporation in 1933 under a special statute of the U. S. Congress, the Tennessee Valley Authority operates 26 huge dams over an area of 41,000 square miles with a population of 5 million in the Tennessee River Valley in South-East America. Its activities involve flood control, re-forestation and terracing of the eroded slopes, generation and distribution of electric energy, production of chemical fertilisers, and through these, the introduction of improved methods of agricultural and industrial production. In more concrete terms, the TVA has been producing 12,000 million Kw.-hours of electricity annually, and has developed a 9-foot navigation channel 650 miles long as well as a 9,000-mile shoreline offering recreational and public-health facilities through numerous parks, fishing grounds, boat-docks and cabin-sites around a number of artificial lakes. This record of achievements must be regarded as outstanding having regard to the short span of just over a decade, during which the TVA has struggled for

converting a flood-ravaged, eroded and poor region into an agriculturally fertile and industrially advanced one by harnessing the unbridled flow of the Tennessee. In fact, TVA has been the ideal and the model for many "multi-purpose river projects." Every year the administration receives millions of letters, thousands of visitors and hundreds of technicians from all corners of the world.

THE DAMODAR VALLEY

The Damodar, which originates in the Chotanagpur hills in the district of Hazaribagh from an elevation of 2,000 ft. above sea-level, merges into the Hooghly, 30 miles south-west of Calcutta after completing a course of 336 miles. She is served by 13 tributaries including the Barakar and has a drainage area of 8,500 sq. miles. The upper Damodar Valley is widely denuded of forests and vegetation, and is badly eroded, whereas the lower regions have an alluvial deposit.

The total area of the Damodar Valley is 9,780 sq. miles, of which Bengal represents 2,850 sq. miles. The total population of this Valley is 5 millions distributed as follows :

	No.	Population
Towns	15	3,00,000
Villages	10268	47,00,000
		50,00,000

The main agricultural produce is the *aman* crop, which depends on a well-distributed and ample supply of water. Average rainfall in the Valley is about 46.5". Failure of crop due to inadequacy of rainfall occurs approximately once in three years, and this fact unambiguously indicates the importance of perennial irrigation. The lower Damodar region, particularly in Bengal, is unhealthy being a frequent resort of malaria and dysentery. People, being poor, cannot import food. Hence, famines are frequent and high death-rate is prevalent.

The valley is, however, fortunate in possessing rich deposits of certain important minerals like coal, aluminium, limestone, mica, fire and china clays, molybdenum and quartz. Major industries are metallurgical and engineering establishments, aluminium and cement factories, fire-clay and silica works and collieries.

DAMODAR—THE CHALLENGE

The forceful and uncontrolled Damodar has ever been a problem to the people of the Valley. She has been responsible for frequent floods, violent and widespread, sweeping away crops and livestock and causing damage and destruction to human life and property. With this have joined hands other equally serious maladies like soil erosion and malaria, whereby living in the Valley has been rendered full of struggle. In fact, through the Damodar, nature seems to have challenged the creative faculty in man. The naughty Damodar once held out a challenge to Bengal's illus-

trious son, Vidyasagar (eager to meet his mother), but had to give way to his undaunted spirit. Inspired by a firm determination to better the condition of their motherland, the fellow countrymen of Vidyasagar has also readily accepted Damodar's challenge and proceeded to take suitable steps to curb that mighty river and force her to submit to the service of man.

THE PROJECT

Thanks to the foresight and initiative of the Government of India, a plan for the multipurpose development of the Damodar Valley, on lines of the TVA with proper amendments to suit the conditions of India, was adopted as an important branch of the Post-war Reconstruction Plans. Preliminary survey has been completed and a report submitted by the Central Technical Power Board. The primary object of the proposed scheme is flood-control, while secondary, but no less important, ideas are development of power, irrigation, navigation, water supply and malaria control.

(a) *Dams* : The entire project would be operated by means of 8 dams all of which are proposed to be constructed in the province of Bihar, as the nature of soil and topography does not permit the construction of heavy dams below the confluence of the Damodar and the Barakar. The following dam-sites have been selected :

Along the Barakar

1. Malthon
2. Deolbari
3. Tilaya

Along the Damodar

4. Aiyar
5. Konar
6. Bokars
7. Bermo
8. Sanolapur

It is estimated that the total reservoir capacity imparted by these dams would be about 2.27 million acre-feet, and that their construction may take about 10 years.

(b) *Flood Control* : The following table shows a record of Damodar Floods during the last three decades :

Year	Run-off in inches in excess of 1,00,000 cusecs
1913	1.9
1935	1.9
1941	1.6
1942	1.8
1943	1.7

It is noted that the maximum flow of 6,50,000 cusecs occurred twice, in 1913 and 1935. After a lapse of 6 or 7 years there was again a violent flood in 1942-43, which specially caused a serious dislocation in train services by sweeping away a portion of the E. I. Railway tracks near Burdwan.

The 8 dams are expected to act as safety-valves by checking the violence of flow, storing the excess water and releasing requisite volumes of water during dry months, and thereby maintain a uniform level and flow so as to avoid chances of floods.

(c) *Silt Control* : Thoughtless deforestation of the Chotanagpur Uplands has been responsible for rapid and serious soil erosion and denudation of land and the inevitable result has been the gradual silting up of the Damodar bed, which is one of the main factors contributing to floods. Control of flood cannot, therefore, be a success by checking the run-off by putting up dams, unless soil erosion is prevented simultaneously. Control of erosion through planned re-forestation, re-grassing as well as patching up and terracing of land forms an important auxiliary to flood control.

(d) *Irrigation and Water Supply* : Existing irrigation facilities controlled by the Eden and Damodar Canal Systems enter to an area of 1,86,000 acres, and the Damodar Valley project is calculated to increase the area to a total of 7,63,800 acres, for which about 1.5 million acre-feet of water will be required, leaving for other purposes a balance of .77 million acre-feet out of the total storage capacity of the dams. Availability of perennial irrigation over such a large tract of land, coupled with a prevention of the denudation of the fertile upper layer of soil, is estimated to raise the yield per acre by 50 per cent and to contribute additional rice output of 4 million maunds besides 4 lakhs maunds of *rabi* crops. This would be an adequate provision against famines.

Lack of fresh water supply is a serious problem for many small towns and villages and the use of impure drinking water must have contributed largely to the predominance of diseases like malaria and dysentery. The surplus balance of .77 million acre-feet may well be utilised in proper form for domestic as well as industrial purposes. This, together with proper drainage of swamps and clearing of shoreline, would go a long way towards alleviating the distress caused by malaria, etc.

(e) *Navigation* : The provision of uniform flow at a proper level controlled by the dams, would make the Damodar navigable throughout the year right up to the Ranigunj coal-fields, 120 miles from Calcutta. The port of Calcutta will thus be directly linked with Ranigunj and that would facilitate cheap transport of coal and agricultural produce to Calcutta, as well as return traffic to the hinterland. Specially, this new arrangement would largely solve the problem of coal supply to the Calcutta industrial area by relieving a good deal of pressure on railway transport.

(f) *Power Generation* : The scheme envisages erection of 8 new hydro-electric plants with a generation capacity of 800 million Kw.-hours annually at .24 anna per unit. This compares very favourably with the existing thermal electric installations which produce only 284 million Kw.-hours of power at a cost of .62 anna per unit. Supply of such increased volume of electricity at almost one-third the present cost, is sure to accelerate industrialisation of not only the Damodar Valley, but also of the adjoining region around Calcutta. This would further promote cottage industries and also encourage domestic consumption of electricity.

INITIAL PROBLEMS

While proceeding with the deliberations on the subject the promoters were confronted with certain grave problems, which they were called upon to solve.

(i) *Administrative* : The primary difficulty was a technical one arising out of the necessity of participation in the scheme of the Central Government and two provincial governments of Bengal and Bihar, which was found none too easy, under the existing constitutional set-up as it stood. After a number of tripartite conferences amongst the representatives of the three Governments, it was finally decided to establish, by virtue of a special legislation, the Damodar Valley Corporation, a public body, with wide statutory powers similar to Governmental authority, for administration of the scheme. The Corporation would consist of three members, one of whom will be selected as a Chairman, by the Union Government in consultation with the Provincial Governments.

(ii) *Displaced Population* : It is anticipated that more than 1,00,000 acres of land will be submerged by construction of dams and substantial population will be displaced. It would naturally be a moral and social obligation of the Government or the proposed Corporation to provide for adequate compensation in the shape of money, allotment of alternative land, instruction as well as appliances for earning livelihood. At a conference held in New Delhi early this year, the three Governments concerned agreed on the principle of compensating dispossessed people and helping in their resettlement by allotting land and providing loans as well as electric power for cottage industries at the cost of the Corporation or the Government.

(iii) *Financial* : Mr. C. H. Bhuba, the then Member for Works, Mines and Power, presiding over the aforesaid Conference, rightly observed, "Finance has been, in the past, the major stumbling block in the way of any scheme for the harnessing of the waters of the Damodar." The problem of finance has become even more acute at present, in view of the critical times through which the country is passing. It must be appreciated that the Government, Central or Provincial, with their pre-occupation with many urgent and vital matters, are not in a position to spare the huge finance necessary to execute the Damodar Valley Scheme in as short a period as it deserves. It would, therefore, be appropriate to draw out finance from private sources which have generally swelled, thanks to the war boom, and which are seeking sound channels of investment.

The financial needs of the Project are two-fold—long-term and current. It has been estimated that the construction work will take 15 to 20 years at a capital cost of Rs. 55 crores. Besides, the amount necessary for affording compensation would also be very big, although no proper estimate has yet been possible. Such huge sums must be available at the disposal of the proposed Corporation, but the nature of its constitution and financial structure is yet a matter of guess and speculation. At this stage, however, it may be suggested that

the capital of the Corporation may be raised by selling shares to the members of the public, and at the same time, a fair percentage may be contributed by the three Governments according to some agreed proportions, which, besides enabling the Government to exert control over the organisation, would also encourage private investment by inspiring a sense of security. Further long-term capital may be raised by issue of debentures with Government guarantee in respect of payment of interest as well as repayment of capital.

As to current revenue, more than one source were recommended at the last conference :

- (1) Sale-proceeds of electric power to public utility concerns, industrial undertakings as well as households.
- (2) Charges for supply of water for agricultural, industrial and domestic purposes.
- (3) Toll charges on navigation.
- (4) Terminal taxes on passengers and goods arriving in Calcutta by E. I. Railway and on registered tonnage of all ocean-going ships entering the port of Calcutta as well as toll on vehicular traffic entering Calcutta.

PRIORITY No. 1

The importance and urgency of the Damodar Valley Project can never be over-emphasised. A successful execution thereof would bring about an all-round development of the area in question, which at present is agriculturally deficient and industrially backward. The possibilities of an increase in food-production, cheap supply of power to the mining and metallurgical industries of Bihar, jute, paper, cotton and other large-scale industries around Calcutta and to

growing cottage industries, improved navigation facilities and eradication of malaria have been fully discussed above. They will all go to build up a well-knit, economically well-balanced region, with a high standard of living and public health. The plan as a whole is calculated to benefit a total population of 7 million, i.e., in addition to the 5 million in the Damodar Valley itself, further 2 million in adjoining regions.

The Scheme has assumed much greater significance after the partition of Bengal. On the newly constituted province of West Bengal, with its comparatively small area and existing limited resources, has been thrust the grave responsibility of maintaining a gradually rising population, contributed by rapid exodus from East Bengal. The targets mentioned in the previous paragraphs are vital pre-requisites for absorbing and supporting the increased population. As such the Damodar Scheme should be accorded highest priority amongst all development plans. It is gratifying to note that the Union Government has fully recognised this fact, and that preliminary work has already started. Whole of India now wistfully looks forward to the day when the Damodar Valley will be turned by the proposed plan into a prosperous land, economically, socially and culturally.

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PRODUCTION AND UTILISATION OF GROUNDNUTS IN MADRAS

By C. SELVANAYAKI, M.A.

MADRAS was the first Province in India to cultivate groundnuts and even as early as 1880, the area under the crop was 70,000 acres. In course of time her share in the total of India's groundnut acreage declined with the increase in acreage in other provinces and states, but even to-day she accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total all-India production of groundnuts.

The two main centres of groundnut production in the province are firstly the ceded districts of Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah accounting for over 34 per cent of the Province's groundnut acreage and secondly the central districts of Chittoor, North Arcot, Salem, South Arcot, Trichy and Coimbatore contributing over 36 per cent of the Province's total.

Groundnut is mainly rain-fed. The area under irrigated groundnuts varied between 86,000 and 218,000 acres during the last two decades that is between 3.3

per cent and 4.7 per cent of the total area under groundnuts in the province.

The area under groundnuts varies from year to year depending on a number of factors like the price of groundnuts relative to prices of other competing commercial crops, etc., but there is no denying the fact that the crop has made rapid strides both in acreage and production. During the inter-war period (1919-20—1938-39) there was an increase of more than 150 per cent in acreage and production. The war period (1939-40—1944-45) saw an increase of 681,600 acres in groundnut acreage and an increase of 173,630 tons in production. Because of its lucrativeness, and because it is comparatively easier to cultivate than the other commercial crops, the ryot has always shown a partiality for the crop. The "Grow More Food" campaign that was launched in the province in 1940 did not offer much

stimulus to its expansion. But groundnut being treated as a food crop, it escaped all restrictions that were placed on the cultivation of other commercial crops like cotton.

Though there are variations in the yield per acre from year to year due largely to a number of local factors, the standard yield per acre has always remained 1120 lbs. If there has been an increase of nearly 200 per cent in production during the past two decades, it must be attributed mainly to increased acreage and not to any appreciable improvement in yield per acre though a larger area under irrigation might have proportionally increased the yields.

TABLE I
Estimated Production of Groundnut Kernels
in Madras*

Year	Production in tons	Year	Production in tons
1919-20	398,300	1933-34	1,243,900
1920-21	518,000	1934-35	644,000
1921-22	474,600	1935-36	841,400
1922-23	576,100	1936-37	1,159,900
1923-24	520,800	1937-38	1,441,300
1924-25	663,600	1938-39	1,129,100
1925-26	884,800	(1939-40	1,192,100
1926-27	844,900	(1940-41	1,346,800
1927-28	1,160,700	(1941-42	828,100
1928-29	1,281,000	(1942-43	912,800
1929-30	1,065,400	War (1943-44
1930-31	1,235,500	(1944-45	1,365,700
1931-32	763,800	(1945-46	1,156,700
1932-33	1,210,300	(1946-47	1,145,600

The above table shows that the production of groundnut kernels within the province has been gradually increasing from 398,300 tons to 1,129,100 tons during the inter-war period and on the average Madras produces about a million tons of kernel which after meeting the requirements of the export trade will be available for utilisation within the province.

The trade in groundnut kernel constitutes the major part of the total trade in oilseeds by sea and rail from the Madras Presidency. Groundnuts exported to foreign countries from Madras are almost used for oil extraction and the demand therefore depends on the demand for groundnut oil in Europe both for edible and industrial purposes. The demand for this oil and consequently for groundnuts is influenced not only by the prices of groundnuts in relation to other oil-seeds, but also by the availability of supplies and relative prices of a number of vegetable oils, animal fats, marine oils, etc. Since 1919-20 export of kernels shows an upward trend due to increased consumption in European countries. United Kingdom which took less than 1 per cent of the province's total groundnut exports before the last war increased her share and after the Ottawa Agreement which granted 10 per cent preference to imports on groundnuts from "Empire" countries large quantities of Indian groundnuts were shipped to the United Kingdom. During the depression period when the exchange position of Germany

deteriorated she restricted imports of all kinds of raw materials. Further since 1933, France, one of the principal markets for our groundnuts, passed a decree imposing an import duty on groundnuts other than those grown in French Colonies. Even in "Empire" markets groundnuts had to face a serious competition from South Africa. During the war period 1939-40—1944-45) especially during the latter half of the period export of groundnuts from the province was severely restricted in view of the serious food shortage. The future prospects of trade in groundnuts do not seem to be bright. Foreign exports of groundnuts will decline firstly, due to decline in demand for groundnut oil from vegetable oil industries in European countries and secondly, due to the restriction on the exports of oil-seeds which will continue for some time in the interests of the industrial growth of the country.

TABLE II
*Percentage of Foreign Exports to Internal
Production*

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1919-20	17.6	1932-33	28.9
1920-21	16.6	1933-34	36.6
1921-22	44.0	1934-35	67.8
1922-23	39.0	1935-36	39.1
1923-24	43.0	1936-37	55.0
1924-25	49.7	1937-38	39.1
1925-26	41.8	1938-39	67.9
1926-27	37.6	1939-40	39.0
1927-28	40.0	1940-41
1928-29	45.6	1941-42
1929-30	54.7	1942-43
1930-31	37.0	1943-44	16.3
1931-32	65.0	1944-45	15.7

Whatever is left over after meeting the export demand and seed requirements, is being diverted for crushing. The groundnut crushing industry is, so to say, a 'residual claimant' to the total production of groundnuts in the province. The groundnut has essentially been a "Money Crop," the demand for the crushing industry playing little or no part in the disposal of the crop. From the fact that only a very small percentage of total production is used for crushing, one cannot conclude that the groundnut crushing industry is not a profitable one, for it is true that "even in the days of a great slump in prices the oil industry will be a profitable concern unless there is a heavy decline in the demand for cake." When crushed, 10 maunds of kernel yield about 4 maunds of oil and 6 maunds of cake and normally the miller's margin including crushing charges varies from annas four to Rs. 2 per maund of oil crushed. The general runaway prices of wartime has made the groundnut-crushing industry a highly lucrative one, the margin of profit for the miller (including the crushing charges) rising as high as Rs. 9 per maund, of oil crushed.

The development of groundnut crushing is closely linked up with the consumption of cake as a feed for

* After deducting loss due to shelling which is 30 per cent.

animals and here it is pertinent to point out the statement made by the oilseeds specialist of the Government of Madras stressing the importance and value of groundnut cake as a feed for animals. Madras was estimated to consume about 53,000 tons of groundnut cake for feeding cattle during the quinquennium 1933 to 1937, a very low figure especially in view of the fact that the quantities of other feeding stuffs available are inadequate for maintaining the huge livestock population of the province. Partly time-worn prejudices and partly the high prices of the cake have stood in the way of tapping this rich source of fodder supply. Dr. Wright has stated that if the large export of cakes and oilseeds could be maintained in India, it would mean a considerable increase in the available quantity of protein rich concentrates, which are the most important sources of nutrients for milk production. At present, the bulk of production is exported abroad, United Kingdom being the principal consumer.

Further, groundnut cake serves as a valuable manure for such crops as sugarcane and coffee and the quantities utilised for this purpose have increased with the expansion in sugarcane acreage in several areas. Since the development of groundnut crushing is closely linked up with the consumption of cake, it is desirable that the consumption of cake as cattle fodder and as manure should be encouraged. The problem of greater utilisation of oilcakes reduces itself to one of educating the farmers as to the advisability of using oilcakes especially groundnut cake as a feeding material and as manures.

Further, the future prospects of the crushing industry depend on the relative demand for groundnut oil, firstly, for consumption and, secondly, for industrial uses. The demand for edible purposes of groundnut oil is likely to increase if people take to it as an effective substitute for gingily oil whose prohibitive price render it beyond the means of the bulk of population. Further, the prohibitive price of the other competing oils increases the demand for groundnut oil for adulteration purposes. On the industrial side the stimulus to groundnut oil production would be given mainly by the

Vanaspathi industry. If the province speeds up its scheme of *Vanaspathi* production on a large scale, the demand for groundnut oil—though in course of time other cheaper substitute oils could be found—will take an upward trend in the near future. Thus considering its demand for edible purposes and for industrial uses and for adulteration, the production of groundnut oil will increase largely. Ultimately the quantity of groundnuts that will be used for crushing will be dependent on the price of groundnut oil relative to other oils.

This increased demand for groundnut oil for internal consumption, coupled with the fact that people encouraged through propaganda, might make more use of the nuts for edible purposes, will tend to increase the demand for oilseeds and the acreage is more likely to increase rather than decline in future.

The technique of groundnut production as is prevalent today cannot be called efficient. Premature harvesting, primitive methods of decortication, inefficient storage and lack of control over the supply of seeds to the cultivator—these are the four important factors that call for speedy improvement. Until some years ago the universal method of decortication was to dump the nuts and beat them with sticks to separate the brittle shells from kernels, a method damaging to the kernels. Once the kernels have been wetted, they are liable to discoloration and fermentation and the oil extracted from them is rancid. Though the use of machines for decortication has grown in proportion, it cannot be said that the position has improved much. The poor quality that is attributed to Indian groundnuts is not a factor inherent in them. The causes are more deep-rooted and they can be eradicated only by educating the cultivators. The lack of control over supply of seeds to the cultivators militates against the production of pure varieties and affects not only the quality of the produce but also the yield per acre. It is therefore desirable that apart from research more attention should be paid to methods of cultivation and harvesting the crops, i.e. in educating the cultivators.



ATOMIC WARFARE AND INDIA

By K. S. R. MURTY, M.Sc.

Atomic energy and the atomic bomb caught the imagination of the world for a pretty long time till recently. The newspapers were full of them; they served the sensationalism of the press quite admirably. Now that it is no longer sensational the press is naturally paying scanty attention to it. Besides, the scientists—in particular those that were directly involved in the production of the bomb—were anxious to calm the qualm of their conscience for having been instrumental in producing the demoniac weapon of destruction by making the public realise the devastating potentialities of the atomic bomb. That being thought to be over, the scientist said to himself, *absolvi meam animam*.

There were a series of talks by a number of scientists, engineers and philosophers in the first week of March, 1947, arranged by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Profs. J. D. Cockcroft, M. L. E. Oliphant, P. M. S. Blackett, Sir G. P. Thomson, Sir Henry Dale and Sir John Anderson were among them. As regards the technical aspect of the atomic bomb nothing new has been given out that was not already given in the Smyth Report. But some very significant views have been expressed by the speakers.

Sir G. P. Thomson, along with others, pleaded for a strong and comprehensive system of control and inspection of the atomic research and armaments. Prof. L. Blackett pointed out that the atomic energy finds an immense use for peaceful purposes; but we can have atomic energy either for peace or for war and not for both. He says:

"If the major part of the scientific and technical effort available for atomic energy continues to be directed towards the production of more and better bombs, there will be insufficient raw material available to allow the rapid development of the industrial power."

Bertrand Russell was also stressing the need for an international control of the atomic energy, and suggested that the first step in that direction would be the drastic limitation of the national sovereignty.

All sensible people for a few decades past have been talking about the federal world control of the air, of the world police. All of them agreed on the point of drastic limitation of the national sovereignty. But the whole question is, 'how are we to get them?' The answer that has very often been suggested is, 'by educating the public opinion.' Alas! the public is very slow at learning. The race of atomic armaments appears to be on the full swing and the public opinion is still far from crystallising in the needed direction in spite of the very gallant efforts made by so many eminent men. The proverbial politician has an infinite capacity to change sides but not to have a change of heart. History shows, if at all it shows anything conclusively, that there is an immense resistance offered to any drastic changes in behaviour, particularly in a benign direction. The facile hope that the idea of the

enormity of destruction that would ensue as a consequence of atomic warfare would make the nations suddenly develop a friendly feeling for one another has already proved to be unreal by the impasse which is being created by the power-mongering nations. The miracle may still happen, but we cannot rely on the miracles to happen.

Then again, certain scientists feel that science not only brings in the material advantages but also brings along with it a spirit, its own guiding spirit, the spirit that ennobles and enriches life. But, science, instead of infusing its own spirit into the actions of men is getting despirited and denatured at the hands of the ideologists and the politicians. We are well aware of the fact that there is a wide talk about the Soviet science, the American science, the British science, and so on. We have Bourgeois science and the Marxist science as well. There is no reason to believe that the magic words of "atomic energy" will fill the world with the spirit of science; at least, it has not done so far.

Let us look at the problem in terms of realities that exist today instead of the miracles that may happen tomorrow. The one very glaring fact is that Soviet Russia and America are the two outstanding countries today in the world; that the two great powers are striving for supremacy one over the other and that all countries of the world are almost getting aligned behind one or the other of these powers. The war of nerves is afoot and it is felt that the war of arms is a question of time.

On the one hand, America is evidently piling up the atomic bombs; on the other, the Russians claim to have already experimented with their atomic bombs somewhere in Siberia. It may be a bluff; it can as well be a reality. If Russia has not already made the atomic bomb, there is nothing to show that it cannot do so in a short time. That leads us to the conclusion that if another war is to come, the atomic bomb will definitely play an important role either being directly used or being kept ready for usage.

Even though very little is known about the construction of the atomic bomb, we can arrive at certain tentative conclusions about the atomic warfare from the known facts. It is to be remembered that the bomb dropped on Hiroshima completely pulverised an area of which the radius from the point of detonation was about one and one quarter miles; every thing to a radius of two miles was blasted with some burning and between two and three miles the buildings were about half destroyed. Thus the area of total destruction covered about four square miles, and the area of destruction and substantial damage covered about twenty-seven square miles. The bomb on Nagasaki was supposed to be more powerful and would have pulverised ten square miles—on the authority of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer—but, it caused less damage because of

the physical characteristics of the city. As a matter of fact; there were no ten square miles to be taken out.

Can this destructive radius be still further increased? It is said that the destructive radius of the individual bomb of any type increases with the cube root of the explosive energy. That means in order to increase the destructive radius ten times the weight has to increase a thousand times and the problem of the carrier becomes much more difficult, particularly for long ranges. In the last war, Germans were using rockets capable of 220 miles range and carrying approximately one ton of T.N.T. There is a probability of increasing this range to thousands of miles but the increased weight will be a serious handicap.

Let us also remember that there is no effective defence against atomic bomb. The scientists who could predict the utilisation of atomic energy for warfare are definitely pessimistic about the development of any such defence in the near future. Again, Prof. Robert Oppenheimer says :

"The pattern of the use of the atomic bomb was set at Hiroshima. They are weapons of aggression, of surprise, and of terror . . . The elements of surprise and of terror are as intrinsic to it as are the fissionable nuclei."

The element of terror cannot be removed at present, but the element of surprise can be reduced only one way, and that is by arming oneself to the teeth for retaliation. It is only by the capacity for retaliation that a country can stop the usage of atomic bombs against itself.

The position of the countries that cannot produce the atomic bombs will be quite unenviable in the atomic warfare. If they are involved in the war between Soviet Russia and America there is a possibility of a clean sweep not only of their cities but also of their major population particularly because of the increasing tendency for urbanisation. It is highly probable that both Russia and America will try to enlist as many countries as possible for their support so that the enemy attack may have to be divided over a bigger area and thus their own striking power may be saved. But, from another point of view, there appears to be a greater possibility for countries like India to keep out of war firstly, because the belligerents can attack one another from their own countries without overriding the intervening countries ; and, secondly, because they will not be willing to use their weapons against the smaller countries when an all-out effort is required to face the major enemy.

In view of the facts given above, the foreign policy of India as pursued under the able leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is definitely in the best interests of the country. Fortunately or unfortunately, India can start with a clean slate in her international dealings. It is absolutely unnecessary at this stage to join one camp or the other. There are a set of ideologies and fifth columnists who insist that we should join either this camp or the other ; the less they are allowed to

influence the public opinion the better for the country. The story of the dwarf and the giant given by Oliver Goldsmith is perfectly pertinent in this connection. "Unequal combinations are always disadvantageous to the weaker side."

Then again, the atomic research should be encouraged in our country. We have good deposits of thorium. The Smyth Report does not say much about thorium excepting that thorium has "no apparent advantages over uranium." It does not speak of any disadvantages, but it is known that thorium is being utilised in Canada for atomic energy. There is an immense use for the atomic energy during peacetime. If humanity develops the requisite goodwill in time and the world is saved from the impending catastrophe, we will have ample choice to use the enormous energy available to us for industrial purposes. If we are unfortunately plunged into the war, the only deterrent for atomic bomb is our capacity to use it in return, and for that purpose also the sooner we initiate our work in that direction the better for us.

From the defence point of view, our industrial planning should be such as not to concentrate all the industries in the major cities. In America today there appears to be a serious contemplation of decentralisation of the industries. For, if all the industries are concentrated in a few cities and the majority of the population swarms round them, it is very easy for the aggressor to dislocate the entire morale and production of the country simply by attacking the major cities. Plans, it appears, are being made for 'linear' or 'ribbon' cities and 'cellular' cities. Since we are just in the planning state and it does not mean undoing something that has been already done, it behoves us to take these facts into consideration.

The linear or ribbon city is a city that is very long and of small width, with its industries and services distributed evenly. The cellular city is the city dispersed into a number of units each separated by four or five miles from the other but having well-knit communications. Considering the enormous cost of the atomic bomb, the enemy cannot afford to use a huge number of bombs required to destroy a cellular or ribbon city ; for in that case, the cost they put in for the bombs will far exceed the loss they inflict.

The encouragement of cottage industries, the dispersion of the heavy industries, limiting the growth of the existing cities are needed for a defence in the atomic warfare much more than in the ordinary warfare because of the enormous concentration of the destructive power in the atomic bomb. It appears from the press reports that the Government is planning the expansion of cities like Delhi. From what has been said above, it appears to be a move fraught with dangers. Before making plans for any future constructions and industries we should bear in mind that we have entered the atomic age and its full implications are to be foreseen as realistically as possible.

LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN MANIPUR

The Work of a Poet and a Sanskrit Scholar

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (London), F.R.A.S.E.

During this first visit of mine to Manipur (Imphal), which I undertook to form contacts with scholars and literary men in the Meithei (Manipuri) language and to see Manipur as a centre of at least one great form of art, namely, that of the dance, what impressed me most was the literary work that has been done and is being done by two eminent sons of Manipur, the late Hijam Anganghal Singh, poet and literary man, and Pandit Sree Atombapu Vidyaratna, Sanskrit scholar and writer in Manipuri. Pandit Vidyaratna fortunately is still with us, but poet Anganghal passed away in 1943 aged only 49. Pandit Vidyaratna has enriched and is still enriching Manipuri by his translations from Sanskrit and his editions in Manipuri of some of the most important Sanskrit scriptures, as well as by his learned historical and other essays, conceived, no doubt, in the orthodox Hindu spirit but conveying nevertheless valuable information about the old Hindu culture of Manipur; his work is of first-rate importance in inducing the historic and philosophic outlook among Manipuri readers, and this should be better known outside the limits of Manipur.

It would appear that the late Anganghal Singh (I speak subject to correction, not knowing Manipuri myself) is the greatest writer Manipur so far has produced; the extent of his compositions is astounding for a modern writer. He can, through his great work the *Khamba-Thoibi-Shoireng*, be described as the national Poet of the Meithei (Manipuri)-speaking people. This great poem, running up to over 39,000 lines (his MS. runs up to over 1300 pages with 30 lines in each page) embodies the most romantic story, about the love of Khamba and Thoibi, which this Eastern Frontier of India has produced. Ballads about Khamba and Thoibi are still widely sung in Manipur, but our poet has taken up the old story and has composed a new poem (in long lines of 14 syllables, with a pause after the 7th,—a metre which is eminently suitable for epic narration) which is true in both spirit and diction and in story-content to the old ballads on the subject. I have heard the poem enthusiastically praised by young Manipuris. So far, the poet's son has brought out about one-eighth of the poem, but I think the entire work should be published without delay, and that will at once raise the prestige and dignity of Manipuri literature: and an abstract of the poem

in English, with translations of typical passages and a critical study of it, will be a desideratum in Indian literature bringing home to the rest of India and to the world what important things—important from the point of view of voicing the aspirations, the ideals and the social and cultural milieu of a whole people—are being done in this distant corner of India.

The late Anganghal Singh's other romantic poem, named *Singel-Indu* with its 8,000 lines, has already been exhausted in its first edition of 1000, and this is quite remarkable considering that the Manipuri reading public is not large and only two years were needed to make a second edition necessary. The poet has left two volumes of short poems, and he also wrote one social novel and three dramas, which have been widely read and appreciated in MS. and are waiting publication. A volume of literary essays, which are quite charming in their thought and style (so far my Manipuri friends assure me), has also seen the light of the day.

I would not insist upon a comparison, as I do not know the Manipuri language and am not in a position to judge either the subject and thought-content or the beauty of language and expression in the original writings of the late Anganghal Singh; but it would appear from the views of certain of my Manipuri friends that the position of our poet is comparable to that of Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali and Modern Indo-Aryan literature.

When I think of the extent and comprehensive character of the *Khamba-Thoibi-Shoireng*, I am reminded of the *Shah-nama*, the national epic of Persia by Firdausi, and the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland which was woven out of songs and ballads about the ancient heroes current among the Finnish people by Elias Lönnrot who collected them, on the one hand, and of artistic epics like the Latin *Aeneid* of Virgil and the English *Sigurd the Volsung* by William Morris on the other. I am convinced this single work will considerably raise the value of Manipuri among the languages of India and the world. I hope that those who are in a position to do so will exert themselves to the utmost to get the entire works of the late Anganghal Singh in print, for the glory of Manipuri and Indian literature.

8th December, 1947.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. III, Part I, (Aug. 1945 to January 1946), pp. 1-80 and pp. 8 (illustrations). DO, Vol. III, Part II, (February-July 1946), pp. 1-91 and pp. 9 (illustrations). Edited by H. Goetz, Baroda. 1947 and 1948.

Though belated in their publication, these successive issues of the *Bulletins of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery* maintain the high standard of scholarship that we have learnt to associate with the able editorship of Dr. H. Goetz, the accomplished Curator of the Museum. The first issue opens with a highly thought-provoking essay (accompanied with a map) from the pen of H. Goetz, entitled *The Role of Gujarat in Indian Art History*. "Gujarat," he concludes, "has been the link between the Middle Ages before the chaos of the Muslim invasions and the Indian renaissance following on them. She has been the mother of three styles of later India, the revivalist Hindu Renaissance, the early Rajput and Gujarati folk styles; one of the parents of Mughal Art under Akbar and Jahangir, of the Basohli School of Himalayan Rajput painting and of Maratha house architecture; and she has influenced the textile art of the Muslim countries beyond the sea." The other papers are likewise the work of specialists. An *Early Indo-Scythian Monument* by H. Goetz and *A Unique Bronze Figurine* by O. C. Ganguly are of great interest to students of Indo-Scythian history. The former deals with a small stela representing a tree flanked on either side by a fantastic animal, which the author believes to be "the earliest so far known monument of the Indo-Scythians." The latter describes a small bronze figurine of a girl holding with upturned arms the ends of pieces of foliage falling down from a vase, which is taken by its author to be a work of the Kushan period from Mathura. Iconography is well represented by the papers *Siddha Chakra* by U. P. Shah and *A Cunda Image in the Baroda Museum* by B. Bhattacharyya. An *Early Mughal Portrait of Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb-shah of Golconda* and *An Early Basohli-Chamba Rumal* by H. Goetz form a pair of important contributions to the study of Mughal and Rajput paintings respectively. An interesting general account of European tapestry weaving is the prelude to H. Goetz's paper on *Some French Tapestries in the Collection of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda*. The account of a *Special Exhibition of Paintings by Nicholas and Evstoslav Roerich* held at Baroda in January, 1946, is preceded by a critical appreciation of the art of both these well-known painters written by H. Goetz.

In the second issue the account of a small bronze jug in the State Museum with the face of a woman ("Astarte in her incarnation as the Dove, or in her Cypriot-Greek variety, Aphrodite Urania") on its

rim gives the occasion for H. Goetz's elaborate and learned essay on the cult of this deity (and her parallels) in Europe and Asia. Among other topics iconography is represented by H. Goetz's paper on a statuette of the Gandhara school belonging to the end of the second century A.D. according to its author and B. Bhattacharyya's well-documented paper on *Dhyani Buddha Images in the Baroda Museum*. In the former paper we are told that the statuette in question may be regarded "as an exceptional form of (the Buddhist deity) Panchika," but more probably it "represents the Sun-god Mihira in a transitional iconographic aspect intermediate between that of the Kushana coins on the one side and that of the Bamiyan frescoes and of the European St. Michael and St. George figures on the other." In another paper H. Goetz gives us a historical and critical account of "Hindu renaissances" in the Muslim period (matching the Italian renaissance) as a prelude to his study of a late 18th century image in the Baroda Museum. On the subject of Mediaeval Hindu painting we have instructive papers on *A Jaina Vijnaptipatra* by U. P. Shah as well as *A Muslim Painting of the Kangra School and The Modern Indian Picture Gallery* by H. Goetz. In the branch of numismatics we have a paper on *Gold Coins in the Baroda State Museum* by B. L. Mankad, while that of Anthropology is represented by a too short account of a predatory tribe called the Vaghers, written by V. L. Devkar.

We have noticed a few inaccuracies. In Vol. III, Part I, p. 1, the well-known art-critic's name is wrongly printed as A. C. Coomaraswamy. In Vol. III, Part II, p. 55, the mention of references to "Karshapana, Nishkas, etc." in "the Puranas, Jatakas, etc." as "very old" cannot but be regarded as a most unfortunate slip.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ON TO DELHI : Edited by G. C. Jain. Published by Saraswati Pustak Mandir, Jogiware, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 5-8.

NETAJI SPEAKS : Compiled by Sati Kumar Nag. Chayamika Publishing House, 42 Sitaram Ghose Street, Calcutta. First edition. 1946. Pp. 86. Price Rs. 2-4.

Both the books are a collection of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's writings and speeches delivered from abroad during the second World War. The speeches are noble and inspiring and reveal the true state of affairs that prevailed then in East Asia and the indomitable spirit under which he organised the I. N. A. and carried on his march *On to Delhi*. These reflect also the foresight of a spirited political thinker. Couched in chiselled words and embalmed with finer sentiment and flourishes of oratory the speeches of the Great Patriot have become classic. Every Indian youth, we wish, should imbibe the spirit of the Beloved Hero and devote him-

self to the task of making Mother India really great and noble—the task that has devolved upon his countrymen.

Nehru Speaks contains Bose's presidential address at the Haripura Congress and an introduction by the compiler. Both the books, especially *On to Delhi*, are well set up and illustrated.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

THE PATHANS: By Ghani Khan. Published by N. I. P., Bombay. 1947. Pp. 58. Price Rs. 2-4.

Ghani Khan, son of the Frontier Gandhi, is an entertaining story-teller, and here he gives us by means of a few anecdotes an interesting peep into some aspects of Pathan life. He speaks of the Pathan's love of freedom and addiction to feud, his Spartan hardihood and simplicity, his craze for the rifle and the sitar and of his keen sensitiveness to feminine grace and beauty. For the general notion of the Pathan's instinct for violence and lawlessness, Ghani Khan does not offer any plea, but his narrative is so woven and designed that in the setting of the rugged and mountainous country they become a necessary part of the Pathan's living. The Pathan's great sport is fighting and sensuous enjoyment of the woman, who is a pretty toy, a phantom of delight with him made for his gratification.

The monograph concludes with a sketch of Abdul Ghaffur Khan and a few words on the "Red Shirts." The author uses a facile pen and we look forward to an account of the Red Shirt movement from him in the near future.

N. B. ROY

THE PRINCE OF AYODHYA: By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore, Madras. Pp. 386. Price, board Rs. 4, calico Rs. 6.

The learned author, who is an emeritus professor and the present principal of the Vivekananda College, Madras needs no introduction to the reading public. His popular manuals on Hinduism, and particularly his magnum opus, *Renaissance of Hinduism*, an outstanding publication of the Benares Hindu University, have brought him all-India reputation. In the book under review, he makes a purely literary approach to the Ramayana and gives a fairly comprehensive summary of its story for the benefit of the young.

For convenience of narration the author has divided the whole story into three parts and calls them respectively a tragedy, a romance and an epic. The first part, covering the Bala-Kanda and the Ayodhya-Kanda, is an intensely human tragedy full of pathetic situations that rend our hearts. The second part dealing with the Aranya-Kanda, the Kishkindha-Kanda and the Sundara-Kanda is a long romance. The third part summarising the Yuddha-Kanda is an epic that describes a colossal conflict between Rama and Ravana, the two greatest Powers of the then world. The description is so vivid, and the style so flowery that the book reads like a novel from beginning to end. The story of the Ramayana seems to have never been better told than this in English.

The author rightly traces the story of the Ramayana to the Vedic traditions, and observes that the conflict between Rama and Ravana is not so much between two races as between two civilizations, between two ideals of life. According to the thoughtful author, the central purpose of Valmiki's poem is perhaps to show that the true progress of humanity consists in moral evolution and not in material development. Materially Guha, Hanuman, Jatayu and Jambavan were primitive

and backward, but morally they were far the materially advanced Ravana and Rakshasa. Ramayana teaches the Indian ideal that a man wearing a rough loincloth, living in a small hut, travelling in a country cart and eating coarse food may be far more developed morally and spiritually than a man who travels by aeroplane, drives a Rolls-Royce and listens through a radio-set to the music of the Antipodes. The book deserves to be perused by the young men and women of Free India.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIA IN REVOLT (1942), Vol. I. (Bengal and Assam): Edited by Tarini Sankar Chakravarty, 86 Joy Mitter's Street, Calcutta. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 3.

This was the first book in English that was published in India in 1946 on the Revolt against British imperialism that burst over the country on the wake of Congress resolution passed on the 8th August, 1942. The call to "do or die" had gone from Gandhiji but the British bureaucracy tried to forestal him by arresting him and other top leaders of the Congress in all the Indian provinces and putting them behind prison bars and keeping them there for about three years. The writer had an ambitious project to collect and collate all the reports of the activities that symbolised this mass awakening robbed of Congress leadership. In the present volume (reprint, 1947) he has tried to give a history of this movement as it developed in Bengal and Assam. And though there are many links missing, the book is certainly self-sufficient considering the time when the Muslim League held the reins of power in Bengal under the superintendence of the British bureaucracy. A fuller all-India history of this Revolt has yet to appear. And though "British control" has been withdrawn from India, the story of this unplanned Revolt occupies a distinct place in the last of the outbursts that precipitated the developments of June 3, 1947.

We hope the author will be able to divert his attention to this work.

D.

THE METAPHYSICS OF IQBAL: By Dr. Ishrat Hasan Enver. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. 1944. Pp. 91. Price Rs. 3.

In the Foreword to the book, Dr. S. Z. Hasan has rightly observed, "Iqbal has been a great force in India for the last quarter of a century and the mind of the present-day Indian Muslim can not be grasped without a deep study of Iqbal." Iqbal was a poet, a philosopher and a patriot. He loved India as any patriotic Indian and he loved Islam too. At one time he, no doubt, inclined towards Pan-Islamism; but it can not be said that he gave up India of his birth. We may remember in this connection his famous song, "In this whole world, our Hindusthan," etc. But Iqbal was a philosopher also. All great poets ultimately reach philosophy. So did Goethe, so did Tagore. And we have an account of Iqbal's philosophy in this book. Iqbal was an Intuitionist and so has many points in common with Bergson. He also believed in the reality of the self, the world and God.

The summary of Iqbal's philosophical thought attempted in this book has been a good one. Iqbal properly understood may yet be a cementing force between the warring communities—Muslim and non-Muslim—in India. We wish the author success. But we also wish that Iqbal be presented to the Indian reader in languages other than Urdu and English so that non-Muslim India may appreciate him. A great

thinker is a property of the world, belongs to the whole world, and should not be cold-stored within a limited circle.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

VARSHAPHAL OR THE HINDU PROGRESSIVE HOROSCOPE (Fourth Edition): By B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S. Raman Publications, P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Raman, the efficient editor of the *Astrological Magazine*, has been rendering valuable services to the cause of Hindu Astrology for some decades. His organ has been instrumental in popularising and raising the standard of Hindu Astrology not only all over India but also in Western countries. He is the author of a good many astrological works which will, it is sure, stand the test of time. His present work is a new venture in the realm of 'Hindu' Astrology because the long-neglected Tajaka system has, for the first time, been explained in this book in a most rational and scientific manner. There are three main systems of Hindu Astrology, i.e. (1) Parasara, (2) Jaimini, (3) Tajaka. The last-mentioned system, which is a distinct departure from the other two systems of later origin. It was pursued by many astrologers amongst whom the works of Nilkantha and Kesava are regarded to be authentic. One who masters this system can predict annual results from a subject horoscope with wonderful accuracy. It should be remembered that 'Varshaphal' or annual results cannot be forecast with the help of any other method except the Tajaka system which is being popularised through Mr. Raman's present work that has passed through several editions within a decade.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON NATIONAL AND LOCAL FINANCE: By Binola Kanta Sarkar. Published by the author from 29-B Bakulbugan Road, Calcutta. Pages 140. Price Rs. 2-8.

As the name implies this is a treatise on taxation as studied from the local and national points of view. The problem is of special significance now when the Indian Union shall have to revise the entire schedule to give maximum benefit to the masses. The author makes a comparative study of conditions prevailing in England, Germany, France and U.S.A. College students will find this book useful as the author has made a comparison and analysis of various opinions of the European and American authorities on the subject. The book abounds in mistakes in printing, which the author regrets and promises to rectify in a future edition.

A. B. DUTTA

RURAL PROBLEMS IN MADRAS: Monograph by S. Y. Krishnaswami, O.B.E., I.C.S. Government Press, Madras. 1947. Pp. 545. Price Rs. 5.

This is an exceedingly well-written monograph on the rural problems of Madras. It is rarely that a reviewer has the pleasure of unreservedly commending a Government publication. Sri Krishnaswami has treated his subject in thirteen chapters covering 'General aspects, Population, Land tenure, Irrigation, Agriculture and its technological improvements, Livestock, Rural industries, Marketing of the products, Development of co-operatives, Education, Health and Hygiene.' It ends with conclusions drawn from subjective and objective analyses of the village problems in Madras. There are four maps devoted to Topography, Rainfall, Soil and Population and a number of illustrations too. One would however wish that a map showing physical features including the drainage of the area would be

provided in the next edition. We congratulate the author and the Government for bringing out such an excellent monograph.

KANANGOPAL BHADRA

HINDI

MUKTIDUTA: By Virendra Kumar Jain. *Shraddha Gnanapith, Durgakund Road, Benares*. Pp. 126. Price Rs. 4-12.

The young novelist, who is already on his way to fulfilment and fame, has woven, with the aid of vivid imagination and a style which has in it the movement and music of the wave, into a romance the Puranic tale of Anjana and Pavanjaya. Some of his descriptions have a haunting beauty, while his analysis of the ever-elusive emotion of love is marked by a pleasing as well as profound insight. At places, however, he is submerged under the crescendo of his own creation!

PRAKRITIK CHIKITSAK: By Ramnarain Dube. *Prakritik Arogyashrama, Benares*. Pp. 562. Price Rs. 7-8.

A handy and useful Nature-Cure physician in your own home! As such, the book deserves to be in every family. The "prescriptions" for the various diseases, however, still need to be further simplified before they can commend themselves to the common man.

JEEVAN-VIHAR: By Kaka Kalelkar. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay 2. Pp. 143. Price Rs. 2.

The author is an original thinker as well as an erudite scholar, besides being a man of action. Therefore, his thoughts on the many facets of literature, with which the present volume (which is a translation into Hindi by Shripad Joshi from the author's original, in Gujarati, *Jeevan-Bharati*) deals, have an inspiring all-sidedness. Literature, according to him, is a lamp as well as a lever; it should not be an inhabitant of the ivory-tower; its legitimate, native place is the life of truth and the truth of life (which is, by the bye, a totally different thing from the "eye-witness" account of life). Therefore, a votary of literature is a well-wisher of humanity as well as its sign-post towards archetypal perfection and infinite probity.

G. M.

GUJARATI

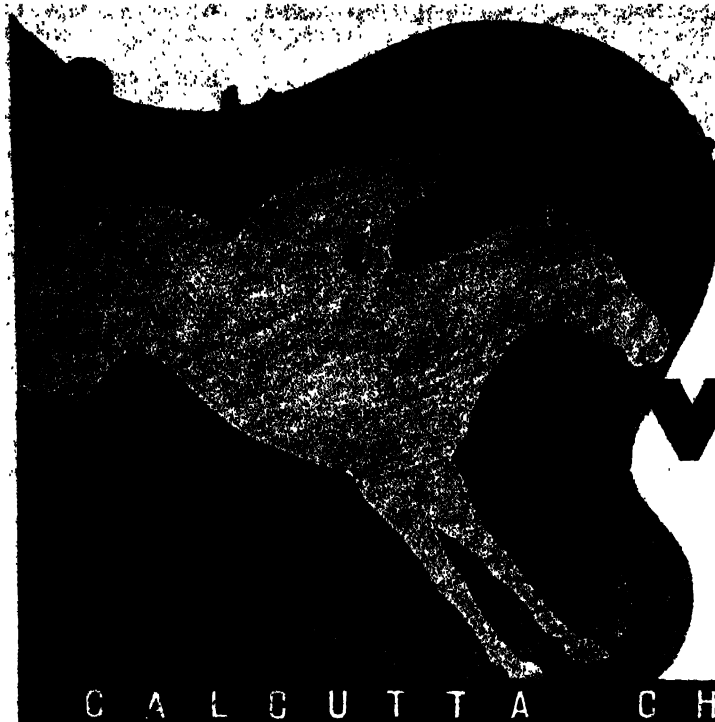
KAVYANGANA: By Jatil (Jatilraj) Keshavlal Vyas, B.A. Porbandar. Thick card-board. 1945. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 1-8.

A collection of 66 poems on various subjects, ably handled by the young rising poet, has its value enhanced by the analytical introduction contributed by the well-known Professor of Gujarati, Mr. R. M. Joshi, of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar.

ARVACHINA: By Dhanukhlal Mehta and Avinash Vyas. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 70. Price Rs. 1.

Mr. Dhanukhlal Mehta, an established writer of numerous works, along with Avinash Vyas, has hit off a step, which is meant to present a picture of the modern (*Arvachin*) young society of both sexes consisting of college students. How superficiality and jollity have worked into their hearts and how they influence their lives, is shown here in as clear a manner as possible. The idea behind the caustic humour is self-apparent. When being acted on the stage, it is sure to please the audience at one moment and set them thinking at the other, as to what phase of life our society is undergoing. There is much that is hidden behind this light play.

K. M. J.



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The Re-making of Higher Studies in Economics, Commerce, Politics and Sociology for Dominion India

Prof. Benoy Sarkar writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

The Dominion Freedom of India since August, 1947, has placed her in the arena of world-competition in a manner undreamt of three decades ago at the end of World-War I. The educational institutions of the Indian people have therefore need to be re-made with a view to the new demands for competency and the new urges for self-assertion by the international standard.

Dominion India requires new branches of knowledge to be cultivated by her scholars. She requires also new methods and techniques for cultivating the arts and sciences, both old and new.

A short memorandum is being placed before the educators of India today with a few suggestions in regard to some of the more important items associated with the higher teaching of economics, commerce, politics and sociology. For certain purposes it may be taken to be a continuation of the memo. submitted by the present writer twenty-two years ago in August, 1926. These suggestions are based on a hypothesis with regard to educational, socio-philosophical and cultural reconstruction. It runs to the effect that persons with pre-1947 mentalities and/or equipment will find themselves utterly helpless in regard to the management of Indian affairs from 1950 on.

In order to render the teaching of economics, commerce, political science, and sociology somewhat more practical, businesslike and up-to-date the following resolutions may be placed before the Inter-University Board's meeting as well as the Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities to be held at Madras in December, 1948. The resolutions have been so worded that underlying reasons should appear to be obvious.

1. Measures be adopted by every University such as may enable at least one teacher of economics to be equipped with a general knowledge of goods as well as engineering, production and technological subjects. The deputation of certain members of the teaching staff in economics and commerce to educational institutions like (1) the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.), Cambridge (U.S.A.), for familiarity with the courses in business and engineering administration as well as in industrial economics, and (2) the New York State College Agriculture (Cornell University, Ithaca, U.S.A.) for familiarity with the courses in farm management, agricultural engineering, animal husbandry, rural sociology, etc., for a year or two is likely to be helpful in this regard.

2. Measures be adopted by every University such as may enable at least one teacher of economics to be equipped with the latest economic theories as well as methods of economic analysis. The deputation of certain teachers, strong in mathematics and statistics, to the University of Cambridge or to Harvard University (U.S.A.) for a year or two is recommended for this purpose.

3. Statistics be rendered compulsory for every M.A. student of economics and commerce.

4. Statistics be rendered an integral part in I.A. for the Civics papers by the incorporation of a definite number of pages dealing with some of the most important figures available in Census Reports and other Government publications.

With this object in view 20 per cent. of the marks in I.A. Civics may be ear-marked for questions bearing on descriptive statistics.

5. Statistics be likewise rendered an integral part in B.A. for the Economics papers by the prescription of a text-book on elementary (and somewhat non-mathematical) statistics.

This object may be realized by the rule that 20 per cent. of the marks in B.A. Economics be allotted to statistics.

6. Insurance (life and general) be rendered compulsory for every student of commerce in M.A.

7. Transportation (inland, maritime, and aerial) be rendered compulsory for every student of commerce in M.A.

8. Measures be adopted by every University for enabling the teachers of political science to be equipped with a general knowledge of races and tribes, mental traits, group morality, caste patterns, as well as economic development, and industrial relations. The deputation of certain teachers to Columbia University (New York) and the Universities of Paris, Cologne, Prague, Stockholm, Zurich, etc., for a year or two with a view to orientations in anthropological, psychological and sociological sciences as well as world-economy is likely to be useful in this field.

9. Measures be adopted for providing every University with a teacher of diplomacy, international relations and consular service. The deputation of certain teachers of political science to Indonesia, China, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, U.K., France and the U.S.A. for researches and investigations is recommended for this purpose.

10. Measures be adopted for providing every University with a teacher of municipal administration and constitutional law. The deputation of certain teachers of political science to Sweden, Holland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, U.K., France, Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, etc., for researches and investigations is recommended for this purpose.

11. Measures be adopted for rendering sociology an independent branch of instruction and research at every University and placing it on the same level with economics and political science.

12. Measures be adopted for equipping the existing arrangements for the teaching of sociology with persons strong in four different disciplines, e.g., anthropology, psychology, social work, and contemporary sociological theories.

13. The science of population (with public health and eugenics) be rendered popular in all Universities by being admitted as an optional subject in the department of sociology, economics or political science. For proper equipment teachers may be deputed to the Population Institutes of Rome, Paris, Munich, Stockholm, London, and New York.

14. The science of criminology (comprising pathology) be rendered popular in all Universities by being admitted as an optional subject in the department of sociology or political science. The deputation of teachers to the Criminological Institutes at Italy, France, Germany, Sweden, England and the U.S.A. for researches and investigations may be suggested as a necessity for the commencement of adequate courses in criminology.

15. Journalism be admitted as an optional subject in the department of political science or sociology. The deputation of certain teachers to the College of Journalism at Wisconsin University and to those at Columbia, California, Illinois, North-western Ohio, Syracuse and other Universities of the U.S.A. in order to acquire the methods of teaching would be a necessity.

16. Social work be recognised as an optional subject of the same level as other optional subjects in the department of political science or sociology. For experience in the methods of teaching and research the New York School of Social Work, the Smith College School of Social Work (Northampton), as well as the Social Welfare or Social Service Colleges of Chicago, Western Reserve, California and other Universities in the U.S.A. may be recommended as venues for certain teachers of political and social sciences.

17. For post-M.A. students at every University a two-year course be instituted for doctorate, and arrangements of the Seminar pattern be made for regular and systematic teaching as well as training in research under competent instructors.

18. Every seminar in every University be provided with financial facilities for publishing a quarterly journal furnished mainly with papers contributed by the teaching staff.

19. Industrial concerns, banks, export-import houses, chambers of commerce, insurance companies, railways, port authorities and so forth be requested to permit batches of University students to visit their offices, laboratories and workshops under proper guidance.

20. The departments of public administration (central, local and municipal) be requested to permit batches of University students to get acquainted with the practical working of the governmental machinery under proper guidance.

21. The ability to utilize books and journals in two of the following European languages,—French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish,—be regularly announced as a desired qualification for prospective teachers of economics, commerce, political science and sociology.

22. For prospective teachers of international law, diplomacy, consular service and contemporary history the ability to utilize books and journals in one of the following Asian languages,—Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, Malayan, Javanese, Indo-Chinese and Japanese,—in addition to one of the European languages mentioned above be regularly announced as a desired qualification.

23. Several Institutes of Modern Languages (Asian and European as well as Indian) be organized under the auspices of Indian Universities for the benefit of students, teachers, administrators, consular and diplomatic officials, journalists and businessmen.

Up till now the word "plan" or "planning" has been carefully avoided. But the most important feature of a plan is ubiquitous in the above resolutions. It is impossible to hide the reality that Rupee-sunagpies in thousands are involved in the implementation of any one of these suggestions, if they are not to remain pious wishes. And so we are finally landed in an educational planning for certain branches of social science.

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Legislative Work

The New Review observes:

The autumn session of India's Parliament is over. There was hardly any formal Opposition, and no fear of any adverse vote, in spite of it, or because of it, criticism was frank and widespread. Embarrassing questions were put on the embellishments of governor-general and ambassadors, recruitment to the Foreign Service, sterling balances, monetary inflation, etc. In twenty-three sessions more than thirty laws were passed on the Territorial Army, the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, the Nationalisation of the Reserve Bank, the Electricity system, etc. The Hindu Code Bill was held over as some of its clauses call for elucidation; measures against inflation were discussed but the Government have not yet framed a comprehensive policy.

The bill on the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank was passed in first reading as a matter-of-course. Such legislation has become fashionable. In 1935 there were eleven countries with a state bank; four more (Canada, Denmark, New-Zealand, Paraguay) were added before the war, nine more since 1945 (Brazil, Rumania, the Netherlands, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, France and even England). Popular opinion has it that since a Reserve Bank is the bank for all people, it should be managed by the people's representatives, it being taken for granted that political representatives really represent the economic man. It is to be expected that further measures will be brought forward for nationalising the whole banking system. Nobody would deny that banks need control and reforms. All over the world, bank-concentration has grown alarmingly.

"It is patent that in our days alone is wealth accumulated but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners but only the trustees and directors of invested funds who administer them at their good pleasure.

"This power becomes particularly irrealisable when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying so to speak the life-blood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production so that no one dare breathe against their will. This concentration of power has led to a threefold struggle for domination. First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then there is the fierce battle to acquire control of the state so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggle. Finally, there is the clash between states themselves."

The above is an excerpt from an Encyclical of Pope Pius XI who stresses the extreme dangers of economic liberalism. Yet one should be careful not to rush away from one danger into another and entrust the whole credit system of a country to a bureaucracy subservient to politicians. Economic power should not be monopolised by any caucus, and is most beneficent when widely distributed. The vital problem of credit control would be best solved along the lines indicated by the Hungarian law of 1916.

This law created a co-operative society of banks (Pénzüntépi Központ) which had 'to promote and watch the financial interests of the land.' Each bank subscribed to an extent proportional to its capital, and the right to the seat. The banks were divided into three groups according to their size and each group elected representatives to the Board of Directors, which had a majority of Government nominees. Thus the credit system of the country was entrusted to a professional association of banking experts taken from all the banking strata and personally interested

in running their credit institutions along sound lines. The co-operative worked quite well until a bad regime swept it aside. The failure of banks in India calls for bank-reforms and the example of Hungary invites close study.

Magnesium—The Ultra Modern Metal

Industry, so long dominated by steel, is gradually realizing the advantages of light weight as a means of increasing efficiency in movement, whether in handling, transport, or workshop operations. P. N. Gandhi writes in *Science and Culture*:

Magnesium when substituted for iron and steel saves 75 per cent dead weight. The two light metals, aluminium and magnesium, in collaboration are proving how far engineering design can be carried without recourse to heavy metals. The development of magnesium alloys in Germany, Britain, and United States began only some 25 years ago, but intense research has resulted in remarkable progress, further stimulated by World War II.

SOURCES OF MAGNESIUM

Although the metal magnesium, in its different compounds, is widely distributed throughout the earth's crust, the raw materials of commercial importance are three, viz., magnesite, dolomite and carnallite. Magnesite, the carbonate of magnesium, is the most important source of metal, and has the advantage that pure magnesia (magnesium oxide) can be prepared from it by a "dry" process with the minimum chemical treatment. Dolomite has all the advantages of magnesite except for the necessity of separating the lime. Isolation of magnesium from sea or salt water has been practised for the past 25 years. Magnesium occurs as chloride dissolved in sea-water together with salts of sodium, potassium, and bromine. About 770 lbs. of brine produce 1 lb. of metal.

EXTRACTION OF MAGNESIUM

Now-a-days the production of magnesium on an industrial scale is based almost exclusively on the electrolytic process, which consists in the electrolysis of fused magnesium salts, particularly magnesium chloride. This process bears some resemblance to the electrolytic extraction of aluminium from alumina, but the cell design is a little different. The electrodes are arranged vertically and opposite to each other in the cell, the cathode consisting of iron and the anode of carbon or graphite. The electrolyte consists of a salt mixture of suitable conductivity, viscosity, and specific gravity. Power consumption of 9 K.W.H. per pound of magnesium is necessary in present practice.



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A new thermal method using diborane and ferro-silicon has been developed lately in Canada. A mixture of the two, in the form of briquettes, is charged into tubular steel retorts, which are then closed and evacuated. On heating in a furnace, magnesium in the form of vapour is liberated and condensed in a removable sleeve fitted to the throat of the retort: $2(\text{MgO}, \text{CaO} + \text{Si}) = 2 \text{Mg} + 2\text{CaO}, \text{SiO}_2$.

ALLOYING

The tensile strength of pure cast magnesium is only 7 tons per sq. inch, while in the extruded condition it is about 13 tons per sq. inch. But if suitable alloying elements are added these values can be trebled for cast and doubled for wrought alloys. Aluminium is the metal most commonly added to increase the strength of industrial alloys. Zinc is also used in many alloys, and manganese is useful for increasing resistance to corrosion. In standard casting alloys, aluminium is added from 6 to 11 per cent, zinc from 0 to 3.5 per cent, and manganese from 0.5 to 2.5 per cent. Alloys with cadmium, calcium, cerium, nickel, etc. are in course of development and would help to open up new fields of applications of magnesium alloys.

MELTING AND CASTING

Magnesium alloy melting requires a specialized technique. This is made necessary by (a) the extremely low density of the alloys, (b) the strong affinity for oxygen causing "burning" and necessitating use of suitable fluxes, (c) the explosive reaction of molten alloy with water, necessitating use of inhibitors in moulding sand. Mostly steel crucible furnaces are used for melting, fired by gas or oil. The successful handling of magnesium depends upon the proper use of fluxes which have magnesium chloride base. Grain-refining by super-heating is another phenomenon peculiar to magnesium melting. Moisture in moulding sand must be kept to a minimum and even this minimum must be prevented from reacting. To this end, chemicals such as sulphur, boric acid, or ammonium hydrogen fluoride are mixed with the sand which must be of an "open" nature. Die casting is also applicable.

HOT WORKING

Magnesium and its alloys may be extruded, press-forged, and rolled if the temperature is kept high enough and the rate of working is slow. The best working range of temperature is between 260 degrees and 360 degrees C. By extrusion the relatively coarse-grained cast structure of the billet is changed into a fine-grained fibrous structure and both the tensile strength and elongation values are thereby improved. Magnesium alloys are extensively rolled into sheets and strips in mills essentially similar to those used for steel rolling. Commonly, the initial material used in rolling is extruded slabs, but cast slabs are also employed. The hexagonal crystal structure of magnesium does not permit cold rolling to any great extent but by frequent process annealing some cold working is not impossible.

CORROSION

There is perhaps, more misunderstanding about the corrosion stability of magnesium than any other property. It can be agreed that magnesium is chemically active but its position at the active end of the electro-chemical series has unduly prejudiced the minds of engineers. In the average rural and industrial atmosphere, magnesium is very stable. However, contact with other metals, either externally or internally as impurities, gives rise to serious trouble. But modern high-purity magnesium and alloys show only surface attack after 6 years in 3 per cent NaCl solution. Effective means have been developed for treating the surface of magnesium alloys by which atmospheric and particularly marine conditions can be withstood.

Uses

In the years prior to 1939, magnesium alloys were fairly extensively used in the construction of aircraft and aero-engine, for such parts as crank-cases, landing wheels, cowings, and airframe parts. The maximum possible use of magnesium ultra-light alloys in aircraft is now the general policy in Europe and America. Applications in the heavy vehicle industry have been expanding. Other successful applications have been for binoculars, book covers, scientific instruments, drills, road rammers, and in reciprocating and rotating machines, such as compressors, pumps, textile machines, etc. World War II has brought about important changes in the production position and plenty of magnesium is now available. It is obvious that there is a very great field for increased magnesium alloy applications based on the wider and more imaginative use of the existing alloys. It is hoped that India will soon be developing her own magnesium industry for which she possesses the necessary raw materials.

The Culture of Maharashtra

With all its provincial distinctiveness the culture of Maharashtra was Indian and therefore truly universal. Prof. S. R. Sharma writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Indian culture is a product of Indian history. All the people and provinces of this great country have made it what it is. In this brief article we shall try to ascertain the contributions made by Maharashtra to its enrichment. It is needless to point out that, like all other constituents of our country and civilization, Maharashtra has many things in common with the rest, as well as certain things which may be considered distinctive. It is for us to remember the one without being forgetful of the other, because it has been the eternal quest of India to find Unity in the midst of diversity. The culture of Maharashtra with all its distinctive features is essentially *en rapport* with the spirit and trends of Indian culture taken as a whole. Popular impressions of Maratha history and culture may seem to contradict this characterization, inasmuch as Maratha history was a history of revolt and not submission. But a closer examination and acquaintance will show that what we have said is also true.

The character and outlook of a people are well reflected in their religious ideas and institutions, their literature and art, no less than by their political history.

In order to appreciate the culture of Maharashtra we have to look not only at the significance of its outer history, but also into the inner

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and more intimate life of its people through the centuries.

Before proceeding to do this, we might correct a popular misconception about the nature of Maratha history. The Marathas waged war against the Mughal Empire, not because it was Muslim but because it interfered with their independence. Shivaji's toleration of Islam has been acknowledged by the imperial historian Khafi Khan: he protected the *Quran*, Muslim places of worship, and Muslim women; Muslims were also entertained in his services. He fought against Aurangzeb, but fraternized with the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda for the common defence of the Deccan. The Peshwas, too, co-operated with the Mughal emperors in their moments of crisis, and the latter looked to the Marathas whenever India was invaded by foreigners. Though Nadir Shah left before Baji Rao got news of his danger, the Marathas fell to fighting against Abdali in the defence of our common Motherland. In the great rising of 1857 the Hindus and Muslims made common cause under the joint leadership of the Mughals and the Marathas. The Maratha struggle was therefore, political and not religious in the sense of opposition to Islam. It was certainly religious in the sense of standing out for religious liberty against aggressive interference from outside.

An intense cultural movement was the bed-rock on which the Maratha political activity rested.

From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, it was also fundamentally a religious and social movement. Before its political leaders like Shivaji and his coadjutors and successors appeared on the scene to give it a permanent shape and direction, in the form of a Maratha Empire, its creative leadership was in the hands of the saints and singers of Maharashtra. These were as often drawn from the masses who were ignorant of politics as from the classes.

The first and the most essential service rendered to popular culture in Maharashtra by the saints was to use the language of the people as the vehicle of the highest thoughts. The Mahanubhavas had done this to a certain extent, but the most monumental work was achieved by Dnaneswar who wrote his immortal *Bhavartha-Dipika*—popularly called the *Dnaneshwari*—in the Marathi dialect spoken in his time (i.e., at the close of the thirteenth century). He could not have chosen a better work to comment upon than the *Bhagavad-Gita* which contains the quintessence of Indian philosophy. He did this in something like 10,000 ovis or verses which, like the *abhangas*, constitute a special feature of Marathi literature. To use a Marathi idiom, the result was that "sugar was added to milk"; such is the delicious effect of reading the teachings of the *Gita* in the *Dnaneshwari*.

Like the late Lokamanya Tilak—the most recent among the great Marathi commentators on the *Gita*—Dnaneswar, too, laid stress on action.

Those that followed Dnaneswar also composed in Marathi, thereby swelling the great stream of popular enlightenment into a mighty flood. Namdev, Ekanath, Tukaram and Ramdas may be mentioned as the most outstanding, though the number of the lesser lights is legion. They produced a symphony which is unique in several respects, together contributing to the great revival which bore Shivaji on its crest. From the point of view of purely political literature, Shivaji's time produced two important works, viz., the *Rajyasaugandhika* and the

Adhyatma, the former a dictionary of political terms and the latter a work on statecraft like Chanakya's *Arthashastra*, but more severely practical than theoretical. On the secular side, we may also state in passing, the Marathas produced a vast historical literature in their chronicles. They created the *powada* or popular ballad which is peculiar to Marathi and discharged a very effective role in spreading important news as well as inspiring the Marathas with martial ardour. Indeed, the spiritual and political spirit of Maharashtra may be said to have been sustained, respectively, by the *abhangas* and the *powadas* which were unique and powerful vehicles of popular instruction. Few other peoples can point to so many and such effective media for the dissemination of national ideas, sentiments, institutions, movements and culture as the Marathas.

In both respects—religious and political—the Maratha movement was a mass movement.

There were in it people drawn from all ranks and classes. The saints included farmers, tailors, gardeners, petty traders, maid-servants, mahars and even prostitutes who had repented of their evil profession. The *bhajans*, *javans*, and pilgrimages *en masse* to Pandharpur and other holy places, produced a volume of national activity rarely met with in other parts of India. Reading about all this, one would imagine that the people were obsessed with religion and neglectful of the practical problems of this world. Yet, side by side with the tinkling of temple bells and bhajan-cymbals we witness the forging of arms and armour, strenuous activity in building forts—which stud the whole of Maharashtra even to this day—and the creation of a fleet of fighting and trading ships. These do not indicate that the people were preoccupied with mysticism and metaphysics to the exclusion of all other interests.

The spirit of synthesis is also displayed in Maharashtra in the creation of that splendid trinity of Dattatreya, composed of Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara, which is one of the favourite deities of this province. Hence the sectarianism which tore the people of other parts of India into warring factions, found no foothold in Maharashtra. This may have been the result of the essential rationalism which characterized the teachings of most of the saints.

In short, the culture of Maharashtra was activist without being unspiritual, religious without being sectarian, and popular without falling from the great heights attained by Hindu philosophers in all ages.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Forests and Forest Resources of India

In the following paper read before *The Royal Society of Arts*, and as published in its *Journal*, June, 1947 Sir Herbert Howard observes:

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

In any given country the vegetation—and that means here the forests and forest resources—depends on the temperature and rainfall, the soil and past treatment. With a given temperature, moisture (and ultimately that is rainfall) is the main general deciding factor of the type of forest produced. Important though the soil is, it only influences the type of forest within the limits set by the climate, which is determined largely by temperature and rainfall. Whatever the general type may be in a given locality as determined by the interaction of temperature, rainfall and soil, the past treatment will decide the actual state of the forest.

India, including both British India and the Indian States, presents practically all variations of climate. Temperatures rise as high as 120 degrees in the shade for considerable periods, for example, in places like Multan or Jacobabad, while there are regions of perpetual snow above about 16,000 ft. in the Himalayas. Rainfall varies from under 5 in. per annum in places in the Sind desert to the highest rainfall in the world at Cherrapunji, with an average of 450 in. per annum and a record of over 900 in. Without going into details of all the many varieties of soil in India, it may be said that they include all types from pure sand to the stiffest clay. With such a wide range of conditions, the forests of India naturally contain a very large variety, both of types and species, sufficient in kind to make its forest resources capable of supplying all the ordinary needs of the population.

But apart from the influence of altitude in lowering temperature, which for practical purposes means the mountains on the Western Border, the Himalayas and the Nilgiris, India as a whole is mostly tropical. The result of all this is that for practical purposes the distribution of types of forests over most of the area of India is governed by the rainfall, influenced locally by soil.

If a rainfall map of India be examined it will be seen that, very roughly speaking, the rainfall is lowest in the west in Sind and the Punjab, increasing as one proceeds eastwards towards Bengal and Assam. Beginning with a low rainfall of under 5 in. in Sind itself, it rises to considerably more than 100 in. the extreme east. On the west coast of Madras there is a strip of very heavy rainfall between the coast and the Nilgiris with over 200 in., decreasing rapidly as one proceeds eastwards till the rainfall rises again owing to the influence of the north-east monsoon.

Approximately the types of forest follow those variations in rainfall. Thus in the extreme west in the Sind desert there is practically no vegetation except scattered trees of *Prosopis spicigera*, *Capparis aphylla*, *Salvadora oleoides*, *Salvadora persica*, *Tamarix articulata*, etc.

Slightly to the east of this is a belt of tropical thorn forest with various species such as *Prosopis spicigera*, *Capparis aphylla*, *Balanites roxburghii*, *Zizyphus jujuba*, *Salvadora oleoides*, *Acacia leucophloea*, *Acacia arabica*, *Carissa spinarum*, *Adhatoda vasica*, etc.

Further east again is a large area of dry deciduous forest with such species as *Anogeissus latifolia*, *Acacia catechu*, *Buchanania latifolia*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, *Bauhinia variegata*, *Kydia calycina*, *Shorea robusta* (sal), *Borwellia serrata*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Grewia vestita*, *Ougenia dalbergioides*, *Dendrocalamus strictus* (bamboo), *Stereospermum suaveolens*, *Bombax malabaricum*, *Lannea grandis*, *Garuga pinnata*, *Stephygyne parviflora*, *Pterocarpus marsupium*, *Terminalia chebula*, *Dalbergia sissoo* and many others. The sal occurs in large gregarious masses.

East of this again is a moist deciduous forest containing principally *Shorea robusta* in gregarious masses and forming the most valuable forests of North India, and further east again a tropical semi-evergreen and wet evergreen forest with such species as *Dipterocarpus pilosus*, *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, *Shorea assamica*, *Cinnamomum cecicodaphne*, *Dysoxylon binectariferum*, *Altingia excelsa*, *Messua ferrea*, *Eugenia* spp., *Sterculia alata*, *Michelia champaca*, *Amoora wallichii*, *Garcinia* spp., *Aquilaria agallocha*, *Cedrela toona*, *Ficus* spp., *Phoebe hainensis*, *Vatica lanceaefolia*, *Dendrocalamus hamiltonii*, *Teinostachyum dulloo*, *Bambusa pallida*, *Terminalia myriocarpa*, *Bischofia javanica*.

The boundaries of these zones do not run north and south, but are roughly triangular with the apex of the triangle to the east. Thus the tropical dry deciduous extends as far west as longitude 72 in the south and 76 in the north, but between these two the tropical dry thorn forest extends nearly as far east as longitude 80, while the tropical dry deciduous itself extends in a long tongue right down the Ganges almost to longitude 88 and in another tongue below the Central Provinces as far as longitude 84. In other words, to repeat, the forest distribution follows the rainfall distribution.

There are exceptions. Thus all through the Gangetic plain the well-defined cane fringes many of the more sluggish streams. In Bombay and Hyderabad there is a belt of tropical dry deciduous and tropical thorn forest in a temperature and rainfall which would ordinarily produce a moister type of forest, but which is caused by the exceedingly dry type of soil which occurs there. Right

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down the west coast from Bombay to Cape Comorin to a belt of tropical wet evergreen and tropical semi-evergreen, and another belt of tropical wet evergreen in the east of Assam towards the Burmese border. There is also the mangrove forest in the Sunderbans.

The Himalayas have a zoning of their own running from, roughly, west to east in a semi-circle, the zoning depending mainly on altitude, though rainfall plays an important part as one proceeds east. Thus, all along the lower Himalayas occur the sub-tropical pine forest of *Pinus longifolia*, above these the moist temperate forests of deodar, blue pine (*Pinus excelsa*), silver fir and spruce, above these are the dry temperate oak forests and above these again the alpine forests. In the eastern Himalayas the rainfall alters this so that in the lower altitude occur the sub-tropical wet forests and higher up the wet temperate forests.

This description does not give any detail of the south Indian forests which contain many valuable species. Worth mentioning are the teak forests of Malabar, Bombay and the Central Provinces, the valuable *Hopea* forests, the eucalyptus forests of the Nilgiris, the sandalwood areas and the peculiar dry evergreen with such species as *Mimusops*, *Diospyros ebenum*, *Strychnos nux vomica*, etc.

The above is a very brief description of the types of forests and the species which occur; but, brief though it is, it does bring out the fact that every type exists, from wet evergreen to desert and from tropical forest to alpine.

FOREST ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

While the forest resources of India are more than adequate in variety they are no longer adequate in quantity. Many uncultivated parts of India at present are almost devoid of tree growth or are covered with a useless scrub where at one time were magnificent forests. There are records which show that the Gangetic plain was once a vast forest with an equable climate. At the present day the forest is in scattered patches and the climate is anything but equable. The Emperor Bahar hunted rhinoceros in *sal* forest where at present there are only the Etawah ravines. In the Gorakhpur district there are only patches of *sal* forest remaining. Even those patches only remain by a lucky chance. To open up the country, the Government granted lands to settlers on condition that they cleared the jungle. If the jungle was not cleared by a certain time the area was to revert to Government. The few patches of *sal* forest which remains in the Gorakhpur district are those areas which the grantees failed to convert to agricultural land. Surrounded by a dense population with an unlimited demand for all forest produce, they are to-day the most valuable forests in India, where even the sweepings of the leaves which remain after a felling can be sold at a profit. The ruin of the forests was so extensive that

about 1880 a Forest Department was formed. Its task was to rescue the comparatively few remaining forests, preserve them, nurse them back to health and put them under systematic forest management.

FOREST POLICY

The Government of India, on the advice of its experts, adopted a forest policy which even to-day stands as an example and has formed the basis of policies in other parts of the Empire. I have no record of exactly when this policy was first reduced to writing but, at any rate, in 1894 in Circular 22 F, dated October 19, 1894, the policy, which in fact had guided the Forest Department since its inception, was issued formally. That policy classified Government forests into:

- (a) those necessary on climatic or physical grounds (prevention of floods, erosion or desiccation) i.e., protection forests;
- (b) timber forests (principally for timber supplies and revenue);
- (c) minor forests (principally to supply local needs), and
- (d) pasture forests.

Without going into the details of the whole forest policy, its outstanding principles may be summed up as:

- (a) the preservation of the climate and physical conditions of the country comes before everything else (even before agriculture);
- (b) the preservation of the minimum amount of forest necessary for the general well-being of the country is second only to (a) above.

After the above two conditions are fulfilled then:

- (c) agriculture comes before forestry;
- (d) the satisfaction of the wants of the local population free or at non-competitive rates comes before revenue, and
- (e) after all the above are satisfied, the realisation of revenue to the greatest possible extent is permitted.

Nothing is actually said in the written policy about the principle of the sustained annual yield, that is to say, that the annual amount of forest produce does not decrease from year to year, that it is approximately equal each year, and that the yearly amount rises gradually until the maximum possible yield from the soil is obtained. But Government has always recognised the principle—for instance, in its F. 56-3/35-F. dated January 8, 1936, Government said:

"It is inadvisable to permit a departure from the principle of sustained annual yield which has been the fundamental principle of Indian forestry since the foundation of the Forest Department in India."

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TIMBER

The total yield of the forests of India in the period just preceding the war was approximately 62 million cubic feet of timber and about 210 million cubic feet of fuel a year.

It would be confusing to attempt to give any idea of all the species which comprised this yield, but a few of the important ones which may be named are *Acacia arabica* (babul or kihar), a strong durable wood, very popular for all agricultural implements; *Bombax malabaricum* (semal), used for a large variety of ordinary goods, like matchboxes, match splints, packing cases and in plywood for rather poor tea boxes; *Cedrus deodara* (deodar), a fine railway sleeper wood; *Dalbergia sissoo* (sissoo), an excellent cabinet and furniture wood and also a good constructional timber; *Morus alba* (mulberry) excellent for sports goods; *Pinus longifolia* (chir pine), a good railway sleeper wood when treated and yielding a valuable resin; *Shorea robusta* (sal), the most used and best untreated sleeper wood in India—also an excellent constructional wood for rafters, piles, bridging, etc.; *Tectona grandis* (teak), too well known to need description, and many others.

The woods of India cover almost every commercial use, aeroplanes, agricultural implements, axe and tool handles, bentwood articles, boat and ship building, bobbins, boat lasts, brushes, buildings, carts and carriages, construction and general joinery work, cooperage, electric transmission poles, engraving and printing blocks, floor blocks (parquet), furniture, cabinet making and panelling, marine piles and harbour work, match splints and boxes, mathematical instruments, mine work and pit props, motor bodies, musical instruments, packing cases and boxes, pencils and penholders, picker arms, picture framing, plywood and lamin boards, railway carriages, railway keys and brake blocks, railway sleepers, rifle parts and gun stocks, road paving blocks, shuttles, sports goods, tent poles and tent pegs, turnery, umbrella handles and walking sticks, etc.

Imports of timber into India were small, on the other hand there were practically no exports. I have few figures, but just before the war India imported about 185,000 cubic tons of timber of which, however, 160,000 tons was teak from Burma, an import which, with the rapidly-increasing teak plantations in India, will eventually cease.

Despite the import figures it is not true to say that the forests of India supply the demands of India, but it is probably true to say that the forests of India supply the urban and more valuable demands for timber in India. I mean that the towns, the big manufacturers, factories, railway lines, bridges, etc., in fact, all the more valuable


uses of timber, were fairly adequately supplied before the war. Naturally also, the less valuable demands of villagers living in close proximity to the forests were fully supplied.

Not only were all these normal demands adequately supplied, but the tremendous demands made on Indian forests by the Supply Department during the war were fully met, though not without some difficulty. The demands, through the Supply Department, for war supplies alone rose to approximately a million tons a year, say 50 million cubic feet or, in other words, not very different from the ordinary annual yield of Indian forests. While various other demands were drastically cut, the fact remains that the last figures which I have show an annual timber cut of nearly 90 per cent. above normal.

So effective had been scientific forestry in the preceding seventy-five years that this excessive demand was met without material damage to the forests. It is of course perfectly true that much of the excess fell on the best trees in the best areas and, from the revenue-producing point of view, the forests have been temporarily damaged for a few years. But from the point of view of the general use of the land and the good of the country, the forests have not been damaged seriously as forests. Part of the excess yield came from the use of inferior species, not previously considered of any value, the excessive demand enabled thinnings to be made which would have been too expensive in normal times. Though nobody would pretend that the war fellings had not been harmful, they were not an unmitigated evil. Their harm is only temporary and only from the revenue-producing point of view has any harm been done at all. Moreover, the final effects of the past eighty years of scientific management have not yet been fully felt. It will not be for another twenty years, or a little more, that the first forest regenerated under the care of the Forest Department will attain maturity, and the increase in yield which will then take place will be something far greater than anything which has been obtained in the past.

DISTRIBUTION


So far this paper has shown the great variety of the timber in India's forests, and it has indicated that the ultimate effective forest area, of perhaps 10 to 15 per cent., did in fact supply the general demand for timber in India. But those were the general demands of town dwellers, for building construction, general constructional timber, railway sleepers, etc. Big and important though they are, they all deal with the more valuable classes of timber. A railway sleeper, comparatively speaking, is a fairly expensive item, at any rate, it is expensive compared with the price of fuel. Even fuel that is sold to and used by town dwellers, or by factories as a substitute



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for coal, can be sold at a much higher price than the ordinary cultivator, for instance, could afford to pay for fuel or for the small timber that he needs for his house or for his agricultural implements.

India, however, is not a land of towns. It is a land of villages. It is not yet a land of industry but a land of agriculture. It is not a country of the rich but a country of the poor and hungry.

If a map of the forests of India be examined, it will be found that except for the Central Provinces, the Bombay Presidency and the Madras Presidency, roughly speaking south of a line from the Gulf of Cambay to Calcutta, the forests under the Forest Department consist of a narrow strip in the north in and along the foot of the Himalayas, the forests in the east of Assam, the Sunderbans, and a few odd patches down the Indus, in the south of the United Provinces and in Bihar and Orissa (see Figs. 2 and 3). Though the data are insufficient to deal here with the forests of Indian States in detail, it will be found that a large part of them fall somewhere within this area, including the immense tract of Rajasthan, and over these areas the forests are small, scattered and deteriorating. Over all this immense area the vast village population cannot get sufficient wood for its needs. The villagers have no wood from which to make their houses, the pasture is too scanty to feed their miserable cattle, the people are poor and hungry, and their standard of living is deplorable.

It is here that the poor distribution of the forests of India does so much harm. Although in the Himalayas and, until the war in many of the plains—forests as well, large quantities of good fuel and small poles were left to rot on the ground, the villager over all the plains of North India could not get the fuel and small timber that he needed, because the cost of carriage, even if the quantity had been available, would have made delivery impossible. In fact, if the demand had been effective, the forest area would have been found far too small to supply it, and the only reason fuel was left to rot in the forests was because the demand was not effective.

The result of this is that the villagers, unable to obtain any other form of fuel, burn cowdung, and thus deprive the soil of the only source of manure which is available and which they understand. It has been calculated that in British India the cattle population is over 200 million and the cow dung of perhaps 85 million is burnt. This probably represents 60 million tons of dry manure per year, capable of producing somewhere about 345,000 tons of nitrogen, or sufficient to manure 13 per cent. of the whole of India's cultivation.

These astronomical figures mean little and no one would claim that they are accurate. But they are useful merely to show the magnitude of the destruction involved. If any method could be found to avoid this destruction, it could alter the whole economy of India's villages, whether the real figure represents the adequate manuring of 13 per cent. of the total cultivated area or whether it represents

very much less. Instead of the present burning of cowdung, inadequately manured fields, poor yields, poor pastures and poor cattle and a general downward spiral of poverty, there would be manured crops, better yields, increased food, better cattle and a general upward spiral of prosperity.

The forest problem of India is not the supply of the more expensive forms of timber, but the adequate supply to the villager on his doorstep of fuel and small timber to avoid the burning of cowdung.

The provision of this supply is the crux of the problem of the forest resources of India. Adequate though they are in variety, in quality and even in quantity for the better demand, they completely fail in the more important matter of supplying village demand.

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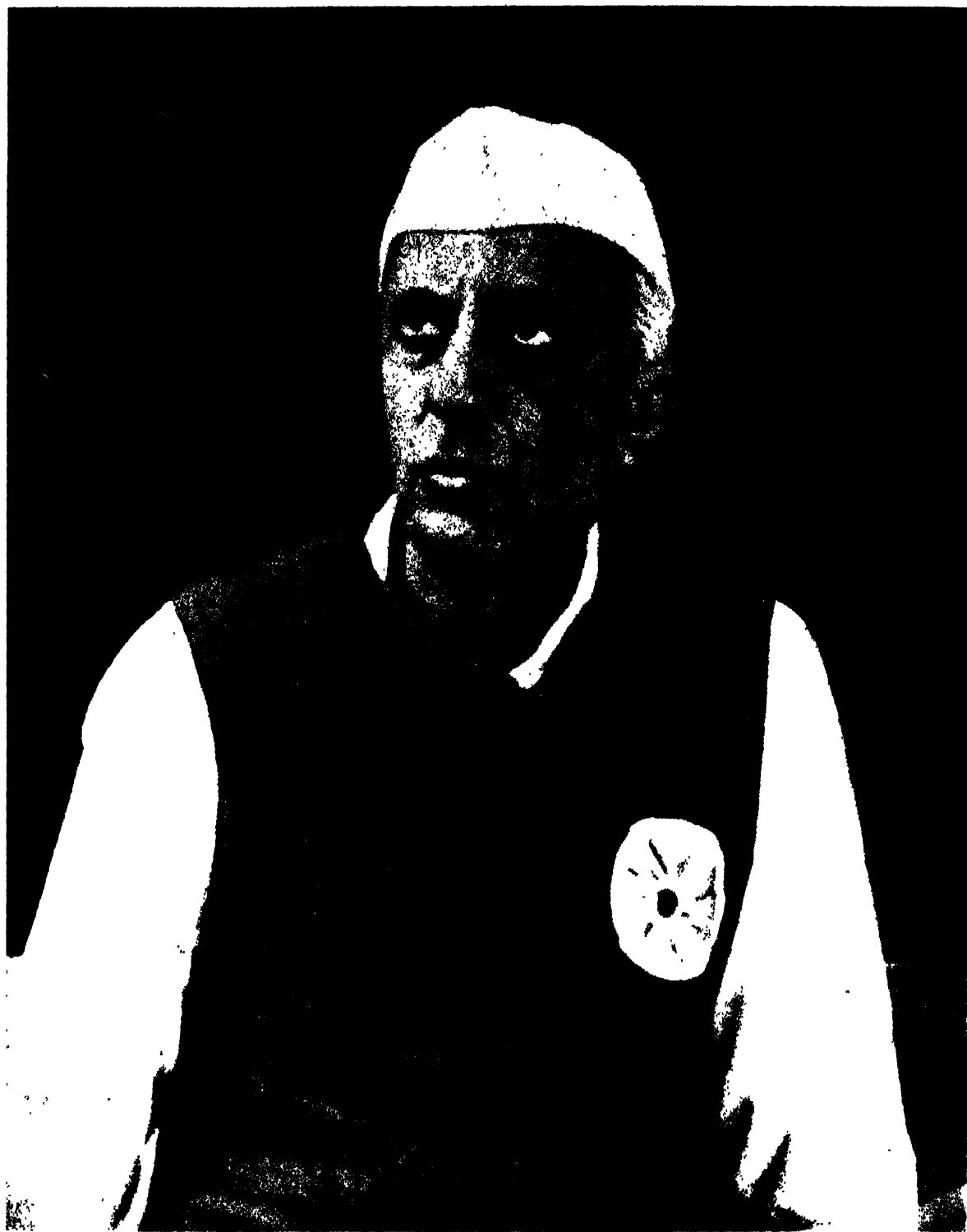
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NOTES

Indian Inhibitions and Pakistan Propaganda

The character and quality of Pakistan propaganda, as spouted forth by its mouthpieces, should be quite familiar to the World by now. Arrogant, mendacious and brazen to the limit, it is seldom based on reality, and in the matter of protestations of good faith and promise of humane equity and benevolence, the actual performance bears no relation to the spoken word. Indeed, the critical mind would be hard put to it to equate Truth and Justice as practised in Pakistan with its accepted values in the democratic world. For obvious reasons such propaganda paid dividends in the days of British domination and the Moslem League. But the reason, as to why such propaganda should still bear fruit at all after the Partition of India, is difficult to find, unless we seek for it in the field of the political psychology of those who hold the helm of the State in the Indian Union.

The puny new-born State of Israel has proved before the astonished and unbelieving eyes of the World that a determined and "forlorn hope" stand by a mere million can set at naught all the plans and resolutions of the Western Democracies. More than that, it can defy the onslaughts of the Arab League successfully despite the latter's thirty-fold numerical supremacy. The leaders of Israel never paused to think about "International repercussions" nor did they quake at the possibility of the "Big Brothers" of the Arab League launching into armed intervention. Vigilance and action were their watchwords in justifying their claim to a homeland. And the blazing flame of their patriotic zeal was fiery enough to enable them to "damn the consequences." Here we are three hundred millions and more, and there is no question about Truth and Justice being on our side. And yet we debate and waver and waver and debate, while there is Pakistan aggression in Kashmir and Pakistan attrition in East Bengal! It is time that we got rid of all false hopes and figments of mind. Realities have

to be faced with firmness if the Union is to survive.

Ambedkar on Draft Constitution

In the Constituent Assembly Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, gave an exhaustive review of the draft.

Stating that the Draft Constitution was workable and flexible Dr. Ambedkar said, "It is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time. Indeed, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution, what we will have to say is, that man was vile."

"India will have a federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all basic matters which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The means adopted by the constitution are three: A single judiciary, uniformity in fundamental laws, civil and criminal, and a common all-India Civil Service to man important posts."

Referring to the constitutional position of the American President and the President of the Indian Republic envisaged in the constitution, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Draft Constitution did not recognise the doctrine whereby the President and his secretaries in the U.S.A. could not be members of Congress. The Ministers under the Indian Union were members of Parliament and had the same rights as other members of Parliament. Dr. Ambedkar explained that a democratic executive must satisfy two conditions, firstly, it must be a stable executive and secondly, it must be a responsible executive. It was not possible to ensure a system which could ensure both in equal degree. The daily assessment of responsibility was not available under the American system which was far more effective than "the periodic assessment" and far more necessary in a country like India. The Draft Constitution in recommending the parliamentary system of executive had preferred more responsibility to more stability.

Speaking on the "form of the constitution," Dr. Ambedkar said that the Draft Constitution was a federal constitution and not a unitary one. The two essential characteristics of a unitary constitution were: the supremacy of the central polity and the absence of subsidiary sovereign polities. On the other hand, a federal constitution was

marked by the existence of a Central polity and subsidiary polities side by side and by each being sovereign in the field assigned to it. In other words, federation meant the establishment of a dual polity consisting of the Union and the States, which had a nearer likeness to the American polity. Under the American constitution the federal Government was not a mere league of States, nor were the States administrative units or agencies of the federal Government. In the same way the Indian Union proposed in the Draft Constitution was not a league of States. The main point of difference, however, between the American federation and the Indian federation was in regard to citizenship. In the U.S.A. the dual polity was followed by dual citizenship even though this was assured by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States which prohibited the States from taking away the rights, privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States.

Dr. Ambedkar explained that in certain political matters, including the right to vote and to hold public office, the States in U.S.A. might discriminate in favour of their own citizens. But the proposed Indian Constitution is a dual polity with a single citizenship. "There is only one citizenship for the whole of India" Dr. Ambedkar said, and added, "it is Indian citizenship. There is no State citizenship. Every Indian has the same rights of citizenship, no matter in what state he resides."

Dr. Ambedkar went on to explain that the Draft Constitution could be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it was framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it was so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. Once the president issued a proclamation, which he was authorised to do under the provisions of Article 275, the whole scene became transformed and the State became unitary. The Union could claim, if it required the power to legislate upon any subject although it might be in the State list, the power to give directions to the State as to how they should exercise their executive authority in matters which were within their charge and the power to vest authority for any purpose in any officer. Such a power of converting itself into a unitary state no other federation possessed, Dr. Ambedkar added.

Dr. Ambedkar contended that the proposed Indian federation would not suffer from the faults of rigidity of legalism. Its distinguishing feature was that it was a flexible federation.

In assuaging the rigour of rigidity and legalism, the Draft Constitution followed the Australian plan on a far more extensive scale than had been done in Australia. Like the Australian constitution it had a long list of subjects for concurrent powers of legislation. The biggest advance made by the Draft Constitution over the Australian Constitution was in the matter of exclusive powers of legislation vested in Parliament. While the exclusive authority of the Australian Parliament to legislate extended only to about three matters, the authorities of the Indian Parliament as proposed in the Draft would extend to 91

matters. In this way the draft had secured the greatest possible elasticity in its federalism.

Referring to the criticism that there was nothing new in the Draft and that about half of it had been capital out of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the rest of it had been borrowed from the Constitutions of other countries, Dr. Ambedkar asked whether there could be anything new in a constitution framed at this hour in the history of the world. More than 100 years had rolled over when the first constitution was drafted. It had been followed by many countries reducing their constitutions to writing. What the scope of a constitution should be had been settled long ago. The fundamentals of a constitution were also well-recognised. Given these facts, all constitutions in their main provisions must look similar. The only new things, if there could be any, in a constitution framed so late in the day were the variations made to remove the faults and to accommodate it to the needs of the country.

Nobody held any patent rights in the fundamental ideas of a constitution. What Dr. Ambedkar was sorry about was that the provisions taken from the Government of India Act, 1935, related mostly to details of administration. He agreed that administrative details should have no place in the constitution and wished very much that the Drafting Committee could see its way to avoid their inclusion in the constitution but nonetheless he recognised the justification for their inclusion. The form of administration had a close connection with the form of the constitution. There was also the possibility of perverting the constitution.

It was only where people were saturated with constitutional morality that one could take the risk of omitting from the constitution details of administration and leaving it to the legislature to prescribe them.

The question was: Could we presume such a diffusion of the constitutional morality? That morality was not a natural sentiment but had to be cultivated. "We must realize", Dr. Ambedkar said, "that our people have yet to learn it."

"Democracy in India is only a top dressing on the Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic. In these circumstances, it is wiser not to trust the legislatures to prescribe forms of administration. This is the justification for incorporating them in the constitution."

Referring to another criticism against the Draft that no part of it represented the ancient polity of India and that it should have been drafted on the ancient Hindu model built upon village Panchayats and district Panchayats, Dr. Ambedkar said the part of the villages in the destiny of the country had been well described by Metcalfe who had said: "Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down. Revolution succeeds to revolution. Hindu, Pathan, Mogul, Maharatta, Sikh, English, all are masters in turn but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they go and fortify themselves. A hostile army passes through the country. The village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked."

Such was the part, Dr. Ambedkar argued, which the

village communities had played in the history of their country. "Knowing this," he asked, "what pride can one feel in them? That they have survived through all vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is, on what plane they have survived? Surely on a low selfish level.

"I hold that these village republics have been the ruin of India. I am, therefore, surprised that those who condemn provincialism and communalism should come forward as champions of the village. What is the village but a stink of localism and a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism. I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit."

On the criticism of the provision of safeguards for minorities, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Drafting Committee had no responsibility in the matter. It followed in this respect the decisions of the Constituent Assembly.

Speaking for himself Dr. Ambedkar had no doubt that the Constituent Assembly had done wisely in providing safeguards for minorities. He asserted that in this country both the minorities and the majorities had followed a wrong path. It was wrong for the majority to deny the existence of minorities and it was equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves. A solution must be found which would serve a double purpose. The solution proposed by the Constituent Assembly was to be welcomed because it was a solution which served that two-fold purpose. To the diehard who had developed a kind of fanaticism against minority protection, he would like to say two things. One was that the minorities were an explosive force which, if it erupted, could blow up the whole State. The history of Europe bore ample and appalling testimony to this fact. The other was that minorities in India had agreed to place their existence in the hands of the majority. They had loyally accepted the rule of the majority. It was for the majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against the minorities.

Whether minorities will continue or will vanish Dr. Ambedkar said, must depend upon this habit of the majority. "The moment the majority loses the habit of discriminating against the minority, the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish. But that depends entirely upon the attitude of the majority."

Dealing with the criticism of Article 13 of the Draft defending fundamental rights—that it was riddled with so many exceptions—Dr. Ambedkar explained that what the Draft had done was that instead of formulating fundamental rights in absolute terms and depending upon our Supreme Court to come to the rescue of Parliament by inventing the doctrine of police power it permitted the State directly to impose limitations upon those rights.

In the Draft Constitution the fundamental rights were followed by what were called 'directive principles.' It was a novel feature in a constitution framed for parliamentary democracy. The only other constitution which embodied such principles was that of the Irish Free State.

The directive principles were like the instrument of instructions which were issued to the Governor-General

and to the Governors of the colonies and to those of India by the British Government under the 1935 Act. Under the Draft Constitution it was proposed to issue such instruments to the President and to the Governors. The only difference was that they were instructions to the legislature and the executive. Such a thing was to be welcomed. Wherever there was a grant of power in general terms for peace, order and good government, it was necessary that it should be accompanied by instructions regulating its exercise.

The inclusion of such instructions in a constitution became justifiable for another reason. The Draft Constitution as framed, he said, only provided a machinery for the Government of the country. "It is not a contrivance to install any particular party in power as has been done in some countries. Who should be in power is left to be determined by the people, as it must be. Whoever captures power will have to respect these instruments of instructions which are called directive principles. He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a court of law. But, he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. What great value these directive principles possess will be realised better when the forces of right contrive to capture power."

On the controversy that the Centre was too strong or it ought to be stronger, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Draft had struck a balance. However much they might deny powers to the Centre it was difficult to prevent the Centre from becoming strong. Conditions in the modern world were such that centralisation of powers was inevitable. At the same time they must resist the tendency to make it stronger. It should not chew more than it could digest. Its strength should be commensurate with its weight.

Referring to the differences in the constitutional relations between the Centre and the Provinces and as between the Centre and the Indian States, Dr. Ambedkar said that this was unfortunate. The Indian States were not bound to accept the whole list of subjects included in the Union list but only those which came under Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. They were not bound to accept those included in the concurrent list.

They were free to create their own Constituent Assemblies and to frame their own constitutions. All this, of course, was very unfortunate and quite indefensible. This disparity might even prove dangerous to the efficiency of the State. For, power was no power if it could not be exercised in all cases and in all places. In a situation such as might be created by war, such limitations on the exercise of vital powers in some areas might bring the whole life of the State in complete jeopardy. What was worse was that the Indian States under the Draft Constitution were permitted to maintain their own armies. He regarded this as a most retrograde and harmful provision which might lead to the break-up of the unity of India and overthrow of the Central Government.

The Drafting Committee was not happy over this matter. They wished very much that there was uniformity between the Provinces and the Indian States in their consti-

tutional relationship with the Centre. Unfortunately they could do nothing to improve matters. They were bound by the decisions of the Constituent Assembly and the Assembly in its turn was bound by the agreement arrived at between the two negotiating committees.

In this connection Dr. Ambedkar cited the example of the German Empire. In 1870 it was a composite State consisting of 28 units of which 25 were monarchical and three were republican City States. This distinction disappeared in course of time and Germany became one land with one people living under one constitution. The process of the amalgamation of the Indian States was going to be much quicker than it had been in Germany. On August 15, 1947 there were 600 Indian States. Today by the integration of the Indian States with Indian provinces or merger among themselves or by the Centre having taken some of them as centrally administered areas, there remained some 20 to 30 states as viable States. This was a rapid action. "I appeal to those States," Dr. Ambedkar said, "that remain to fall in line with the Indian provinces and to become full units of the Indian Union on the same terms as the Indian provinces. They will thereby give the Indian Union strength. It will save them the botheration of starting their own Constituent Assemblies and drafting their own separate constitutions and they will lose nothing that is of value to them. I feel hopeful that my appeal will not go in vain and that before the Constitution is passed, we shall be able to wipe off the differences between the provinces and the Indian States." In conclusion, Dr. Ambedkar replied to criticism of the provisions relating to amendment of the Constitution. Unlike the American and Australian constitutions, the present Draft had eliminated the elaborate and difficult procedures laid for amending the Constitution. Except in regard to two specific matters where the ratification of the States legislature was required, all other Articles of the constitution could be amended by Parliament with two-thirds majority in each House.

Dr. Ambedkar explained the difference between the present Constituent Assembly and the future Parliament. The Constituent Assembly in making a constitution had no partisan motive. Beyond securing a good and workable constitution it had no axe to grind. Parliament would have an axe to grind while the Constituent Assembly had none. That explained why the Constituent Assembly though elected on limited franchise could be trusted to pass the constitution by simple majority and why the Parliament though elected on adult suffrage could not be trusted with power to amend it by the same means.

Village Panchayat

On the first day of the resumed sitting of the Constituent Assembly of India (November 4, 1948) the Law Minister and Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, managed to draw on his head a hornets' nest by tilting at one of the creeds of politicians nurtured under the Gandhi inspiration. Referring to the criticism that in the Draft prepared by his Committee no part of it

represented "the ancient polity of India," and that it should have been inspired by the "ancient Hindu model" based on Village Panchayats, Dr. Ambedkar rubbed his fellow-members of the Constituent Assembly in the wrong way by poking fun at the "love of Indian intellectuals for the village community" which appeared to be "infinite if not pathetic."

Quoting Sir John Metcalfe who admired the survival value of these village republics which had outlasted the Hindu, Pathan, Moghul, Marhatta, Sikh and British regimes, Dr. Ambedkar asked, what pride can one feel in them? "That they have survived through the vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is on what plane they have survived. Surely, on a low selfish level."

This frontal attack on one of Gandhiji's conceptions of better life, on *Swaraj* of his dreams, appeared to have ruffled many tempers in the Constituent Assembly. And these had their "revenge" on the Law Minister, to quote a Calcutta English-language daily, when he was forced to accept a new directive principle of India's constitution that the "State should take steps to organize Village Panchayats and give them the necessary power to function as units of self-government."

But this yielding on Dr. Ambedkar's part has not settled the controversy. India's present Law Minister is in distinguished company in holding and giving expression to the opinion in disparagement of the role of Village Panchayats in India's historic development. The founder of the Communist philosophy, Karl Marx, expressed the same opinion in almost the same words in course of one of his series of articles on India in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1853. He appreciated the value of their self-sufficient economy but castigated them for their blindness to the revolutionary changes about themselves, their ostrichlike attitude towards political convulsions—evidence of a smallness of spirit characteristic of a "home-keeping" existence.

And as something more than debating points is involved in this controversy, we should like the constitution-makers of free India to apply their minds to it. There is the danger of an atomization of a country's life in this conception of village republics which in crises of national life seldom respond to the call of danger. Sri Aurobindo in discussing the philosophy of organization that Hindu polity sought to give shape to in practical life said that "a very complex communal freedom and self-determination" lay at its back; that each group unit of the community had been "set off from the rest by a natural demarcation of its field and limits but, connected with the whole by well-understood relations." But Indian history bears testimony to the fact that this "self-determination" led to forgetfulness of its duty to the whole, and the State, the instrument of co-ordination, failed to assert its authority over the indifferent units. Those amongst our constitution-makers who swear by Gandhiji's name will have to show that they are

prepared to face the consequences, one of which—the atomisation of social life—has been indicated above.

India and the Commonwealth

The London representative of the *Hindustan Standard* cables that reports from New Delhi in the British press have confirmed the belief in London that India's Commonwealth tie would be reciprocal representation between the future President of Republican India and the King of the United Kingdom. Lord Chancellor Jowitt is playing an important part in the question of new Commonwealth relationship and has been conducting along with the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Noel Baker, negotiations with the Foreign Minister of Eire, Mr. Sean MacBride. Although Lord Jowitt has avoided making any open comment on the latest developments in India and Eire, the *Hindustan Standard* correspondent claims that he got the impression from lobby talks in the Houses of Parliament that the Lord Chancellor was well aware of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's formula for Commonwealth link and would support it as 'practical politics' to readjust Indo-British relations.

Before he left London to attend the historic session of the Dublin Parliament in connection with the repeal of Eire's last link with the British Crown, Mr. De Valera was understood to have 'greatly appreciated' India's determination to be on an equal status constitutionally with United Kingdom. It is further understood that he also thought that the Indian formula might be 'attractive' to some Irish legislators in Dublin.

The new Republican status of Eire would hasten the reunion with northern Ireland—Mr. De Valera was understood to hold this view strongly. This is a significant pointer regarding India in relation to Pakistan, as Pakistan—unlike India—wishes to remain completely under the British Crown.

International Behaviour

By 22-21 votes and 11 abstentions the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly rejected India's proposal to request the South African Government "not to proceed with the measures amounting to the integration of South-West Africa into the Union of South Africa and to send a Committee of Inquiry to study the conditions in the formerly mandated territory," and decided to stop South Africa from going ahead with measures intended to associate South-West Africa more closely with the Union.

The Anglo-American bloc and Pakistan voted against the Indian proposal.

Two days before the voting, *Reuter* cabled that Indian delegates to the United Nations were commenting on the "lukewarm" attitude of the Muslim countries towards the future of South-West Africa which India demanded should be placed under United Nations Trusteeship. Fears were expressed that this

attitude of the Muslim countries may seriously affect, as it actually did, the result of voting on the combined Indian-Cuban resolution. An Indian spokesman said, "The attitude of the Muslim countries—the Arab States, Pakistan and Afghanistan—had changed significantly during the last week."

The biggest surprise was however sprung by the last minute defection of Cuba, which was a joint signatory to India's resolution. On November 18, *Reuter* cabled, "The Philippines, Siam, Burma and many of the leading Latin American countries, particularly Cuba and Mexico, are strong supporters of India's case against South Africa." But just after the proceedings opened on November 20, an early sensation was caused when Cuba announced the withdrawal of its amendment which had been strongly supported by India.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit told *Reuter*: "We do not mind the defeat of our amendments so much as the absence of some of those who had promised us their support, and the abstention of a number of others who, we know, feel as keenly anxious about the future of South-West Africa as we do."

"It is not a good thing for the United Nations that we should be so half-hearted in our championship of the freedom and integrity of the coloured peoples—especially those who are not represented in this organisation and who have no other way of seeking justice."

Just after the proceedings opened an early sensation was caused when Cuba announced the withdrawal of its amendment which had been strongly supported by India.

This amendment *inter alia* requested South Africa to submit annually to the United Nations for examination a report on the administration of South-West Africa, to designate a special representative to be present during the examination of each such report and to forward to the United Nations for its considerations petitions submitted by the inhabitants of the territory.

The resolution which was finally adopted by 36 votes to one (South Africa) reads as follows:

"The General Assembly takes note of the observations of the Trusteeship Council on South-West Africa as contained in the Council's report and requests the Secretary-General to transmit these observations to the Government of the Union of South Africa."

"Maintains its recommendations of the 14th December, 1946, and 1st November, 1947, that South-West Africa be placed under the Trusteeship system and notes with regret that these recommendations have not been carried out: takes note of the statement of the representative of the Union of South Africa that it is the intention of the Union Government to continue to administer the territory in the spirit of the mandate: takes note of the assurance given by the representative of the Union of South Africa that

the proposed new arrangement for closer association of South-West Africa with the Union does not mean incorporation and will not mean absorption of the territory by the administering authority.

"Recommends without prejudice to its resolution of 14th December, 1946, and 1st November, 1947, that the Union of South Africa, until agreement is reached with the United Nations regarding the future of South-West Africa, will continue to supply annually information on its administration of South-West Africa, and requests the Trusteeship Council to continue to examine such information and to submit its observations thereon to the General Assembly."

Just before the debate started the Indian and Cuban delegations were seen in conference. It was apparent that a new development was imminent and when the Chairman called the meeting to order he said: "I have just learned that Cuba wants to withdraw its amendment and I believe that the delegate from Cuba wishes to make a statement."

Surprised by the announcement, delegates leaned forward in their seats and all eyes were on Senor P. G. Escameros, who began by saying that under the rules of the Charter, resolutions in the General Assembly must have a two-thirds majority if they were to be applied. "We saw yesterday in the General Assembly," he said, "that a small minority had impeded important resolutions on administrative unions."

"A similar minority will be in a position to prevent the adoption of amendments on South-West Africa, as proposed. That is why we consider it would not be helpful to proceed with them, and on behalf of my delegation I will withdraw my amendment."

Asked if the Indian delegation had any comments to make on Cuba's withdrawal, Mr. Shiva Rao said he felt that the Committee would sympathise with the position India found herself.

India had withdrawn her earlier resolution in favour of that of Cuba which fully met her needs. He said he would suggest that the two amendments be put separately to the vote.

Countries who voted in favour of India's amendments—defeated by 22 votes to 21—were Brazil, Burma, Byelo-Russia, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Haiti, Iran, Liberia, Mexico, Paraguay, Philippines, (Poland), Ukraine, Soviet Russia, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. While Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Sweden, Turkey, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay voted against. Abstainers were Afghanistan, Bolivia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Siam and Syria.

Colour Question in British Commonwealth

Commander Stephen King-Hall, in an issue of the *National News Letter*, has discussed the important

question of the future role of Asian and African people in the British Commonwealth. He gives a clear analysis of the problem and his suggestion for the appointment of a Royal Commission on a big scale to go deep into the question, specially with reference to a long-term solution of the colour problem in the Commonwealth, deserves particular attention. He writes:

"The Commonwealth used to be all white and shown on the maps as all red. It is now far from being all white and map-makers must be in a quandary as to how to display its combination of variety and diversity. What are we going to do about the colour question in the Commonwealth? Let us consider a few facts.

(1) If Pakistan stays in the Commonwealth (as she will) and if India stays (as she may) and if Malaya becomes a Dominion and wants to stay, then there will be many more Asiatics than white men in the Commonwealth.

(2) The West Indies and West Africa will probably progress towards Dominion Status and wish to stay in the Commonwealth.

(3) In South Africa the Bantu is becoming politically conscious and the present policy of the Malan Government will accelerate that process.

(4) Membership of the Commonwealth implies the acceptance of certain principles of conduct and racial discrimination is incompatible with Commonwealth membership.

I approach this problem from a practical point of view and leave on one side for the time being the ethics of the case. I do so because people in, say, Southern Rhodesia or the Union point out with considerable justice that—ethics apart—there are many practical difficulties in the way of racial equality. For instance, to take a small example. I understand that in the latest Union Castle liner there is a bathroom for the first class passengers marked "Only for the use of non-Europeans." If this be so, I have no doubt the Company would correctly say that most of their first class passengers do not wish to use a bath in which a Bantu has had a wash and that if the Company did not accept this fact it would lose traffic. That may be all very well so far as, say, a black professor from Cape Town is concerned, but what would happen if Mr. Nehru or Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan were passengers?

The answer to that question is involved in the question of power. It is not, for example, a question of whether South Africans like admitting Indians or Pakistanis to equality; the question is whether the South Africans will be able to continue to risk exercising racial discrimination in the years to come. It is not a question as to whether Australians like the idea of allowing Asiatic immigration; the issue is whether they will be strong enough to keep them out.

At the present time those white groups in the Commonwealth who are subjected to colour pressure

not only feel that they are able to exercise discrimination, but they do so in practice. It is probably that this state of affairs will last for another ten, fifteen, may be twenty years. What then? By that time these non-European groups may be—and I think it probable that some of them will be—very powerful. Are they going to stand for what they consider to be humiliating discrimination? I think not, and if this be so these non-European groups will take steps, perhaps violent steps, to prove to the much weaker European groups that the latter are living in a fool's paradise.

Consider the position of the Bantu in the Union of South Africa. In 1921, the Bantu population was 4½ million; today it is nearly 8 million. On the Rand their numbers have increased from 300,000 in 1921 to about a million today. This influx to the towns has been largely due to the demands by the mines and all the ancillary industries for labour. If the natives walked out of Johannesburg, the place would collapse.

Mr. Eric Louw has recently been making speeches in defence of Dr. Malan's policy of segregation of "apartheid." This policy—in any long-term view—is one of suicide for the white people in the Union.

Now what is to be done about this great problem? I suggest that as a first stage it should be examined in a big way by a Royal Commission to which members should be appointed by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan and India. Its terms of reference might be: "To examine and report on the economic, political and social problems which arise from the existence in the Commonwealth of Nations of varying racial origin, and to make recommendations."

Kashmir

Pakistan's Foreign Affairs Minister Zafrullah Khan has raised the cry, "Help, murder!" in front of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. There is nothing clever or original in such an outcry. Even the light-fingered gentry resort to it, raise a hue and cry with a view to divert attention from their activities. Mr. Zafrullah Khan appears to be worried that India should try to secure "a military decision in Kashmir." This apprehension of his justifies the contention that we have been pressing forward since the beginning of the war in Kashmir, and we would be glad to be assured that the Government of India have at long last decided to give up its defensive tactics. We have reasons to believe that the military chiefs of India have been against this defence role forced on them by the policy of their Government. If the reports of Indian reinforcements, as given in Mr. Zafrullah's letter, be true, and if these press home the advantage gained by them over the Pakistani hordes, we can expect a solution of the Kashmir difficulty in the near future.

This will be possible, and can be made possible, only if the Indian Government can remain steadfast

in their political stand. The Kashmir National Conference have declared in their resolution passed at a specially-convened session that Kashmir's place is with India; Kashmir's Prime Minister, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and her Deputy Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, have been making declarations that they abide by this decision and will see to it that Kashmir holds fast to her moorings. India's Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, has declared that India will stand by Kashmir. These declarations, if rightly made effective, will be justifying the sacrifice of Indian lives and Indian money on the snow-capped battle-lines of Kashmir.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan says that the "object" of Indian forces' "all-out offensive" is to get "possession of western Kashmir, including Mirpur and the whole of Poonch." The latest reports from the front says that considerable success is being gained in this area. We can, therefore, leave to India's military formations to reach their campaign's objective. But from the political front there is news not as good. A Calcutta English-language daily publishes on the authority of its London office news that talks about Kashmir partition are being revived, that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, is being required to lend a hand in this matter. India should resent such an interference. The British have done more than enough mischief with our affairs. They should now cease if they expect India's help for the renovation of their position in world affairs. They should make their choice—India or Pakistan.

Indian Delegations to U. N. O.

Indian correspondents reporting United Nations Organization men and matters appear to be critical of their country's delegations. We noticed in previous issues their dissatisfaction with the handling of Kashmir reference to the U.N.O. In a recent issue of the *Indian News Chronicle*, Mr. Iqbal Singh reverts to the same topic, and sharply criticises the "ambiguous" attitude of the Indian delegation. He thinks that this reflects the mind of the Indian Government whose anxiety to remain neutral betrays a timid and uncertain mind. Mr. Singh's analysis of the resultant hesitancy will be found in the lines below:

The problem is really more fundamental than just a passing phase of misapprehension on the part of international opinion regarding India's position on a specific question. It is rooted in the policy itself within which our delegation is trying to function. To put it mildly, it no longer possesses any sharpness of definition or positive purpose. It often tends to be ambiguous, diffuse and lacking in emphasis. More than that, although it is claimed that we are trying to steer a middle course in order to reduce the existing international tensions, there are signs that this middle path is deviating increasingly towards a point where it will be indistinguishable from the policies of the Western Powers and their camp-followers. This reorientation is taking place by an almost sub-conscious process, and the

danger is that one day we will suddenly wake up to find that our neutrality has become non-belligerency—to invoke a parallel of the Second World War—in the 'Cold War' against Russia.

Mr. Singh wants India's public opinion to assert itself "if the voice of India is to be heard in international affairs—and heard to some purpose." But before that can happen India must prove its strength.

"Empire" or Commonwealth

We have often asked ourselves whether or not Winston Churchill is being punished for his past folly and arrogance by being made to witness the "liquidation" of the British empire. In an angry speech delivered in the House of Commons on October 28 last this die-hard Conservative declared that he and his party "will resist any attempt to destroy the expression British Empire or to abandon the constitutional term Dominion or to abolish the word British from our collective designation." But all these three abominations have happened, and Winston Churchill is a helpless witness to this outrage on his feelings.

Even Conservative papers in Britain are found accepting this change. The *Yorkshire Post*, the organ of Mr. Anthony Eden, the Conservative Party's deputy leader in the House of Commons, regards the London Conference decision as "a deliberate and considered change of terminology," it registered the transformation that had been slowly but surely arriving. The change in the title of the Dominion Secretary to Commonwealth Secretary was a sign-post; another was the adoption of the term "Commonwealth citizen" as an alternative to "British citizen." Allegiance to the Crown has not produced any common policy; South Africa's racial discrimination is a case in point.

The British Press has, therefore, generally welcomed the change. The *Manchester Guardian* has been effusive in praise of India's Prime Minister. The "role he played was not altogether expected." He confounded Winston Churchill's prediction that he would be intensely bitter considering that 15 years of his life were passed in prisons under British orders. But instead he came "not to destroy the Commonwealth but to rejuvenate it."

Since then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has declared that it is possible to invent or discover a device that would link the "independent sovereign republic" of India with the (British) Commonwealth. Eire has gone her own way. But the real problem that will continue to worry our people is whether or not this device will throw us into the quarrel between Anglo-Saxondom and Slav Communism. We can have no interest in their wranglings. Neither can we remain neutral. This is a dilemma that will continue to harass us till we are strong and organized in the modern sense of the words.

South Africa in the Dock

The South Africa Union, the white rulers of South Africa, have been brought before the bar of

world opinion since 1946 when on the initiative of India their policy of racial discrimination and segregation has been subjected to scrutiny. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been the leader of the Indian Delegation on these occasions of argument and controversy. At the Paris session of the United Nations Organization's General Assembly, holding its meetings since last week of September last, it has been her privilege to lead the assault on racial arrogance and white colour conceit. On the present occasion she renewed the request that the South African Union do submit to the Trusteeship Committee or Charter of Trust or "Trusteeship Agreement" in respect of the "mandated" territory of South-West Africa recognising the general superintendence and "supervisory" right of the U. N. O.

Mr. Eric Louw, leader of the South African Delegation, has been instructed by his Government "to decline to place the territory under the authority of the U. N. O. on the plea that his Government "recognized no legal or moral obligation to submit a Trusteeship Agreement." The Chinese delegate, Mr. Liu Chieh, challenged this plea by saying that under the U. N. O. Charter, the obligations of member States are "clear," unless "the S. A. Government intended to defy the majority decision of the General Assembly" repeated again and again—in 1946, in 1947 and on the present occasion.

Mrs. Pandit has been upheld by delegates of the Soviet Union, of Uruguay, the Philippine Republic and Brazil. The summary of their speeches that has appeared in the Indian Press give us the idea that the Trusteeship Council has been finding itself in "a difficult position as to what to do in the face of South Africa's persistent refusal to meet the wishes of the General Assembly," to use the words of Salvador Lopez, the Philippine delegate. "It is inconceivable that a minority of one of the Mandatory Powers should consider itself to be in the right and reject the principles embodied in the Charter," said the same speaker thus bringing out the fact that the South Africa Government represents only 25 per cent of her population usurping power on the strength of cannon and rifle; the ruling *junta* of whitemen have had no mandate from more than 80 lakhs of non-white population. The Soviet delegate, Semyon Tsarapkin, charged South Africa's Government with "flagrant racial discrimination", with maintaining a "policy based on the supremacy of the white man." Hector Geron of Uruguay maintained that "there was an obligation on South Africa to give to the United Nations an account of how they were carrying the Mandate the League of Nations gave them." Dr. B. Mai of Brazil stressed the point that "no assurance had been given them by South Africa that it . . . would recognize the authority and supervisory functions of the United Nations."

As against these arguments, South Africa's delegate, Eric Louw, stood on his country's legal right.

South Africa had received the Mandate for S.W. Africa from the League of Nations; the latter did not make the U. N. O. its "heir" in this respect; the League had all along known that South Africa maintained its attitude of "not entering into Trusteeship Agreements," that the U. N. O. had been encroaching on the sovereignty of a member-State by thus poking into her internal affairs. Since this discussion was held Paris despatches have told us that the General Assembly has held fast to her contention that South Africa is under obligation, if not legal, to submit draft of a Trusteeship Agreement in her relation with S.W. Africa. We can well imagine what the reaction of South Africa will be to this U. N. O. insistence. It will be a flat refusal. And confronted by it what will the U. N. O. do?

But before the U. N. O. decide to take any positive or drastic step, it will have to take stock of the whole position. And on the fore-front of it will appear the words of racial arrogance blazoned in the Charter of the Transvaal Church that

"In Church and State there cannot be any equality between the white and the non-white."

South African whites would not have dared outrage the collective conscience of the world, if they were not convinced that they had at their beck and call the white Powers and their citizens who have been dominating over world affairs for about 200 years. The British Empire had been built on this belief in white superiority; in the economy of the United States the words of Transvaal Church's Charter hold sway and influence the conduct of the ruling classes: the work of Abraham Lincoln, the Liberator of the Negroes, has been nullified by the defeated States of the Republic. Taking these things into consideration, we can say that it will require more struggle before the U. N. O. can transform her aspirations into realities of social justice, of equality between peoples of diverse creeds and colours. Till then South Africa will continue to strut before the world.

Gidwani on Pakistan Ordinances

Dr. Choitraman Gidwani, former President of the Surat Provincial Congress Committee and President of the All-India Refugee Association, has issued the following statement:

"The campaign to drive away the last Hindu from Sind has recently been renewed. Respectable persons are being put behind bars and detained under the provisions of the Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance. Even some of the Congressmen, who have remained behind and stuck to Sind to be able to serve, are being harassed and one by one they are being bounded out. There appears to be evidently a definite plan of ousting the entire number of remaining Hindus so that their properties could be taken over and the refugees settled thereon.

"One of these Ordinances professes to provide for

the protection and care of the properties of evacuees from Pakistan and the other is said to be aimed at improving the economic structure of Pakistan. The provisions of the second Ordinance lay down that the Special Commissioner appointed in this behalf and also the other officials under him shall have the right to requisition any property for the purpose of rehabilitation of the refugees and that the entire property of Hindus which may be deemed to be necessary for the rehabilitation of refugees, without regard to its remaining in the hands of its rightful owner, could be, an order of the Commissioner, be snatched away.

"Under the provisions of the first Ordinance, custodians of evacuees' property are to be appointed to take over in their charge the custody of evacuees' property which is defined very widely so as to affect almost all the properties abandoned as well as those in charge of the owner whose families may be out of Pakistan or in charge of one or more of the partners, the rest of whom may have migrated to India. The Ordinance further affects retrospectively all deals concluded after August, 1947. They could be declared null and void. For all new sales to properties, the custodian is to be satisfied and a permission obtained.

"But in the case of Sind Hindus who are holding their properties, the Government has called upon them to call back their families from India as the Pakistan Government's charge is that with one foot in India and the other in Pakistan, they could not be trusted to be loyal citizens. Again those whose properties have been requisitioned and otherwise utilised by the Government or which have been let out or leased to refugees are not getting any rent or compensation. Further the Hindu lessors have also been informed that after the collection of the Kharif Crop all leases obtained after August 1, 1947, shall be deemed to have expired.

"This is the situation of which the Government of India ought to take an immediate note. On the principle of reciprocity, just as, for example, in the matter of trade between the two Dominions, the Government of India should at once declare that the benefits of all evacuees' property shall be collected and utilized for the rehabilitation of refugees in India. The Government ought also to take up the question in respect of other unjust provisions of these two Ordinances with the Government of Pakistan. The inexorable moral learnt by us during the 15 months of our relations with Pakistan is that we have got to stand on the firm grounds of reciprocity for our survival and solution of all our difficult problems."

British Conservatives in Pakistan

The attitude of the British Conservatives towards Pakistan has remained an object of suspicion in India. Sir Percival Griffiths, former leader of the European Group in the Central Legislative Assembly of pre-partition India, is one of those die-hard Britons who is taking an active interest in strengthening the

economy of Pakistan. Recently, he did a signal service to the cause of Pakistan's industrialisation by declaring, in the course of one of his lectures at Karachi, that Pakistan was the safest place for the investment of foreign capital. This forthright view expressed by him, it is felt at Karachi, has done much to create confidence among foreigners who intend to invest their money in Pakistan, but are hesitant about doing so on account of political and economic uncertainties.

Speaking on the future of "this new but virile State," Sir Percival declared that he was convinced that there was great scope for joint British and Pakistan industrial activity. "This activity," he further declared, "would, in its turn, synchronise with collaboration between the two countries in the widest sphere of politics and this would itself materially strengthen both in their joint fight against the forces of darkness."

Addressing foreign businessmen, mostly British, Sir Percival remarked that, before embarking on large-scale ventures, the businessman from abroad must ask himself certain questions. One of these questions, he said, related to the efficiency and stability of the administration. He explained that Pakistan had to start from the beginning in the most disturbed circumstances. When the transfer of power first occurred, people in some quarters failed to understand the essential soundness of Pakistan's national economy. The foreign exchange position of Pakistan, he declared, was good. As regards the Dominion's raw materials, the lack of iron and steel remained a great handicap, although, according to him, such could be largely removed by the great hydro-electric schemes, to which the Government was now giving priority. These schemes gave great satisfaction to foreign businessmen and Sir Percival was proud that British engineers were closely associated with them. He said that the British businessmen and engineers were satisfied with the declared industrial policy of Pakistan and this was one of the reasons why they were today actively participating in the plans for the development of that Dominion.

Mr. Ayyangar on Railway Working

Broadcasting from the Delhi Station of the All-India Radio, India's Transport and Railways Minister, Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, revealed a tremendous increase in both goods traffic and passenger miles on Indian railways.

Mr. Ayyangar revealed: "Compared to 1938-39 which reported 13,456 million passenger miles, the figure for 1947-48 was 30,192 million miles, an increase of 124.4 per cent. The increase in the current year should be even greater."

Turning to the goods traffic, Mr. Ayyangar said: "The tonnage of goods lifted in September, 1948, was 5,052,000 tons representing an 18 per cent increase over the last 12 months."

He assured that railways are proceeding as fast as

resources permit in building coaches, and the recent decision of the Government to reduce the number of classes on trains from 4 to 3 is a step taken to ensure the maximum possible use being made of the stock that is available.

"Judged by the sheer volume of transportation handled and its vital significance to the teeming millions of the population of this country," Mr. Ayyangar added, "It is in no exaggeration to say that the efficient working of the railways determines the very tempo and amplitude of our economic life and activity."

He referred to the organisation which has been set up to regulate "what should move and what can wait so long as the demand on the railways is greater than their capacity," and said: "This is what is known as the Priorities Organisation. It is regarded by many with suspicion and by some who do not entirely understand its working as an unnecessary bottleneck. So long as the Government have to fulfil their responsibilities equitably by the people of the country, they must have power to determine priorities for rail transport, especially when its capacity is so demonstrably short of demand. Remember, it is only rail transport which can carry the thousands of tons of foodgrains from ports to the hinterland and from one part of the country to another."

"Again, it is only the railways which can carry the thousands of tons of coal required as a vital necessity for industry and trade. Certain minimum transport requirements for essential goods have got to be met in spite of difficulties, and it is only after this has been done that the rest of the traffic capacity available can be distributed amongst others. This quantum being limited, unless there were some regulation, a great deal of disorder and dislocation would result. I am personally not enamoured of controls, nor are the Government, but controls when properly administered should be less irksome when they are submitted to willingly under a democratic Government than when they are enforced by an alien administration on the people against their will. As soon as it is practicable for the regulation of priorities for movement to be withdrawn, this will be done. But till then, Government must ask the public to exercise patience, and it is even more important to stand in the queue and not to break the line, as that is often a major cause of confusion and corruption."

Referring to bribery and corruption which were so widespread, he said:

"On the railways, among the station, goods-train and such like staff, the demand and payment and the offer and acceptance of illegal gratification are almost a tradition, deep-rooted and of many decades standing. A determined drive is now on to combat this evil with firmness amounting almost to ruthlessness. Railway administrations are tackling this problem with the help of both the Provincial and the special police. Heavy punishments are inflicted on railwaymen found

guilty of corruption. It is hoped that these efforts on the administrative plan will produce satisfactory results, but the evil cannot be rooted out unless the administrations obtain the co-operation of the public. Particularly would I like to make a special appeal to the manufacturer, the trader, the passenger and all other users of railways to desist from tempting attempts to corrupt the railway staff with whom they come into contact or have to do business."

Mr. Ayyangar would do well to squarely face the fact that the Railway Priority Organisation is one of the greatest sources of corruption. So long as the rolling stock are in short supply, priorities will no doubt have to be operated. But at the same time strict watch ought to be maintained that no favouritism or corruption enters it. Grant of railway priorities has long been a subject of strong criticism by businessmen; it would be good if Mr. Ayyangar can remove the evil. The queue system can be successfully maintained only when the persons standing on it are sure that no violation of it through backdoor arrangements for anybody will be tolerated. Mr. Ayyangar seems to be more realistic and more determined to stamp out widespread corruption in the railways. His predecessor Mr. Matthalai had side-tracked this burning question by denying its existence. Mr. Ayyangar's attention should also be drawn to the need for an immediate simplification of red tapism in the Railway Department which greatly hampers production and trade and reduces the turn-over capacity of the existing rolling stock.

Central Committee on Fair Wages

The Central Advisory Council today decided to appoint a Central Committee to determine principles on which fair wages should be based and suggest lines on which those principles should be implemented. The Committee is to report by the middle of January next.

The employers' side will be represented on the Committee by Sir Homi Modi, Sir Sree Ram, Sir Padampat Singhania and Sir Biren Mookherjee, the workers' side by Sri Ashok Mehta. Sri Khandhubhai Desai, Sri B. B. Karnic and Sri Anjan Appa and the Government side by one representative each from the Finance, Industries and Supplies and Labour Ministries.

The personnel and the terms of reference as agreed to by the representatives of both the employers and the workers were announced by Sri S. Lall, Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, at the afternoon sitting of the Council which discussed the question of the determination of the principles of fair wages and statutory machinery required for securing the same for the greater part of the day.

Sri Jagjivan Ram, Indian Labour Minister, intervening in the discussion on the subject at the request of the Council observed that he was anxious that things should be expedited.

He observed, "If the Council agrees we will form a Central Committee here to examine the various principles and determine the ways and means for their implementa-

tion. If we constitute provincial committees, it will be delaying matters. Unless Central Committee's report, we will not be able to arrive at any decision, so long as these provincial committees do not submit their reports." His suggestion was welcomed by all sides of the House.

Sri Jagjivan Ram accepted Sri Ashok Mehta's suggestion that directives should be sent to provinces to finish necessary spadework in the meanwhile so that wage boards could be formed without avoidable delay after enactment of necessary legislation. In course of the general discussion on principles of fair wages, Sir Homi Modi on behalf of the employers declared that the employers believed not only in fair wages but progressively fair wages and wages which might be more than fair but the workers should respond in the same spirit. "We employers and employees alike are all servants of our master, consumer," said Sir Sree Ram.

On behalf of labour, Sri Khandhubhai Desai declared that fair wages should be thought in terms of both commodities and services. Sir Homi Modi urged that the necessity of the labour was not only money, but also facilities of housing education of children etc. Sri Shih Nath Banerjee emphasised that the wages should be adjusted to the cost of living. Sri Ashok Mehta urged that the conditions should be established to enable labour enter into creative co-partnership in building India of our dreams.

This move of the Central Government, to fix fair wages in joint consultation with the representatives of employers, employees and the state, has been in the right direction. The present unplanned and un-coordinated attempts to fix wages merely on the demand of Union labour has brought a good deal of confusion in the production structure of the country. It has benefited none but has contributed to such an increase in cost of production that foreign commodities are now preferred to Swadeshi products and most of the production units are threatened with destruction with the prospect of throwing the labour out of employment. The present mad race between the communist and non-communist labour leaders for killing the goose that lays the golden egg and State's anxiety to gain a cheap but doubtful labour support by placating them should immediately stop both in the ultimate interest of labour and that of the country.

In an effort for fixing a fair scale of wages, close attention should be paid to ascertain the amount of invisible profits made by the Managing Agents who arrogate the largest share of the profits. If the Indian Companies Act be amended along the lines of the present British Companies Act, as enforced since July last, abolishing the Managing Agency system and imposing heavy liabilities on auditors, a clear and heavy margin will be found for enhancing the wages even after paying the normal profit to the shareholder and without increasing the cost of production. Unless an approach to the problem is made from this direction, no amount of Works Committees, Wage Committees, Truce Committees or Profit Sharing Committees will solve the problem. The past fifteen months' experience ought to be an eye-opener.

Economy Committee's Recommendations

The recommendations of the Economy Committee, set up by the Government of India, in regard to the ministries which they have already examined, understands the special New Delhi correspondent of *Commerce*, are fairly drastic. In addition to suggesting considerable reduction in the expenses of various ministries, the Committee is understood to have commented adversely in regard to the manner in which the ministries are functioning. In regard to the Ministry of Information, the Committee have suggested the abolition of the regional offices, the posts of Deputy Principal Officers and of 20 translators now employed. The number of information officers, which are now about 17, it is suggested, should be reduced to four only. The proposals of the Committee amount to a reduction of the Press Information Bureau from its total strength of 464 to 126. It is suggested that the Publications Branch should not only not add to the strength but also reduce its present number from 159 to 85. It has been further suggested that the strength of the Food Ministry should be reduced from 400 to 289. The Ministry of Food has been strongly criticised for its inefficiency in regard to the "Grow More Food" campaign and system of subsidies. Although the Ministry gives a subsidy of Rs. 6 crores a year on food grains, both the quantity and the quality of foodgrains available to the consumer are very poor.

The Committee have criticised the working and suggested reduction in the personnel of Health Ministry, Agriculture Ministry, Ministry of External Affairs, Labour Ministry and the Ministry of Transport. The strength of the Transport Ministry is sought to be reduced from 202 to 66. In regard to the External Affairs Ministry, the Committee have recommended that no more embassies should be opened for at least a period of three years. For the time being there should be no embassies in Rome, Stockholm or The Hague and that the existing or proposed posts of Publicity officers in Paris, Prague, Moscow, Shanghai, Bangkok and Saigon should be abolished.

The said correspondent states that while the Committee have thus suggested reductions, some of the ministries until now, far from being satisfied with the present strength of personnel, are having proposals to increase them very considerably. For instance, in the External Affairs Ministry, 326 new posts are proposed; in the Transport Ministry, there is a proposal to increase the personnel by 132, and the Ministry of Food, it is stated, wants 481 additional appointments. The manner in which the various ministries have been augmenting the strength of their personnel has almost reached the point of a scandal. The Food Ministry is probably the worst villain of the lot.

The reason for this tendency towards an ever-growing expansion of the Departments is the rapid

falling off in their efficiency due to jobbery and nepotism and partiality in the matter of posting and promotion. Unless these evils are stamped out and appointments and promotions are made strictly on the basis of qualification and merit, no amount of addition to the number of personnel will bring in efficiency to the administration. The heavy increase in the number of officers in the departments of the Government, where haves and have-nots are clearly divided, have already led to water-tight division of functions to such an extent that it is almost impossible even for an intelligent and well-informed person to find out the exact place where he can get his work done. Unless one can get hold of a liaison-agent, who acts as a go-between for the officer and the bewildered outsider, one is driven from pillar to post and post to pillar till the right place and person can be discovered. This is not only annoying but also it costs a good deal in time and money, and is one of prime reasons for corruption in the offices. The efficiency and morale of an administration can be maintained only through unimpeachable integrity in the matter of making appointments and promotions which removes all heart-burning and brings in co-operation among the personnel, and a thorough simplification of office procedure. The Economy Committee seems to have done good work. It is imperative that the recommendation of the Economy Committee should be rigidly enforced by the Dominion Parliament. Similar Economy Committees should be set up for the provinces as well.

U. P. Agricultural Income Tax

Agricultural Income Tax has been a subject of study for a pretty long time, but most of the provinces, except a very few, have shown unwillingness to tap it as a source of provincial revenue. Agricultural Income Tax has been imposed in Bengal but the return has been meagre. The experience of Bihar does not also seem to be much encouraging. On the contrary, the cultivators have viewed this tax as a source of oppression rather than one of revenue. With this background and without going deep into the matter, the Government of India, some time back, recommended a levy of agricultural income tax to augment provincial revenues. U. P. followed up this suggestion and an Agricultural Income Tax for that province has now been completed.

The chief features of the U. P. measure in short, are (1) the prescription of a minimum exemption limit at Rs. 1500 and the establishment of slab rates of taxation over and above that, ranging from an anna in the rupee to four annas, varying with the size of the income; and (2) the imposition of a super-tax, at varying rates in addition to it, on incomes above Rs. 30,000. The Act is to have retrospective effect from July 1, 1948. The tax may be paid in four equal instalments.

The U. P. Agricultural Income Tax has been criticised on two grounds: first, on the particular aspect of the tax, as it obtains in the U. P. and secondly, on general grounds. In the first place it has not been estimated anywhere as to how much the levy would bring to the Provincial Exchequer, although some reports have it at Rs. 1 crore. The circumstance occasioning the levy is a budget deficit and the function which the tax is to perform is to fill the gap between expenditure and income. If such be the case, one would believe and rightly too, that the tax might net in a huge income. Facts however seem to indicate otherwise. According to Pandit Pant himself, the tax will affect only one per cent of the zamindars and the concessions made to them by the Select Committee will deprive the Government of Rs. 25 lakhs. In consequence it is clear that the tax returns will be smaller than the requirements as originally estimated and the net income, after paying all collection charges will be still less. Again, it is pertinent to ask how the tax is going to be collected. It may be remembered that when the U. P. Zamindari Abolition Committee, presided over by Pandit Pant, decided over the abolition of this age-old system, it put forth the novel suggestion that the panchayets be allowed to gather the rent for the Government. Is it likely that the same source will be asked in the present case also to collect the new tax? If it is a different one, one should know whether it is any existing institution or a new institution to be constituted for this purpose specially. It is also not clear on what basis the figures regarding cost of collection have been arrived at.

Secondly, the levy is described as a financial measure rather than as an agrarian one. If it were a financial measure, as it has been characterised to be, its expediency would have to be based on the two-fold object of filling the budget deficit and curbing inflation. The first object is doubtful of achievement. As regards the second object of fighting inflation, it is feared that the tax, instead of accomplishing such, may actually accentuate it. For, whereas the tax is meant to take off from the pockets of agriculturists a certain slice of income, it will, at the same time, reduce the margin of profit of the ryots and thus act as a deterrent to increased production. So far as we have information, this danger is already evident in Bihar. Thus, if it is conceded that the problem of inflation is as much a problem of production, the effectiveness of the tax would again appear to be doubtful.

Thirdly, in respect of provincial taxes like Agricultural Income Tax, Sales Tax, etc., there has been a growing demand, and a right demand, that there should be a uniform system for all Provinces and States. Regardless of this, however, Provincial Governments seem to be rushing through widely divergent tax measures through their Legislatures.

Such legislation also ignores the existence and work of the Agrarian Reforms Committee set up under Dr. Kumarappa to study agrarian problems with a view to recommending a uniform approach to the provinces in solving them.

The experience gathered in collecting Agricultural Income Tax in Bihar and Assam reveals that practically no cultivator is above the exemption limit and that the number of tax-payers is very small. In Bihar, for instance, only 12,900 persons were assessed to the Central Income Tax in 1939-40 and only 1,372 persons were assessed to Agricultural Income Tax in 1940-41. Thus only about 14,272 persons in all out of a population of 360 lakhs, i.e., only .049 per cent, or in other words about 49 persons in a lakh are usually above the exemption limit which is not much above the subsistence level. In respect of tea and other mixed incomes, the Central Income Tax Department determines the whole income including the agricultural income. The provincial governments take full advantage of it. They simply get a certified copy of the assessment orders and levy a tax on the agricultural portion of the income as determined by the Income Tax authorities. The number of cultivating assesses is negligible outside tea and sugar companies. If the Agricultural Income Tax be confined to such units alone, leaving out the actual tillers of the soil, it will bring in revenue at a minimum possible cost without disturbing agricultural production. Zamindars and other rent-receivers may be left out of consideration because these classes are shortly going to be eliminated.

Economics of Zamindari Abolition

The Government of the Indian Union have announced that they will not be able to share the consequences following the projects of Prohibition and Zamindari Abolition. Almost all the Provincial Ministries have their laws ready-made in this behalf. In Madras, they have gone in for total prohibition; Bihar has passed the law for Zamindari Abolition; the Governor-General's sanction holds up its implementation. Aside from financial losses apprehended from these two measures there are other factors involved that have to be understood before the final step is taken. Prof. Radhakumari Mukherjee, head of the Faculty of Economics and Sociology in the Lucknow University, brought certain of these out in course of an address delivered to Economics and Sociology Club of the University. Its summary, as it has appeared in the Press, will help to clarify thought, and we desire to share it with our readers. The land reform proposals in the United Provinces have the following satisfactory features: "Restriction of subdivision of holdings below ten acres, the rehabilitation of the village community with its management of pastures, waste lands, wells and markets and of its collective revenue responsibility and the abolition of landlordism."

But the outstanding defect is the neglect of the problem of rehabilitation of 50 lacs of agricultural labourers comprising 20 per cent of the total number of people living on land in the province. The land reform could be regarded as either equitable or final that ignored altogether the existence of this class which was increasing by one lac a year. As a matter of fact, the U. P. Zamindari Abolition Committee's recommendation would aggravate the social conflict and mal-distribution of land in the countryside by contributing towards the ejection of about 32 lacs shikmis from their holdings. This is a highly retrograde step.

About the social consequences of the Committee's recommendation, Dr. Mukherjee uttered a warning that should be heeded. "The Committee shows a curious obscurantism in repudiating the advantages of mechanised cultivation for improvement of agricultural output in the province which is showing a big food deficit to the extent of five million tons. A virtual peasant proprietorship with rights of transfer would check the indispensable drive towards co-operative and collective farming, perpetuate inefficient cultivation, bring the non-agriculturist moneylender to the land by the back door and start a fresh bitter struggle between the richer and the poorer peasantry. Conservative, retrograde and obscurantist land reform is apt to prepare the seedbed for unpredictable social disturbances as the political consciousness of the peasantry newly aroused and diffused by adult franchise, faces the frustration of an economic defeat."

Sikhs and East Punjab

The only British English-language daily paper in India has been significantly cultivating the Sikhs and giving publicity to their claims and demands that are reminiscent of the spirit of separatism that has disrupted India's unity and integrity. The general body of Indian journalists appear to be trying to minimize the significance of their problem, their difficulties and frustrations, by turning the blind eye on these. As we have seen that Muslim separatism could not be neutralized by a policy of indifference, we have in our own way been trying to understand what the Sikhs feel and think and aspire to. Their material loss of the fertile canal colonies of undivided Punjab, the majority of these falling in Pakistani Punjab today, can be represented by irrigation works fertilizing East Punjab, Delhi, and the western districts of the United Provinces. Their *Gurdwaras*, associated with the lives and sacrifices of their *Gurus*, cannot be transferred from Pakistani Punjab; suggestions have been made on their behalf that these, the most sacred of these, be constituted into "Free Cities" just as Pope of Rome's enclave has been recognized by Italy. But this would require reciprocal arrangement in connection with Muslim shrines, the chief of which lie in Ajmere and Sirhind.

But the real grievance that appears to be agitat-

ing the Sikhs does not appear to be concerned with this material and cultural loss. Its nature will be understood from the following list said to have been placed before the Committee appointed by the East with a view to effect a Hindu-Sikh settlement in the province :

(1) Representation for Sikhs should be on the basis of the 1941 census.

(2) The Delimitation Committee should include an equal number of representatives of Hindus and Sikhs.

(3) In all provinces other than East Punjab, Sikhs should be given representation by nomination or through reservation.

(4) The Sikhs should have 5 per cent reservation of seats in the Central Legislature.

(5) There should be one Sikh Minister and one Deputy Minister at the Centre.

(6) East Punjab's Governor and Premier should be chosen by rotation.

(7) Equal representation in the East Punjab Cabinet.

(8) 50 per cent representation for Sikhs in the East Punjab legislature.

(9) Lohara and Gurgaon should be separated from East Punjab.

(10) Representation in the services should be: 40 percent Sikhs and 60 per cent Hindus and others.

Public men in India with their recent experience will shy at the spirit behind many of these demands. There is one—Punjabi in Gurumukhi script be recognized as a State language in East Punjab—which does not find a place here. It has our sympathy and support. Of the others we can say that their implementation should not be attempted now when men's minds are rocked on contradictory feelings which should be allowed to settle down.

Mithila and Konkan Provinces

The latest in the field to claim separate provinces for themselves are the Maithili-speaking and Konkani-speaking peoples. Mithila has had a place in India's history that goes back to unremembered centuries. Modern Maithil language has as old a record as Bengali and Assamese. But the historic vicissitudes it has passed through during Pathan, Mughal and British periods have made its individuality indistinct. During Akbar's reign Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Thakkur got the grant of Tirhut in 1556-57 and succeeded in founding the Khandavala dynasty which is represented today by the Darbhanga Raj. It came to be attached to Bengal when Clive received the Dewany from the Delhi emperor. In 1911, it went to form part of the Province of Bihar. But all these developments have but intensified Mithila's separateness from the Bhojpuri-speaking people now dominant in the Congress Ministry in Bihar. In a pamphlet entitled *Why Mithila a Separate Province?* we get certain of the arguments in support of a Maithil Province. Published by the Mithila Mandal Central Committee, Patna, the pamphlet demarcates for the new province the districts of Darbhanga, Musaffarpur, Champaran, North Monghyr, North Bhagalpur and Purnea cover-

ing an area of about 20,000 sq. miles out of Bihar's more than 64,000 sq. miles.

The Konkani demand a province which will comprise the coastal areas west of the Western Ghats from Damam-Ganga river to Kasaragod in the south; it will consist of the administrative districts of Thana, Kolaba, Bombay, Ratnagiri, Goa, North Kanara and a part of South Kanara with Bombay as capital. The Konkani language is claimed to be spoken by about seven millions of people. This claim is repudiated by the Samyukta Maharashtra and Karnataka Province protagonists; they say that Konkani is a spoken language only, and as such cannot claim a separate distinction. We have heard of Konkani and Deshastha differences in Maharashtra, but did not know these that could be made into a platform for a separate province.

But, as we have always been supporters of Linguistic Provinces as nucleus of the enrichment of cultural values, we think the ruling authorities of India should divert a little of their attention to this problem. Difficulties there are in the way. But these have to be overcome, and the way we do it will test our capacity. Avoiding them will be a failure of duty.

Mayurbhanj and Orissa

We cannot say that we understand the reason or reasons that influenced the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj to refuse to "merge" his State in Orissa during the last December negotiations when 23 of his brother princes of the Orissa States had chosen this path of safely indicated by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Neither can we say that we understand him now when he has agreed to "merger." But what is more mysterious appears to be the decision of the Central Government to administer the State themselves "until the question of its merger with a neighbouring province is finally decided," to quote the words of Mr. Regie who was deputed as Chief Commissioner to administer Mayurbhanj on behalf of the Indian Union. The use of the article A in the above quotation appears to be significant to us, as it shows that it is yet uncertain which neighbouring province will have the privilege of welcoming this particular State as a family member. There are at present three candidates for this honour—Orissa and Bihar are eager suitors; West Bengal is lukewarm.

So far as we are aware the Raj family of Mayurbhanj has been a pioneer of the Greater Utkal Movement. The father of the present Maharaja, the late Ram Chandra Bhanj Deo, was a fellow-worker in this Movement of the late Madhusudan Das, a Christian Oriya, who may be said from certain points of view, as the morning star of this political integration of Oriya areas dispersed through two or three provinces. The thought-leaders of the Oriya resurgence had been Madhusudan Rao and Gouri Sankar Ray, amongst others.

The claims of Bihar can be traced to 1912 when Orissa and Bihar were separated from Bengal to constitute a new province by Lord Hardinge. In 1937, the former was constituted into a separate province, and Mayurbhanj went with it. During last winter's angry controversy revolving round Seraikela and Kheriawan, we heard for the first time that Bihar has ambitions towards Mayurbhanj. Adibasi leaders like Mr. Jaipal Singh were, it has been said, influenced and put in claims on behalf of Adibasis who are about 40 per cent of Mayurbhanj population. He has done it so that all the Adibasis in the three provinces—Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces—may be kept together to add strength to his Jharkhand Province Movement working for a separate province in the Indian Union.

This analysis shows that something is afoot with regard to Mayurbhanj; the use of an article, referred to above, throws light on it.

Sardar Patel on Bengal

In his Nagpur speech, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has made a reference to Bengal which has been looked upon in this province as an addition of unwarranted insult to the grievous injuries that she has sustained as a result of the Partition. Sardarji said:

You go to Bengal, it is full of Bihar *versus* Bengal and Bengal *versus* Assam controversies. A Sikh taximan is not tolerated and attempts are being made to replace him by a Bengali. Think of what dangers lie ahead in such disputes.

It was in this very speech that Sardarji admitted the growing exodus of East Bengal Hindus to West Bengal and warning Pakistan said that if Pakistan was determined to drive away Hindus from East Bengal, then "Pakistan must agree to give us sufficient land so that we can rehabilitate them." Sardarji, for the present, has ended with this declaration but the poor and maimed province of West Bengal has, for the past fifteen months been obliged to face the terrible task of rehabilitating these millions. Assistance from the Centre has been insignificant, to say the least, and the Central refugee policy in regard to East Bengal Hindus has been of a rather step-motherly nature, specially when compared to the Punjab side of it. The displaced Bengali population have put the least amount of pressure on the Centre in the matter of rehabilitation and have made the least amount of noise in this respect specially in view of the embarrassing condition of the Government of India. They have tried their level best to squeeze themselves in here and try to find out an employment through their own efforts.

Bihar-Bengal and Bengal-Assam controversies are being carried on under the auspices of the leaders and Governments of Bihar and Assam, and not in Bengal as Sardarji has suggested. If Sardarji finds time to visit any Post Office in Calcutta or its suburbs, he will find rows of Biharis standing before their Money Order and Insurance Registration counters waiting to remit

substantial amounts to their native province. It is a well-known fact that one of the principal incomes of Bihar is remittances from Bengal. The Bengali people have not yet done anything to replace them by their own nationals. The manner in which this generosity is being repaid in Bihar in her treatment of the Bengali-speaking people of Manbhum and Singhbhum has been a matter of great resentment in this province. And after all, as all Congressmen know, Congress has repeatedly assured Bengal that these districts would be restored to Bengal the day Congress had the power to do so. Bengal is but asking for the restoration of property pillaged from her by the British and handed over to Bihar without any justification, beyond that of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

As regards Assam, the less said assuredly the better. Bengal's sacrifice in her anti-Partition agitation of 1905 saved Assam from becoming a Muslim majority province. Bengal's support to the people of Assam in their stand against the influx of League Muslims into that province, with the help of the Saadullah Government, stemmed this immigration to a very great extent. Bengal's support to Assam in her refusal to sit in Group C under the Cabinet Mission Plan was one of the prime reasons which contributed to the rejection of that plan and brought about the partition of India in which Bengal has been the worst sufferer. Bihar and Assam have both repaid the debt of Bengal through an ill-treatment of a people who did and still does render them signal aid in their economic distress and hours of trial.

Bengal's greatest tragedy is that she has lived for others to her own cost. The Congress was started in Bengal, it gained the greatest momentum in Bengal and in reply she was penalised with the Curzon Partition of 1905. Her Swadeshi Movement led to the establishment of cotton mills at Bombay and Ahmedabad. This movement was the prime cause of British businessmen's vengeful effort to oust Bengali dealers from the jute trade and the consolidation of Marwari capital in the city of Calcutta. This blow at the most vital part of Bengal's trade led to the utter ruin of the Bengali business houses established since the days of the Company and made this province dependent on non-nationals of the province in her food, cloth and cash-crop trade. When the Curzon Partition was annulled, Assam was saved, and the cause of Indian nationalist and Swadeshi movements advanced far, but Bengal had to pay through a dismemberment of her vital mineral areas which were joined to Bihar. Now that freedom has been attained, Bengal stands torn into pieces, East Bengal, West Bengal and the Bengali areas of Bihar and Assam. As for the last statement regarding the Sikhs, we wonder how a province's attempt to man her essential transport service by her own men can be interpreted as an act of provincial narrowness even if what Sardar Patel said were true. We would have ignored it with contempt, had it come from anyone of a lesser standing than the Sardar. We do

not know who is the contemptible person who misinformed the Sardar, but we suspect that it is one of the lot that assiduously licked the boots of the British, in order to share in the loot of Bengal, while the years of futile but fierce campaigns were going on to drag the Bengalis into submission. The facts are diametrically opposed to what was stated by him, as the Sardar is well aware of by now. More we need not say but we confess that Bengal was not fully prepared for the kind of "recognition" she has received at Nagpur from Sardar Patel whom she believed to be non-partisan.

Dr. Pattabhi on Linguistic Provinces

The re-distribution of provinces on a rational basis should not be needlessly delayed any further, said the Congress President-elect Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, speaking at a reception held in his honour by the Andhras of Delhi. The demand for linguistic provinces, Dr. Pattabhi said, was a rightful demand and, as such, ought to be conceded. "We must remove the artificial boundaries which the British had laid down by coercion for their own convenience. If Europe can have 28 countries why India cannot have 14 provinces," Dr. Pattabhi asked.

Dr. Sitaramayya has for long been a champion of the demand for the creation of linguistic provinces and he has achieved success so far as his own home province is concerned. But it is also equally patent that he has turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to this rightful demand when it emanated from the Bengali-speaking people. The fact remains that Bengal has so far been unable to secure support from this vociferous champion of linguistic provinces in her effort to get back the Bengali-speaking districts of Eastern Bihar and the just demand of the Bengali-speaking districts of Assam for the creation of a Purbachal Province has been turned down in a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in which Dr. Sitaramayya was present but did not lend his support to the representatives from Purbachal.

India at Columbia University

India was the theme of a public lecture at Columbia University, New York, on the 17th November. This was in connection with the Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. R. L. Schuyler. He is an authority on modern constitutions and world politics. The lecture which was entitled "India, the U. S. and the British Commonwealth" is the first of a series inaugurated at Columbia University by the Tarak Nath Das Foundation of New York City. The object of this Foundation is to promote Indian studies and foster cultural relations between India and the U. S. A.

Another National Anthem

Mr. Ravi Sankar Sukla, Premier of Central Province and Berar, has sponsored another national

anthem. In introducing it to the public, he says that it is "an adaptation" of Rabindranath Tagore's *Jana-Gana-Mana Adhinayaka* song. His Home Minister, Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra, has ventured on it at his "request"; he suggests that the new anthem contains "what is best in the two songs"—Rabindranath's and Bankim Chandra's *Vande Mataram*, and embodies what constitutes the "most cherished heritage of our philosophy and culture." To enable our readers to judge this claim we reproduce below both the Roman character version and the English translation of this new song.

"Jana-Gana-Mana-Adhibasini, Jaya hea Mahimani Bharatmata.

Hyma-Kiritini, Vindhya-Mekheley,

Udadi-Dhout-pad Kamaley,

Ganga-Yamuna-Rewa-Krishna-Godavari-jala-bimaley,

Bibidha tadapi abibhaktey, Shanta,

shakti-sanyunktey, yug-yug abhinav Mata,

Jana-Gana-Klesha-Binashini-Jaya hea Mahimani Bharatamata,

Jaya hea, Jaya hea, Jaya hea,

Jaya-Jaya-Jaya-Jaya, Jaya hea."

"Supreme in the hearts of humanity, Thou radiant jewel on Earth

O Mother India: Be Thou victorious, Thy head crowned by the Himalayan snows,

The Vindhyas girdling thy waist,

Thy Lotus-feet washed by the ocean;

Thy body kept pure by the flowing waters

Of the Ganges, Yamuna, Rewa, Krishna, Godavari.

Thou art the indivisible in a seeming diversity;

Thou art peaceful yet blessed with unconquerable strength;

Thou livest ever afresh; ever young in every age.

O radiant jewel on Earth! Mother India!

Thou who conquers all ills of the suffering

Humanity, Be Thou Triumphant.

Be Thou victorious, ever and ever and ever again victorious!"

We know that Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra passed part of his student days in Calcutta, and that he dabbled in numbers because numbers came naturally to him. Since then, he appears to have made a name in the Hindi literary world as author of *Krishnayana*. Now, he is for a higher flight; he is not satisfied with the role of a maker of laws; he wants to live in the memory of his people as a maker of its songs. We respect his ambition, but we would urge him to realize whether "adaptation" of other's composition is the sure way of reaching this goal. His chief, perhaps unknowingly, gave away the case of his "adaptation" by using the words—"the sole apology for this venture."

Battle of Languages and Scripts

Members of the Constituent Assembly from Tamil Nad, Andhra, and Karnataka are said to have adopted a resolution adopting Hindi in Devnagri script as the official language in the country; they also agreed that English should continue to be recognised as the

official language for the next fifteen years. This shows that Gandhiji's advice that the official language should be Hindustani in two scripts—Devnagri and Urdu is being abandoned. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been appealing for patience, warning against any imposition by force of numbers. The enthusiasts for Hindi appear, however, to be determined to force matters even during the present session of the Constituent Assembly. They have been mobilizing their forces with a view to stampede it into taking the decision determined by them.

And the reactions to these rush tactics cannot but be unfortunate. There has been an anti-Hindi movement in Tamil Nad organized under the leadership of Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker, an old companion-at-arms of the present Governor-General of India during the Non-co-operation Movement days. It has been drawing strength from the Dravidian Movement inspired by hostility to "Aryanism"—the norms and forms of life represented by Brahmins. It is not non-Brahmins alone of South India who have been organising opposition to Hindi. During the present session of the Constituent Assembly members representing South India have been raising their voice against forcing Hindi. Mr. Krishnamachari spoke of "Language Imperialism"; Mr. Nagappa requested "members from the North not to impose Hindi at once." These warning voices should be heeded. The arguments indicated above should counsel the policy of "hasten slowly."

Why did They Accept Partition

A coherent picture of the developments which forced Congress leaders to agree to the division of India has yet to appear. We have heard and read that as soon as League nominees entered the Interim Government under false pretences of full co-operation in it and with the work of the Constituent Assembly they started to sabotage the work of the Government. As the Governor-General, Lord Wavell, was a benevolent observer of these antics of his proteges, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, could only make ineffectual protests.

There were other saboteurs at work—the members of the British bureaucracy. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in course of his recent Nagpur speech to representatives of the Chattisgarh States, now merged in the Central Provinces, lifted a part of the veil over their activities. He related how when he was entrusted with the States' portfolio in addition to that of Home Affairs he "found that the Political Department, in league with certain Princes, was busy hatching a conspiracy to break up the unity of India." The Bastar State affairs gave him a clue to these nefarious practices. The State has immense natural resources; these were on the point of being mortgaged to Hyderabad by a long lease. Sardar Patel put his foot down on these goings-on. The Political Department at first tried to withhold the relevant papers: ulti-

mately these came. Then the Political Department started to argue that as they were by Law "guardians" of the minor princes, they were competent to enter into the contract for lease. They were bluntly told, however, that "as they were going away," they should not "bother about their wards."

Experiences like these forced on him the urgency of a decision.

It was then that I was made fully conscious of the extent to which our interests were being prejudiced in every way by the machinations of the Political Department and came to the conclusions that the sooner we were rid of these people the better.

I came to the conclusion that the best course was to drive out the foreigners even at the cost of the partition of the country. It was also then that I felt that there was only one way to make the country safe and strong, and that was the unification of the rest of India.

In course of his speech at the Benares Hindu University special convocation conferring on him a doctorate on November 25 last, Sardar Patel referred to this matter again in these words :

I felt that if we did not accept partition, India would be split into many bits and would be completely ruined. My experience of office for one year convinced me that the way we were proceeding we were heading for disaster. We would not have had one Pakistan, but several. We would have had Pakistan cells in every office.

The Muslim League, supported by the British ruling classes, exploited this anxiety. And partition was the way out.

Vacuum in South-East Asia

The *Eastern World* of London, a year-old monthly journal, in its August-September (1948) Double-Number has articles which are critical of the policy of the United States in East Asia. These leave the impression in the mind that the conductors of the journal are not reconciled to the "policy of scuttle" which Britain's Labour Government has been following, and are not happy that the great Republic across the Atlantic should have succeeded to the British heritage. Through almost all the articles runs a note of steady disapproval of U.S.A.'s acts of omission and commission. This rancour is at variance with the requirements of the *camaraderie* between these two Anglo-Saxon Powers. The writers have hardly any alternative plans to suggest ; the political consequences of the two World Wars of the 20th century appear to have deprived them of that power. As reflecting the British mind this journal has significance as the "candid" friend of the greatest nation of the modern world.

To Indian readers the article entitled as above has a value, because it will enable us to see ourselves as others see us, specially when the opinion is being canvassed amongst us that India has a chance of

stepping into the leadership of Asia. We know that India's Prime Minister disapproves of this ambition. But even Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has not been able to resist the temptation of appealing to the gallery in this matter. And Major-General Hartwell's article will do us good if we take care to understand its implications. He talks in terms of power-politics ; he thinks that the "power vacuum" created by his country's retirement from India and Burma "cannot be filled from within the area" (S-E Asia) within a predictable future. In the language of geo-politics, made famous by the German General Haussoffer, "the land mass of India, or alternatively the land mass formed by Burma, Siam, Cochinchina and Malaya . . . is essential to paramountcy in the area." And it is also essential that "the latter mass should be under one general control."

Who is to exercise this control now that Britain has withdrawn power from almost the whole of this area ? And as India will be "looking inward rather than outward," there is the dread prospect that the Soviet Union may step in to fill up the vacuum. The writer says that "it requires little strategical sense" to see that for Russia, on the top of this land mass, "the physical control of India is a *sine qua non* unless China can be absorbed." The "obvious danger spots" are, according to him, "some or all of Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Sinkiang, Nepal and Tibet . . . (with Kashmir thrown in)."

Major-General Hartwell may have his own information to be so positive about "danger spots." But to many this prophecy may appear to be Soviet-baiting. We think that Russia will be trying to exploit the success of Chinese Communists. And for this he has found a remedy in a suggestion of Captain Liddel Hart with regard to Germany which can be applied to the other defeated nation--Japan. We will allow the writer to elaborate this Liddel Hart argument :

" . . . as the situation *vis-a-vis* Russia has developed, it is essential to drop our pre-conceived ideas on the military revival of Germany, and so far at least as Western Germany is concerned to promote such revival if there is to be any chance of imposing a physical check to Russia . . . *mutatis mutandis* may not the same principle be applied to Japan in S-E. Asia ? . . . Is not a remilitarized Japan probably essential . . . ?"

History appears to be repeating itself. The emergence of Hitler was made possible by British encouragement. Fear of the Soviet Union was the driving force then as it is today.

China's Fight Against Communism

The continuing failures of the Chiang Kai-shek Government of China to stand up against the Chinese Communists have puzzled and mystified many. And considering the United States interests involved in China's fortunes, the world has been unable to understand why the Truman Administration should have

been slack in rendering adequate help to China in her sore trial. But those who remember that in January, 1947, the United States Government withdrew its representatives from the Big Three Committee, established in China on February 9, 1945, to mediate between the Chinese Government and the Communists with a view to end hostilities between the two, can detect some meaning in the Chinese debacle in 1948. General Marshall, the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Truman Administration, was Chairman of this Committee. And in resigning from it he publicly made a stinging criticism of the Chinese parties, mostly supporters of the Kuomintang Government, who had weakened in their revolutionary role in the affairs of the country. The announcement made on January 23, 1947, from Washington further told the world that the U. S. A. Government had decided "to terminate its connection with the Executive Headquarters which was established in Peiping by the Committee of Three for the purposes of supervising in the field of the execution of the agreement for cessation of hostilities and demobilization and re-organization of the armed forces of China."

This episode is recalled today to explain the dissatisfaction of U. S. A. leaders with the Chiang Kai-shek Administration. We have seen hints thrown out in that country's press that authoritative quarters at Washington would not be sorry if the Kuomintang Government is ousted from power. Of course, they do not say so in public. This dissatisfaction apart, Communist victory in Manchuria will entail a major shift in the balance of power in East Asia. This diplomatic language can be made intelligible to the general public by saying that without Manchuria's natural resources China cannot be a great Power. It will have more permanent effects. The Western world has to realize that if China falls to Communism, the patient and industrious millions of the country will turn the scale in world affairs; their very numbers soon or late will weigh heavily in favour of Moscow.

The news from Washington that President Truman has been applying his mind to a fresh attempt to understand the riddle of China is significant. But he has to understand that even if his country's resources and capacity and willingness to help were many times greater than what these are, China could not be saved to Democracy if her people did not will it. He has also to realize that the policy of his country with regard to Japan has a great deal to do with Chinese lack of will to fight against Communism. To the Chinese Japan's ambitions and practices are a greater devil than those represented by the Soviet Union. This feeling was given expression to in course of an Open Letter to the U. S. Ambassador addressed by 437 Professors of various Universities in Peiping, "giving chapter and verse in support of their contention that American policy has been effectively re-arming Japan," and re-instating many of the former Japanese imperialists," to summarise from articles and

statements appearing in an American journal. The Ambassador, Dr. Leighton Stuart, has been an educator of Chinese youth for about 30 years; he was connected with the Yenching University at Peiping. And the Chinese Professors, many of them his students, appear to be justified in their bitter comment that "he has not yet learnt enough about the Chinese" which alone would have enabled him to warn his Government of the danger of their policy. Will they yet reverse it and re-enlist the vital elements in China to fight for Democracy?

Before Pearl Harbour

The United States' version of Japan's entry into the second World War has taught the world to regard the air attack on Pearl Harbour as its beginning in East Asia. The judges of the International Tribunal trying General Hideki Tojo and 24 other Japanese war lords have found, however, that before the U.S.A. ships at Pearl Harbour were destroyed, Japanese war-ships had attacked Kota Bharu in Malaya's tin district. This particular attack took place at 2-40 a.m. (Japanese time) on the 8th December, 1941; this was a hundred minutes before the assault on Pearl Harbour; the Japanese landed troops on the Malayan beaches nearly an hour before the first Japanese planes had appeared over the Pearl Harbour naval base.

In the judgment delivered by the Indian Judge, Dr. Radha Binode Pal, the Japanese war lords were acquitted. As this judgment was not allowed to be read out in Court, the summary that has appeared in the Indian Press leaves the impression in the mind that Dr. Pal held the policy followed by the Euro-American Powers, led by the U.S.A., as really responsible for driving Japan to this war. Before and after the first World War, the Western Powers encouraged Japanese ambitions. The Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902-3 hastened the Russo-Japanese war. The then U. S. A. President, Theodore Roosevelt, is reported to have suggested to Japan that she should declare a "Monroe Doctrine" for East Asia. During the first World War, the U. S. A. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lansing recognised that "Japan had special interests in China particularly in the parts to which her possessions are contiguous." And in 1930, Ambassador Castle declared that "Japan must be and will be the guardian of peace in the Pacific."

These declarations went into Japan's head and inflamed her ambitions. Dr. Pal must have quoted these and others. Why the Western Powers failed to accept the logic of their friendly feelings we do not know from any of their recorded declarations. By opposing Japanese ambitions they created bitterness which sought an outlet in war. Their policy of discrimination against non-white peoples will continue to embitter relations between the coloured and the "colourless" peoples; the word within quotation marks was coined by Mrs. Annie Besant not as a term of compliment.

Truman as U. S. President

Harry Truman has been elected President of the United States falsifying the confident prophecies of politicians and publicists in the United States and of outside. The success of his rival Thomas Dewey was so very assured that a Chicago daily did splash the news of his victory in an early edition of the paper on the day the news was published, and the *New York Times*, the biggest paper in the United States, gave Dewey three-times more election votes than his rival in course of "a nation-wide election-eve survey." All the wise men and women of America have been repenting of their folly and started to explain the why's and how's of this miracle. We do not know if this wise-after-the-event elucidation will do anybody any good. But as it is in the day's business, we have to tolerate these lucubrations.

By his almost single-handed fight against overwhelming odds even in his own party, Harry Truman has proved that he had unexpected virtues that the world had not bargained for. It had been the habit to treat him as President by courtesy succeeding by an accident the real organiser of the victory in the second World War of the 20th century. As Vice-President of the U. S. A. in Franklin Roosevelt's fourth term as President, depending for this post on Roosevelt's choice, Harry Truman became President because under the law of the Republic on the event of the President's death the Vice-President automatically steps into his shoes.

But by his victory in the 1948 election Harry Truman becomes by his own right Chief of the State and Commander-in-Chief of its armed forces. What effect his victory will have on the internal economy of the U. S. A., it is too early to say. Vaguely understanding the aims and objects of Truman's Democratic Party and of Dewey's Republican Party, we do not propose to venture on an excursion into the meaning of these supposedly conflicting ideas, ideals and practices. Truman has been elected by the last-minute solid support of American Labour, we have been told. What it will mean in the internal politics of the great Republic, time will show.

On international affairs, Truman's victory is not expected to bring any radical change. We have heard so much of the "bi-partisan" policy of the U. S. A., of the two parties being of one mind in the pursuit of foreign aims that we need not expect the new President to make any "new departure" in the line. The world has been told since 1939 that the 20th century is and will continue to be the "American Century", that the American way of life will dominate over world affairs. Harry Truman will be expected to follow the path that consolidates this aspiration. If strife and conflict try to halt or defeat it, Truman will not fail or falter has a valid the challenge of the rival. History has pre-announced others have canvassed :

pared this role for the successor of Franklin Roosevelt. He has had no choice in the matter.

Injustice to Indian-owned Collieries

It is a pity that we have to write under the above caption even now in the same manner as we did while there was a hundred per cent British rule in the country. The present Ministers of the Central Cabinet raised some time ago the cry "Produce or Perish." The Indian colliery proprietors, true to their traditions of loyalty to the Congress, carried out the behest and now realise to their cost that "Produce and Perish" would have been the more correct slogan. Of late there has been a remarkable improvement in the supply of wagons in the coalfields but all this has gone to the British-managed collieries of which stocks have been reduced almost to nil. Coal worth about Rs. 6 crores lies and deteriorates as time passes at the Indian-owned collieries. Eighty Indian-owned mines have had to close down. Of these forty belong to Bengalees who are backward in trade and industry. A few months ago British-managed jute mills piled up at Bhadreswar a huge stock of coal mostly from British-managed collieries and but for the vigilance of the Press would have appropriated it to their use much beyond the target fixed by the Government. Soft coke used in cooking food was so long the main stay of a large number of Indian-owned collieries raising comparatively inferior coal but recently British-managed mines of first class coal on the B. N. Railway beyond the Damodar river manufactured the domestic fuel and got an extra supply of wagons to despatch it to Calcutta stations. Indian-owned soft coke collieries have thus been deprived of even that poor share of wagon supply which British rulers did not deny them in the past. The same is true of brick-burning coal. Thus Indian-owned collieries have been deprived of two items of wagon supply which have been their close preserve for decades. This is independence with vengeance. British industries in the country buy generally from British-managed mines. Sir Joseph Bore as Railway Member in the old Viceroy's Council, for the first time, placed the major portion of railway orders with Indian-owned collieries. That system has been reversed this year, British-managed mines getting the lion's share of the Railway custom. According to Dr. Sir Cyril S. Fox and a host of Indian geologists, the stock of metallurgical coal in India will be exhausted in 43 years unless its use for non-metallurgical purposes is stopped immediately. Instead of doing that the Government of India is echoing the cry of the British Managing Agents that with the installation of washing plants or desulphurisation there will be no dearth of metallurgical coal for a long time to come. The Government should have discerned that this is special pleading of devices that remain to be proved in Indian conditions. Why should the country imperil its future just to enable foreign capitalists to line their pockets? There is a talk of reducing the total target of coal wagon supply. In that case there is every chance of the Indian section of the coal industry suffering still more.

EASTERN INDIA UNDER THE PALA KINGS

By SRI JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE rule of the Pala kings over Bengal and Bihar lasted for four centuries and a half. It began in Bengal about 750 A.D. and soon spread to Bihar. And when the line of 18 kings ended in Bengal about 1160, what was probably a junior branch of the family continued to hold Bihar till the Muslim conquest forty years later. In their best days the Pala kings reached almost imperial grandeur, as their sway extended to the United Provinces, Assam and Orissa, or at least their suzerainty was acknowledged by vassal kings in those provinces.

Vincent Smith rightly praises the Palas as "one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties . . . Dharmapala and Devapala (the second and third of the line) succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India . . . The Pala period was one of marked intellectual and artistic activity."

Tonight I shall not talk of their wars and conquests, internal dissensions and marriage alliances. These things you can find best in Dr. R. C. Majumdar's masterly chapters in the first volume of the *Dacca University History of Bengal*. I hold that the greatest achievement of the Pala kings was that under them Bengal first took its distinctive shape as a compact separate province, out of a number of alien districts which had before them no bond of union, though geographically adjacent. In the Pala empire, Varendri and Banga, Rarha and the northern Mongoloid fringe, were all welded into one country, one State, by remaining under the same sceptre and being ruled under the same administration for four centuries continuously. Secondly, we have to remember that the Bengali race took its present shape in language, religion, social usages, and mental peculiarities during this dynasty's rule. That shape has been modified only by three later forces, namely, (1) the uniform pattern of the Mughal administration imposed on the province after Akbar's conquest, (2) the rise of a Vaishnav Church under Chaitanya's disciples, and (3) the impact of European trade and capital from the middle of the 17th century. Islam introduced a foreign and unassimilable element into Bengal, no doubt; but the Bengali Muslims have never been apart from their Hindu neighbours and former blood-relations in speech, social usage and favourite literature. Thus, I claim that the Pala period created that composite product, *viz.*, a distinct racial and cultural personality, called the Bengali or Gauria.

A revolutionary change was completed in Bengal during the four centuries of Pala rule. Before the coming of these kings, we see dimly through the mist, only a loose bundle of tribes, migratory bands, and

foreign adventurers who had turned Bengal into a fighting arena, the big devouring the small, like fishes, *matsya nyaya*, as a contemporary inscription rightly describes it. There was, before the Palas, no central ruler for the whole province, no power to enforce justice. But at the end of the Pala period we find that all these groups of men had taken root in the soil, adapted themselves to their neighbours, and all had been fused into one people or nation. The peculiar Bengali racial mould had been prepared and all men had been cast into it.

There was a similar striking change affected in our social organisation. Under the earliest Pala kings Buddhism was the favoured and possibly the prevailing religion; under its influence there was no caste distinction, no food restriction; social usages and religious rites were in a confused or changeful shape, as one would naturally expect in a society convulsed by political turmoil and the anarchy caused by the collapse of the Gupta imperial government. Mixed marriages, and even unions without marriage would be very frequent during such social anarchy. Therefore, just when Pala rule ended and the Sena line began, the Bengalis realised that they had once again gained settled order and peace, and Vallal Sen signalled the end of social anarchy by purifying the castes, as our traditions say. He really reorganised the castes, or rather gave his royal sanction to the grouping and discipline of the social grades that had already taken place silently during the four centuries of settled rule and national prosperity under the Palas.

This new stratification of Bengali Hindu society has lasted down to our own days, and its intellectual basis is the Sanskrit ritualistic and theological literature that grew up under the later Palas and the Senas. The social confusion due to Buddhism and the pre-Pala anarchy ended with the disappearance of Buddhism as the popular religion from Bengal. Our province had now become a Hindu land, with Buddhism lingering here and there in the hills and jungles, or disguised as Dharma Puja.

What form the Bengali language had taken at the end of the Pala period is still unknown for want of any book or inscription in that vernacular. But I make bold to say that our language had by that time advanced very far from the crudities of the Dohas and Charyapadas, which, I maintain, were not the people's speech in 1160, but only the artificial jargon of a mystic and narrow sect. Many Sanskrit works were written at the time by the Bengalis, but they tell us nothing of the actual speech of the people.

In the fine arts, we possess specimens of Pala sculpture, whose unsurpassed excellence proves our forefathers' advance in culture under this dynasty. You will find the best examples of it, both stone-carvings and terra cotta, in the Rajshahi town Museum, at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district, and in very small numbers in the collections of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Calcutta University, and the Indian Museum. Pala art was made famous by the gifted sculptors Dhiman and Vitapala, whom the Tibetan monk-historian praises. Look at the images of the dancing Ganesha and the Ardha-Nara-Nari in the Rajshahi Museum, and you will find the best answer to those who say that Indian art can be original only by being abnormal or artificial, or a crude monstrosity. Every contortion (however slight) of the limbs and muscles, natural in dancing, is faithfully reproduced in this Ganesha, while the Ardha-Nara-Nari shows exact fidelity to the differences between the male and female countenance and bust. Sister Nivedita used to say that the Tri-murti in the Elephanta Cave is the emblem of the synthesis which is the soul of Hinduism. I have seen both. Call it not my prejudice in favour of my native district, when I tell you that the face of the Ishwara in the Rajshahi Ardha-Nara-Nari is even more sublime than that of Brahma in Elephanta.

I have no time to tell you about the great services of these kings to Buddhist learning, as represented by the foundation of the Vikramashila University, the restoration of the Nalanda University, and the building of the Sompuri Monastery (i.e., Paharpur). Atisa, the apostle of Buddhist Tibet, enjoyed Pala patronage. But the dynasty was wonderfully broad-minded, these kings employed Hindus and Buddhists alike among their ministers and officers, and made grants to both religions.

I shall conclude by posing three questions for your investigation, as I wish to stimulate your brains and make you think independently by going against the theories of our orthodox historians.

First question : Did the Palas belong to the Rajbhat or Bhar sub-caste ? Dharmapala is described in an old Sanskrit work as *Raja-bhatadi-vamsa-patita*. There is a large colony of this caste settled in the village of Sakaldiha, the first station from Mughal Serai to Gaya on the chord line, and they call themselves *Rajbhat*, not *Bhar*. They now work as coolies and herdsmen, but they had a most glorious past : Beames in his *Memoirs of Races, etc.*, Vol. I, (p. 33) writes :

"The period immediately following the inroads of Mahmud Ghasnavi saw the rise in South Oudh, the Duab, and the country between the Ganges and Malwa, of the short-lived power of the Bhars . . . Common tradition assigns to them the possession of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor (in C. P.) . . . Many old stone forts, embankments and subterranean caverns in Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilisation."

Read also Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 493 and the *Gazetteer of Oudh*, Vol. I, Introduction p. 35.

Was Gopal, the first king of this dynasty, the grandson of a soldier of fortune from South Oudh who had settled as a mercenary captain in some village of Rajshahi as his jagir, during the anarchy following the break-up of the Gupta empire, and whose son and grandson followed the same profession, till rising higher and higher in the third generation Gopal made himself "the hero as king" of all Bengal ?

Second question : The Pala army was mainly composed of foreign mercenaries and not exclusively of Bengalis by race. The regular official body of this dynasty included the commanders of Gauda, Malava, Khassa, Huna, Kulika, Karnata, Lata and Choda contingents both regular and temporary (*bhat-chal*). The copious revenue of fertile Bengal enabled the Pala kings to maintain these mercenaries and with their help conquer Kanauj, Kamrup and Orissa, just as the possession of the rich and soft province of Bengal enabled the English to hire lakhs of Oudh sepoys, Sikhs and Gurkhas and thus conquer the rest of India.

Now, did these foreign mercenary troops cause the disruption of the Pala empire and foment internal revolts when there were no longer warriors like Dharmapala, Devapala and Ramapala on the throne to lead them ?

Third question : During the Pala period, Buddhism was swept out of Bengal and Bihar by Hinduism as we know it now-a-days. What was the part of Tantricism in effecting this change ? How did it act as a solvent and precipitating acid in the boiling cauldron of religions in Bengal in that age ? What part did the Nath-yogis and the Sahajiyas play in facilitating the transition from decadent Buddhism to modern Puranic Hinduism ? How did the Krishna-cult illustrated by the plaques at Paharpur differ from the Vaishnavism as taught later by Chaitanya ? Can you trace the steps of the change ?*

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By PRINCIPAL A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

VI

THE foregoing discussion about citizenship and electoral qualifications naturally brings us to the question of territory of India, because in the ultimate analysis these have some relation to territory. What constitutes the territory of the Indian Union or that of the units is laid down in Part I of the Draft Constitution. Under Section (1) the territory of India is to include (i) the territories of four categories of States, (a) Governors' Provinces in the previous regime, (b) Chief Commissioners' Provinces, (c) those Indian States that have acceded to the Indian Union, and (d) the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and also (2) such other territories as may be acquired later. The door has been kept open for the accession of new States on terms acceptable to the Union (Section 2). Under this section nearly all the States except Hyderabad have already acceded to India and Hyderabad is also well on the way to accession after the recent successful 'police action' by India. The accession of Junagad and Kashmir to India has been disputed by Pakistan and India has agreed to submit the issue to a plebiscite after settled conditions return. Anyway it is hoped that by the time the constitution comes into force all the States within the territorial jurisdiction of what constituted India under the Act of 1935 except those that have fallen within the territorial borders of Pakistan will have acceded to and formed part of the Indian Union. Although mutilated by the secession of areas that now constitute Pakistan, with the above expectations realised 'India' in the new set-up would still remain a compact and integrated territorial unit. Section (3) provides for territorial re-adjustment as between the units within the Union. Union Parliament has been empowered to enact laws (a) to form a new State by separation of territory from a State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States; (b) to increase the area of any State; (c) to diminish the area of any State; (d) to alter the boundaries of any State; or (e) to alter the name of any State. The Section is qualified by a proviso which we shall discuss later. Such a law for the re-adjustment of boundaries of the units will necessarily contain provisions for the consequential amendment of the First Schedule enumerating the States and territories of India and other incidental and consequential provisions as may be deemed necessary, but such amendments will not be regarded as amendments of the Constitution in the formal sense of the term (Section 4). It is quite in the fitness of things that there should be a provision in the Constitution particularly of a federal type for subsequent territorial re-adjustments of the units specially in view of the fact that existing boundaries

of provinces were determined under British rule simply by administrative needs of foreign rulers instead of any regard for any scientific principles and it is also meet and proper that the power to enact necessary legislation in this behalf should vest in the Centre. So far it is quite all right, but the difficulty begins with the proviso to the section. The proviso falls into two parts. The first part relates to the redrawing of boundaries of what are now Governors' Provinces designated as 'States' as set forth in Part I of the first Schedule to the Draft and the second part relates to proposals for alteration of boundaries of what are now called Indian States whether specified in Part III of the First Schedule of the Draft or others not so specified. The first part of the proviso runs as follows :

"Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament *except by the Government of India and unless—*

- (a) either (i) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representations of the territory in the Legislature of the State *from which the territory is to be separated or excluded*; or
- (b) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any State *whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill.*" (Italics ours).

Any proposal for the alteration of boundaries of existing units can only be carried out by effecting a territorial loss to some unit and a corresponding gain to some other unit or units. Now it does not stand to reason that a Province would come forward willingly and take the initiative in the matter and that is exactly what is contemplated in the first part of the proviso quoted above. Let us take the concrete case of Bengal-Bihar dispute regarding the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar which were transferred to Bihar by our imperialistic British masters with a sinister design on the annulment of partition of Bengal and which West Bengal is now very legitimately claiming back. Of course, on the basis of a rational and unprejudiced approach to the question solely on its merits there should not have been any difficulty in both the provinces agreeing to the proposed alteration in boundary particularly in view of the fact that the Congress wedded to the policy of creating linguistic provinces as far back as 1911 is in power in both the provinces and perhaps the Drafting Committee relied on such a spirit of sweet reasonableness and broad-minded patriotism animating peoples' approach to such questions instead of narrow provincial and petty jealousies. It is no use however blinking facts, however inconvenient or unpalatable

they may be. From the trend of events so far it would be simply madness to expect that a majority of legislators of Bihar would make a representation to the President to make over a part of their Province to Bengal. It may be contended that failing this, the other alternative provided under sub-clause (ii) may be put into operation, that is, a resolution in this behalf may be passed by the Legislature of the State "whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill." In this particular case the legislature in question may be as much the legislature of West Bengal as that of Bihar, because the boundaries of both would be affected by the proposed change. The West Bengal legislature may be eager to pass the necessary resolution but certainly not the Bihar legislature. What if the West Bengal Legislature adopts a resolution for the change and Bihar Legislature passes a resolution opposing the same? The intentions of the Drafting Committee is not very clear on the point, but certainly the language used in sub-clause (ii) is calculated to render the proposal infructuous. But this is not the only hurdle that has got to be crossed by a province, in this particular case, West Bengal, in order to get its boundaries altered after the constitution comes into force. Even if it be able to persuade the legislature of Bihar to see the justice of its case and agree to the proposed change, which as we have seen is wellnigh impossible, it has to get the Government of India to take up the matter and introduce the necessary legislation in the Union Parliament, because the initiative in the matter has been vested in the Government of India. Here again the Committee has been inspired by the same spirit of idealism and lack of realistic approach to the matter that is evidenced in the other recommendation in the sub-clauses (i) and (ii) discussed above. It is assumed that the Government of India would take a perfectly dispassionate, non-partisan and rational view. But this may not necessarily be so. The Province which sponsors the proposal and is likely to be benefited by it may not be well-represented in the Central Government or for many other reasons the die may be heavily loaded against the Province and in that event its case may simply go by default. That seems to be at least our unfortunate experience in the present case of Bengal-Bihar dispute. Even men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sri Rajendra Prasad who are directly or indirectly controlling the policy of the Central Government have, to say the least, cold-shouldered the overwhelmingly legitimate claim of West Bengal to the Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar on some plea or other, not at all convincing. I shall not go here into the details of the arguments put forward on behalf of West Bengal, because these have been repeated *ad nauseum* in the recent times in the Press and Platform, nor is that quite relevant to our present discussion. I shall only mention four of these, *viz.*, (1) The Congress is very long officially committed to the policy of creating

linguistic provinces, (2) about 75 per cent of the population in the areas in dispute are linguistically, ethnologically and culturally identified with Bengalis, (3) the areas in question were arbitrarily separated from Bengal on the annulment of partition by British imperialists with the same sinister design with which many other administrative units were carved out by them in which the Congress never acquiesced and which they stood pledged to undo after the transfer of power, (4) Congress High Command by agreeing to the partition of Bengal is responsible for the present plight of Bengal reduced to one-third of her former size, denuded of the most fertile parts, with her economy on the brink of ruin by continuous streams of refugees from East Bengal pressing on her slender economic resources and as such is morally bound to give her some relief by giving back what was hers only some years back.

Now shall I go into the ruthless methods which are being employed by the Congress Government of Bihar with the apparent connivance of Congress High Command and even Dr. Rajendra Prasad to suppress this very legitimate demand of West Bengal.

The only point that I want to make here and that is relevant is that Bengal's case for redistribution of territories is a very strong one resting on unassailable grounds and yet it is not likely to be satisfied under the existing provisions of the Draft Constitution. Therefore, less strong cases for redistribution of territories will have hardly any chance of being considered even. That even the authors of the Draft Constitution were conscious of the difficulty of altering Provincial boundaries under article (3) of their Draft is evident from their anxiety to get Andhra Province, for which they appear to have a very soft corner in their hearts, or other such linguistic Provinces created under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the Draft Constitution comes into force. They have themselves stated in a footnote to the First Schedule of the Draft that they anxiously considered the question if Andhra should be specifically mentioned as a separate State in that Schedule along with existing States (Governors' Provinces) and that the Government of India also in a statement on the subject suggested that Andhra could be included among the Provinces in the Constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act, 1935. At one stage they themselves felt inclined to mention Andhra as a distinct State in this Schedule. But on closer thought they discovered some procedural difficulties and changed their mind. We should particularly invite the readers' attention to paragraph 20 of the letter of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee addressed to the President of the Constituent Assembly appended at the beginning of the Draft. Due to its importance bearing on the point we are discussing, we shall perhaps be excused for quoting it in *extenso*:

"I would invite special attention to Part I of the First Schedule and the footnote thereto. It Andhra or any other linguistic region is to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governors' Provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935 before the Draft Constitution is finally passed. Of course, the new Constitution itself contains provisions for the creation of new States, but this will be after the new Constitution comes into operation." (*Italics our own*). The italicised portion is particularly worth noticing.

In order to satisfy the demands for linguistic regions that had been raised the Committee recommended that

"A Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions, with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new States whose formation it may recommend to be created under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted." (*Italics ours*). The italicised portion should be specially noted.

The Commission envisaged above has since been appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly but strangely enough the case of West Bengal has not been included within its terms of reference. A memorandum submitted by the members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal pleading for inclusion of the case of West Bengal was turned down by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the ground that it was not a case for the creation of a new province and as such does not fall within the scope of the enquiry by the Commission as suggested by the Drafting Committee. But with all deference to Dr. Prasad we venture to suggest that no impartial and unbiased person would see anything in the language of the recommendation of the Drafting Committee quoted above that prevents the inclusion of the case of West Bengal within the terms of reference of the Commission. Pandit Nehru's logic in cold-shouldering the claim of West Bengal is still more difficult to understand. He dubs it as narrow provincialism and discourages such movements calculated to breed fissiparous and disruptive tendencies when complete unity and solidarity is called for in the context of stupendous problems facing the country at the present moment. It is difficult to understand, however, how the addition of the case of West Bengal to the list will add to the embarrassment of the Government. Is it the contention of Pandit Nehru that the cases of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and others are so very urgent that they cannot wait till after the enforcement of the new constitutions, but West Bengal's case has no such urgency and that in the face of the stupendous problems facing the maimed and mutilated province of West Bengal arising out of the partition by which she has perhaps been hit the hardest? This is, however, by the way. But whether West Bengal's case is included within the terms of

enquiry of the said Commission or is equitably and justly settled under Section 290 of the Act of 1935 along with the claim of other linguistic regions or not is not the real issue here. We have referred to the case of West Bengal only to make the point that even such an extremely strong case is very unlikely to get a hearing even, after the Draft Constitution comes into operation, under article (3) of the Draft and that is why not only West Bengal, but all other linguistic regions claiming redistribution of Provincial boundaries are clamouring for such adjustments before the Draft Constitution is put into force. But even if all these claims are satisfactorily settled by the above procedure it will still leave the main problem unsolved. Fresh problems of territorial redistribution may arise in future also. It is necessary to amend the article in question to provide for satisfactory settlement of such questions.

Before we make a suggestion as to the lines on which it should be amended we propose to discuss an amendment adopted recently by the West Bengal Legislature to the article (3) of the Draft. The amendment in question purports to recommend to the Constituent Assembly deletion of the entire proviso to the article (3). If accepted by the Constituent Assembly, its effect would be to vest in the Union Parliament unfettered power to make laws to form new States or to increase or decrease the area of a State or to alter the boundaries or the name of any State. It takes away the initiative from the Central Government and vests it in the members of the Union Legislature, so that any member from a region which demands territorial redistribution can initiate such a proposal in the Legislature and can at least force a discussion and consideration of the proposal on its merits whereas under the provisions of the Draft no such proposal can even be raised in that Legislature unless it receives the blessings of the Central Government. It will also transfer the initiative in the matter from the Legislature of the State from which territory is to be separated or included to the State which demands such separation and thus brings the matter within the region of practical politics. Thus while it would mark definite improvement in the existing position it has its defect also. In terms of this amended provision the sole initiative in this matter would be vested in the Central Legislature. A matter like this, of course, naturally falls within the jurisdiction of the Central Legislature but in so far as it involves usually a conflict of interest between two parties—for a redistribution of territorial boundaries means generally gain to one unit at the cost of another—it assumes a quasi-judicial aspect like a dispute between two parties. As such the issue should be decided free from all political considerations and entanglements as are apt to prevail in the legislature and a quasi-judicial procedure like what obtains in England in regard to private bill legislation should be prescribed for the purpose. The initiative should rest with the province

that demands re-adjustment. It should present its case before a Committee of the Central Legislature constituted from a panel of names of members of the legislature. The Committee for the purpose of hearing the case should consist of only such members as have no interest in the issue. It should not include any members of the legislature hailing from any of the provinces affected by the dispute. All the provinces affected by the proposed redistribution should be given a full hearing of their objections to the proposal.

The matter should be proceeded with just like a suit in a court of law, the Committee playing the role of a tribunal. The Committee should ultimately give its verdict in the form of a report to the legislature on the basis of which the necessary legislation should be passed. This will eliminate all possibility of partisan or unjust redistribution tending to foster ill-feeling and bitterness as between the provinces affected.

(Concluded)

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INDIA'S HEMP DRUG POLICY UNDER BRITISH RULE

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SUCH evidence as is available tends to show that though the use of narcotics for purely intoxication purposes was not uncommon in ancient India and during Mahomedan rule, the authorities concerned made no attempt to check it through the imposition of taxes. The sporadic efforts made in this direction from time to time found application in very small areas and can, for all practical purposes, be safely ignored.

It was only when the British came to feel that they had more or less firmly established themselves in the soil of India that they turned their attention first, to the taxation of alcohol as a means of realising a revenue and reducing the evils resulting from its use and, after that, took up the question of taxing intoxicating drugs.

The need for a revenue was primarily behind the move, quite natural in the case of the East India Company the authorities of which were quite alive to the revenue-yielding possibilities of the British system of taxation of alcoholic beverages. All that they did was to import it to such parts of India as were under their unchallenged control.

BEGINNINGS OF THE BRITISH EXCISE POLICY

It appears that during the closing years of Muslim rule in India, some system of taxation was sought to be imposed in some of the territories ruled by the Moghul Emperors on distilled but not on fermented liquors, such as toddy, rice-beer, etc. The task of collecting these taxes where they could be realised, not always an easy matter, was entrusted to the zemindars under the head of *sayer* revenue. It goes without saying that they were not realised everywhere and also that many zemindars who collected them did not always remit the amounts received to their sovereign. This was the system existing at the time when the

country came into the possession of the East India Company.

In 1789, much resentment was expressed against the conduct of the Bengal zemindars who, it was alleged, did not exercise proper control over the manufacture and sale of spirits with the result that drunkenness was spreading rapidly among the poorest classes. It was suggested that the only way to check this evil was for government to bring the collection of these taxes under its direct management and control.

This change in the excise policy was referred to in the following terms on pages 8 and 9 of the *Report of the Spirit Commission of Bengal, 1884* :

"On the 19th April, 1790, the Government resolved . . . to resume the Abkari *sayer* without reference to other duties."

This new policy of direct collection of taxes on liquor was put into effect by the Abkari Regulation of January, 1791, under which a tax was levied "on every license granted both to distillers and vendors of spirituous liquors."

Realising the ease with which taxes could be raised from this particular source without running any risk of antagonising their subjects who had come under their rule quite recently, the attention of the East India Company was next turned to the imposition of duties on drugs as a means of securing revenue.

That it was as much the desire to augment the revenues as to discourage the excessive consumption of drink and drugs that lay behind the above steps becomes clear from a passage from Harrington's *Analysis*, quoted by the Excise Commissioner of Bengal in his memorandum dated the 27th November, 1893, prepared for the Hemp Drugs Commission. He said :

"It will appear from paragraph 1, section 2 of Harrington's *Analysis*, volume 3rd, 1817, that with a view to check immoderate consumption, and at

the same time to augment the public revenue, it was judged expedient to continue and extend the duties levied on liquors and drugs when the sayer collections were resumed from landholders in the year 1790."

The two things which have to be remembered here are first that in those distant days, there was little, if any, scientific data proving the deleteriousness of drugs and, secondly, that being new to the country and having but little intimate contact with the general mass of the people, the British took it for granted that the consumption of narcotics by Indians was as natural and inevitable as the use of alcoholic drinks in the West.

THE BENGAL ENQUIRY OF 1798

The first definite step in the direction of realising a revenue from narcotics was taken when, on the 16th February, 1798, the Board of Revenue suggested formally to the Governor-General in Council that a duty should be laid on the sale and consumption of the following ten intoxicating articles: opium, madak, ganja, subzi, bhang, majum, banker, charas, tobacco and toddy.

A fact to which the attention of the reader should be drawn is the way in which dangerous drugs or their preparations like charas, ganja, madak, banker and opium are placed in the same category as certainly less injurious substances such as bhang and toddy and the more or less innocuous tobacco especially in the form in which it is smoked in India. This lends at least some support to the view that it was not so much the humanitarian as the revenue motive which was responsible for the move made by the Board of Revenue, the members of which were, at this time, under the necessity of enlarging the revenues of the East India Company.

On the 22nd March, 1798, the Governor-General in Council sent a reply to two extracts from which the attention of the reader is drawn. The first of these is important as it proves beyond any doubt that the Governor-General and the members of his Council were aware of the injurious nature of some of these intoxicants. The lines in question read as follows:

"Some of the articles enumerated in your letter, we have reason to believe, are of so noxious a quality, and produce a species of intoxication so extremely violent, that they cannot be used without imminent danger to the individual as well as to the public who may be exposed to the effects of the temporary insanity frequently excited by the use of these drugs."

The equally notable second extract makes it clear that even at that time, the desire to prohibit the consumption of drugs of the above type was professed and it would have been indeed fortunate for India if it had found effective expression in actual practice. Unfortunately for us, the people concerned succumbed to the temptation of realising a revenue from the less deleterious among the ten intoxicants and, at the same

time, of doing something towards the limitation of their consumption. The language used was as follows:

"We are of opinion that the vend of any drugs of this description should be altogether prohibited, and we desire therefore that, after having made an inquiry with a view to ascertain more particularly the nature and effect of them, you will prepare and submit to us a regulation for this purpose, as well as for establishing such duties as may appear to you proper on the sale of such other drugs as may be used without the same pernicious effects."

The conclusion was almost a foregone one. The Board of Revenue after its investigations came to the following conclusion:

"It appears that the original productions are as follows: tobacco, opium, ganja, subzi or bhang, banker and toddy, and that the three remaining articles are for the most part compositions of those here recited, as above-mentioned. With respect to the drugs specified in the foregoing schedule, they are not for the most part represented as producing any very violent or dangerous effects of intoxication except when taken to excess; and, although the operation of them may be more powerful in their compound state, we apprehend it would be difficult to sanction the sale of the original productions, and to prohibit with effect the use of compositions of which they are susceptible; to which may be added that most of these articles, both as original productions and as artificial combinations, appear to be useful either in medicine or otherwise; for these reasons we do not deem it necessary to recommend that the sale of any of them be altogether prohibited, but shall proceed to state what appear to us the best means of restricting the use of them, and improving the revenue by the imposition of such taxes as are best adapted to the nature of the case."

It is here that we get the beginnings of the British drug policy based on the assumption that moderate indulgence in drugs is not injurious and that imposition of taxes is the most practical as well as the most satisfactory method of keeping the consumption of these admittedly injurious substances within reasonable limits.

Accordingly, under Regulation VI of 1800, the unlicensed sale of ganja and other intoxicating drugs was stopped and a daily rate of duty on their sale "according to their strength and qualities" imposed on them.

The system of daily taxes lent itself to such abuse that some substitute had to be found for it especially as there was no reduction in the quantities consumed and the revenues were not benefited to the extent anticipated. In 1863, therefore, this system was abolished and in its place, a duty of Rs. 1 per seer on ganja and charas was imposed. In 1860, a fixed fee of Rs. 4 per maund was prescribed for each ganja license in addition to the above fixed duty.

ALL-INDIA ENQUIRY OF 1871 AND THE RESOLUTION OF 1873

In a note dated the 15th July, 1870, the then Financial Secretary made an observation to the effect that

"Every lunatic asylum report is full of instances of insanity and crime due to the use of Ganja."

Sir Richard Temple, Financial Member of the Government of India, drew the attention of Government to this note in 1871, with the result that Local Governments were directed to make a careful and detailed enquiry in regard to the effects of "the use or abuse" of different preparations of hemp.

Mr. A. O. Hume, as Secretary to the Government of India in his letter No. 339, dated the 10th October, 1871, wrote to all Local Governments and Administrations as follows :

"It has frequently been alleged that the abuse of ganja produces insanity and other dangerous effects. The information available in support of these allegations is avowedly imperfect, and it does not appear that the attention of the officers in charge of lunatic asylums has been systematically directed to ascertain the extent to which the use of the drug produces insanity. But as it is desirable to make complete and careful inquiry into the matter, the Governor-General in Council requests that, with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, you will be so good as to cause such investigations as are feasible to be carried out in regard to the effects of the use or abuse of the several preparations of hemp. The inquiry should not be simply medical but should include the alleged influence of ganja and bhang in exciting to violent crime."

The Local Governments to which the above-mentioned communication was addressed were asked to give their advice as to the expediency and practicability of restricting the consumption of the hemp drugs by enhancement of duty or limiting or even prohibiting the cultivation of the hemp plant.

After considering the replies received from Local Governments, the central administration embodied its conclusions in the form of Resolution No. 3773 of the Government of India, Finance Department, dated the 17th December, 1873, from which the following lines are taken :

"Upon consideration of all the opinions thus collected, it does not appear to the Governor-General in Council to be specially proved that hemp incites to crime more than other drugs or than spirits. And there is some evidence to show that on rare occasions this drug, usually so noxious, may be usefully taken. There can, however, be no doubt that its habitual use does tend to produce insanity. The total number of cases of insanity is small in proportion of the population, and not large even in proportion to the number of ganja smokers ; but of the cases of insanity produced by the excessive use of drugs of spirits, by far the largest number must be attributed to the abuse of hemp."

While it was impossible for Government to deny that hemp drugs cause insanity, the gravity of the situation was sought to be mitigated by referring to the small number of mad folk in India and the small percentage of insanity directly attributable to them. It is surprising that the fundamental unsoundness of this argument practically disowning human values, failed to strike the people concerned. The uncharitable

would suggest that this was so probably because it was felt that the life of an Indian was not such a valuable thing after all in a country where a too rapid increase in the population was gradually growing into a problem.

As all the Local Governments with the exception of Burma and the Central Provinces were against altering the existing arrangements that is those which had come into force in 1860, the India Government was content to maintain it. But, as customary, it saved its face by saying :

"His Excellency in Council, however, trusts that the various Local Governments and Administrations will endeavour, wherever it may be possible, to discourage the consumption of ganja and bhang by placing restrictions on their cultivation, preparation, and retail, and imposing on their use as high a rate of duty as can be levied without inducing illicit practices."

The condition precedent laid down in the last sentence for enhancement of duty put the coping stone on the excise system for, whenever high taxes really began to check consumption, in other words, led to an appreciable reduction in the revenue from this source, it was always open to Government to say that high prices were encouraging illicit production and distribution, thus curtailing the revenue without a corresponding gain in the shape of a reduction in consumption. The next step to this would be a lowering in the duty and increased revenue with, generally, increased consumption.

THE NEW SYSTEM OF 1876

The expression of the pious wish in the Resolution of 1873, that Local Governments should do all they could to discourage the consumption of bhang and ganja did not produce any appreciable result. As addition to them as measured by the amounts absorbed by the public, grew more extensive especially in the Bengal Presidency which, in those days, included the whole of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam and where the number of shops licensed to sell these drugs showed an alarming increase, Government of India thought it proper to address a letter to the Government of Bengal on the 29th April, 1875, in which it was observed that

"Nothing should be done to place temptations in the way of the people that can possibly be avoided."

This was a very broad hint that the Government of India was not feeling very happy over the growth in the revenue due to larger consumption of bhang and especially ganja. To remove all chances of misunderstanding, it was stated in the third paragraph of the above-mentioned communication that

"His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor may rest assured of receiving the support of the Government of India in any measure that he may adopt for limiting the consumption of ganja, and indeed if the use of the drugs could be altogether suppressed without the fear of leading to its contra-

band use, such a course would be justified by its deleterious effects."

Not content with assuring the Bengal Government of its full support in implementing such steps as might be desirable to cut down the consumption of these hemp drugs, the Government of India introduced with effect from 1876, the system of annually selling the retail license by auction not only because it was likely to yield a larger revenue but also because it would tend to make the drugs more expensive.

BENGAL ENQUIRY OF 1877 AND THE ACT OF 1881

In 1877, a special officer was appointed by the Bengal Government to make a careful and complete investigation into the details of the cultivation of ganja, the adequacy or otherwise of the then existing safeguards and the advisability of introducing reforms. The conclusions of Sir Ashley Eden, based on the report submitted by this officer, in regard to the effects of addiction to ganja and the policy to be followed, were as follows :

"The Lieutenant-Governor has himself no doubt that the use of ganja in any form is injurious to the consumer, and that it is the duty of Government to make the tax on this article as high as it can possibly bear. Unfortunately it is habitually used by large numbers of the lower classes of the population, who would, if deprived of it altogether, apparently find in the leaves of the wild hemp plant and in other drugs, narcotics and stimulants of equally deleterious character. It does not seem possible, therefore, to stop the cultivation altogether. The policy of Government must be to limit its production and sale by a high rate of duty without placing the drug entirely beyond the reach of those who will insist upon having it."

We have here first, the admission that the consumption of ganja is injurious and second, that, as its consumption cannot be stopped, the next best thing is to reduce it by making the drug as expensive as possible through the imposition of a sufficiently heavy duty on it but, at the same time, not placing it beyond the reach of addicts who, in such a contingency, might be driven to the use of even more injurious substances.

Two years later, Mr. A. C. Hume, Member of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, in his review of the Excise Report of 1879, stated that insanity was in many cases due to ganja-smoking and that there was something like a casual connection between it and crime.

It is understood that other British officials occupying high positions in the administrative machinery in different parts of India expressed similar views on the injurious effects of the habitual consumption of hemp drugs on the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of addicts. Realising the force of these objections when they were urged by non-Indian bureaucrats who were not at all likely to exaggerate the damage suffered by habitual users or to criticise the policy of an administration in which all power was enjoyed by them and who again were fully alive to its responsibility as regards its past failure in taking effective

steps to end the hemp drug menace, Government passed an Act (Act XXII of 1881) restricting the use of hemp drugs.

ANTI-GANJA AGITATION IN INDIA AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS (1891-1893)

In the somewhat sketchy description of events leading to the Resolution of 1873, it was stated that the Local Governments of Burma and the Central Provinces only were in favour of putting more stringent restrictions on the manufacture and distribution of hemp drugs than those which had been in force from 1860 downwards. There was, however, an important difference between these two Governments. Burma stood for total prohibition and the Central Provinces for more stringent restrictions.

From about the time of the foundation of the Indian National Congress, the educated and the well-to-do who were either leading it or were strongly attracted by its ideals and objects, began to realise their duty towards our masses and many were the methods adopted for improving their condition through various beneficent institutions financed by them and also by making themselves their champions and placing their grievances before the then all-powerful British administration. Struck by the havoc wrought by stimulants and narcotics especially among the poor, Indian periodicals located in different parts of India began the publication of fairly large numbers of contributions from public-spirited men complaining against the existing drug and drug policy. Some of these drew the attention of the public to the injurious effects of addiction to hemp drugs, criticised the unsatisfactory provisions of the Act of 1881 and suggested the adoption of the system of hemp drug prohibition which had been introduced in Burma with effect from 1873-74 and had proved an outstanding success.

In July, 1891, Mr. Mark Stewart, M.P., drew the attention of the Secretary of State for India to a statement of the above type which had appeared in an Indian periodical and requested him to inquire of the Government of India whether it was not possible to extend the system of ganja prohibition operating in Burma to the other provinces of British India.

Accordingly, the Secretary of State for India in his despatch dated the 6th August, 1891, requested an expression of its views on the effects of ganja which had been specifically mentioned in the Indian periodical and enquired whether the Government of India proposed to take any further steps for reducing its consumption.

The Government of India replied on the 9th August, 1892, stating in the third paragraph of its despatch :

"We are inclined to believe that ganja is the most noxious of all intoxicants now commonly used in India."

The difficulties which stood in the way of adopting prohibition were set forth in the following terms :

"Even if the absolute prohibition of the use of the drug could be enforced, the result might be to induce the use of still more noxious drugs. India abounds with plants growing wild from which drugs can be procured which are more deleterious in their effects than ganja. One such plant is the *dhatūra* (stramonium), the seeds of which are already used to intensify the narcotic effects of bhang, a liquid preparation of hemp leaves, and we apprehend that if the use of ganja were suppressed altogether, *dhatūra* might be largely resorted to by the poorer classes as a means of satisfying their craving for stimulants."

It was added that even if addicts did not take to the use of injurious drugs like *dhatūra*, it would not be very difficult for any addict to grow a plant or two in the enclosure of his own house and in other places safe from observation and risk of detection, securing in this way sufficient to meet his own requirements.

It was also pointed out that after its prohibition in British India, it would not be possible to prevent the smuggling of ganja from the Indian States. The policy proposed to be followed or rather adhered to was described as follows:

"Although we consider it impracticable to enforce the absolute prohibition of the use of ganja, we fully recognise it as our duty to restrict its consumption as far as practicable, and we have distinctly laid down the policy to be pursued in respect of this drug in our Resolution of the 17th December, 1873. The annual reports of Excise Administration show that the subject has since been continually before Local Governments, who are making every possible endeavour to minimise the evils and discourage the use of the drug wherever it is a source of danger to consumers."

It thus appears that though two decades had passed after the acceptance of a more or less defective excise system, the Government of India had not contemplated the idea of making any change in it on the plea that almost insurmountable practical difficulties stood in the way of introducing prohibition of ganja though, at the same time, it was admitted that injury results from indulgence in it.

THE INDIAN HEMP DRUGS COMMISSION, 1893-94

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest there mainly because of the anti-ganja propaganda carried on in India which went on receiving publicity in England through the interest taken in the matter by the leaders of the Temperance Movement in that country.

On the 3rd March, 1893, one of the most prominent of these, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., asked Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India, whether he was prepared to appoint a Commission to conduct an enquiry into the manufacture and distribution of hemp drugs, the effects of their consumption on the social and moral condition of the people and the desirability of prohibiting the cultivation of the hemp plant and the sale of ganja and allied drugs.

This was agreed to by Lord Kimberley who, in his Despatch No. 36 (Revenue), dated the 16th March,

1, requested the Government of India to appoint a Commission for the purposes stated above giving it such instructions as would insure that the proposed enquiry on an all-India basis would be thorough and complete.

The Commission in question consisting of a European President and six members, of whom three were non-officials including two large semindars, was appointed on the 3rd July, 1893, and submitted its report in seven volumes including the evidence of 1,193 witnesses on the 6th August, 1894. It is noteworthy that two out of the three non-official members dissented from the main report.

FINDINGS OF THE HEMP DRUGS COMMISSION

From the standpoint of the present discussion, the most important recommendations of the Commission were that a Government monopoly of production and sale was, for practical reasons, undesirable, secondly, that the total prohibition of cultivation and sale of the hemp drugs was "neither necessary nor expedient" and, lastly, that "a policy of control and restriction" was a satisfactory way to meet the hemp drug menace.

The means suggested were adequate taxation, control of production and restrictions on distribution and private possession, detailed information about which appears below.

After a comparison of the methods of production and distribution of the hemp drugs and the taxation methods adopted by different Local Governments, the Commission recommended what, in those days, was called the Bengal system of taxation. This was a combination of a direct fixed duty on the drugs themselves with auction of licenses for the privilege of vend. The auction system by itself was regarded as inadequate as a combination among the vendors or the absence of competition among them is calculated to impair its efficiency as a satisfactory method of keeping high prices with a view to reducing consumption.

It was therefore suggested that the fixed duty should be as high as possible due regard being had to the consideration that it should not be so high as to either encourage smuggling or, by making the drug too expensive, to drive the addict to the consumption of more injurious substances like *dhatūra*, etc.

The beneficial effects of the above system of high taxation in restricting consumption were to be reinforced by limitation of the sources of supply. In the case of ganja, it was felt that this could be best secured by prohibiting the cultivation of the hemp plant except under license and by granting the necessary licenses under such conditions as to ensure supervision and registration of the produce.

In the case of charas, limitation of supply and the fixing of its price in such a manner as to reduce consumption without much chance of encouraging illicit traffic in it, were regarded as practical because almost

the whole of the amount consumed in our motherland is imported and the channels through which it passes can be controlled without much difficulty.

The third method recommended for tightening up the machinery for the reduction of consumption was "to keep the number of licensed shops to the lowest limit compatible with meeting the real demand."

The object of limiting the amount of hemp drugs, the possession of which would be legal was to discourage smuggling and also to check excess, invariably fostered by the control of a large stock by the addict. As the maximum of legal possession differed in different parts of India, the Commission suggested that it should be the same for the whole of our motherland.

The last important recommendation was that whenever it was proposed to open new shops, the views of municipal bodies in towns and of respectable and propertied people in rural areas should be ascertained as to whether there existed any necessity for them and whether the location suggested was suitable. It was also stressed that proper consideration should be given to objections when they came from the local people.

It was finally suggested that the methods for control adopted should, as far as possible, be uniform for the whole of British India and that they should be made "systematically applicable" throughout its length and breadth.

EXAMINATION OF COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

The history of the control of the consumption of habit-forming narcotics as well as of alcoholic beverages shows that although our rulers tried their best to check what they called excessive consumption through the adoption of various restrictive measures from time to time, the results achieved in nearly two centuries of effort have not always been satisfactory.

So far as measures aimed at limiting the consumption of hemp drugs, through the imposition of high taxes as an indirect method of making them expensive, are concerned, experience has invariably shown that, generally speaking, the drop in the quantity used has been temporary and that, before long, the addicts have adjusted themselves to the new circumstances and gone back to the consumption of former amounts either by reducing or by totally depriving themselves and their families of some of the necessities of life. This was proved on pages 392-396 of his Note of Dissent by Lala Nihal Chand, a member of the Hemp Drugs Commission. The reader who feels any doubt about this matter will be able to satisfy himself if he consults the information given about the amounts of hemp drugs consumed and the taxes realised from them appearing in successive volumes of the *Statistical Abstract of British India*.

The general incorrectness of the opinion expressed above was sought to be proved by the Hemp Drugs Commission which, on page 134 of its report stated

that "the consumption (of ganja) has been stationary during the last 15 years."

An explanation offered for the above fact is that the growing taste for liquor in certain urban areas had the effect of transferring the allegiance of certain people from ganja to liquor.

Another and a quite not unreasonable explanation of the above phenomenon is that the opinion is evidently based on the amounts of recorded sales of ganja, the absence of illicit traffic in it being taken for granted. On pages 391-392 of his Note of Dissent, Lala Nihal Chand proved with the help of extracts from official documents that, during the period referred to, there was little control on the area under the hemp plant, the amount manufactured and made available to the public through legal channels and, lastly, that smuggling was common in practically every part of India.

The most satisfactory proof that high prices lead to reduction would have been a diminution in the amount consumed by the public. In the absence of such evidence, it does not seem proper to accept at its face-value the views of the Commission.

That the keeping down of the number of shops licensed to sell hemp drugs must have some effect in discouraging their consumption cannot be denied. Unfortunately, their revenue-yielding possibilities have, at least occasionally, made Government officers keep them in mind when applications for permission to open new shops have been made by interested parties. This neglect of duty on their part was noticed and commented on by the Hemp Drugs Commission when, on page 310 of its report, it was stated that

"The increase of shops or failure to reduce them has often been pointed out as an error committed by individual district officers whose aim was too much to raise revenue. The impropriety of this and its danger cannot be too strongly insisted upon. The matter is one which should be kept constantly in view by the Local Governments and by the Government of India."

The reduction in the number of shops would have been appreciable if only the opinion of the people among whom they are proposed to be located carried any weight with the licensing authorities. The attitude typical of the British official who claimed, not always with justice, to know more and to feel greater concern about the masses than educated India, is evident from the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Westmacott, Excise Commissioner, Bengal, who said :

"I think it is rubbish consulting local public opinion. It generally means consulting a number of babus who are out of all sympathy with other classes, and utterly ignorant and careless of their requirements. By babus I mean those known in Bengal as the *bhadralok*, comprising pleaders and schoolmasters in great part. My remarks do not apply to *seminars*, who would not come forward and give an opinion in the matter of local option, but I should undoubtedly go to them if anxious to find out what the local public opinion was. There would be no difficulty in getting public opinion in

the villages, for it would be ascertained from the *pradhans* or principal *raiyats*, but in towns, the division between classes is such that there is no homogeneous public opinion, if I may use the phrase."

Coming to the question of limitation of possession, the Commission made the definite suggestion that the maximum for ganja and charas should be 5 and for bhang 20 tolas. As each tola is equal to 180 grains and as the hemp drugs do not, according to addicts themselves, produce any injurious results so long as the daily dose is limited to 10 grains or less, the restriction of private possession to the quantities just mentioned does not seem of any use from the standpoint of the discouragement of excess. It has therefore been suggested that the object aimed at can be better secured through a marked reduction in the permitted maximum amount.

ACT XII OF 1896

After long and close examination of the recommendations of the Hemp Drugs Commission, the India Government took the necessary powers by an Act passed in 1896. Originally applicable to Northern India, the Central Provinces, Coorg and Ajmere-Merwara, it was gradually extended through the whole of British India. The Act in question lays down certain principles of which the most important is that it allows the administration to exercise complete control on the cultivation of the hemp plant and on the manufacture, import, export and transport of drugs produced from it. The Act provides that while the cultivation of the hemp plant is absolutely prohibited elsewhere, it should be allowed under license and proper supervision in certain places only. Under it, the collection of plants growing in a state of nature is put under certain restrictions while import of hemp drugs is prohibited except by certain specified routes. All the products are to be stored in bonded warehouses whence they are to be issued to licensed vendors after payment of adequate duty.

After securing the necessary authority through legislation, the next step taken by the Central Government was to lay down certain principles for the guidance of local governments in the matter of making improvements in their hemp drug excise systems.

In regard to ganja and charas, it was understood that the cultivation of the hemp plant in British India for the production of bhang and ganja should be restricted as soon and as much as possible. Secondly, the production of ganja and the import of charas would be allowed only under proper control and restrictions. Thirdly, all ganja and charas on production or import into any province would be liable to the payment of a direct quantitative duty on issue for distribution to the consumers from bonded warehouses where the drugs are to be stored by the cultivators, dealers or importers. Lastly, the two drugs would, under suitable restrictions, be permitted to be carried

from one bonded warehouse to another in the same or in another province, the duty on them being realised only on issue from the government depot, for retail sale in the province of consumption.

The cultivation of the hemp plant for the production of bhang was to be either prohibited or taxed. Its collection from wild plants by vendors for purposes of sale was to be permitted only under license and its transport carefully regulated and restricted.

The above principles enunciated by the Central Government in their circular letter No. 1925-S.R., dated the 30th April, 1896, were adopted with local and unimportant modifications by all the provinces by 1901. Thereafter, cultivation for the production of ganja and bhang was absolutely prohibited in Assam, the United Provinces and the minor provinces of Delhi, Ajmere-Merwara, Coorg and Baluchistan. It was, however, permitted, generally for the production of ganja, in limited areas and under careful restrictions in Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras. While, practically speaking, the ganja produced in all the areas except the first supplies the provincial needs the main supply comes from a tract in Bengal now forming part of Eastern Pakistan.

It is in Punjab and Madras only that the manufacture of bhang from plants which have been specially cultivated for the purpose is permitted to wholesale dealers under license. The quantity thus obtained is not, however, adequate enough to satisfy the demand which is met from what comes from wild plants.

Machinery controlling the import of charas has gradually been greatly improved thereby ensuring its availability in quantities sufficient to meet the Indian demand for the drug.

LIMITATION OF CULTIVATION

From what has appeared previously, it is clear that the principal features of the hemp drug policy which we have inherited from our old rulers and to which we are still adhering, consist in diminished production through restricted cultivation under State supervision and reduced consumption through payment of a quantitative duty before issue from bonded warehouses, retail sale under license and restriction on private possession.

It cannot, however, be denied that provided the problem of the illicit production and traffic in hemp drugs can be successfully handled, the most effective of all measures for ensuring diminished consumption is a cutting down of the supplies possible only through reduction in the area under the hemp plant. It is also equally true that a steady reduction in the area licensed for the cultivation of the hemp plant by Government is the best possible proof of the sincerity of its desire to stamp out addiction to hemp drugs.

In this connection, the attention of the reader is invited to the following statement taken from the official publication *Agricultural Statistics of British India* which shows the area in acres under the hemp

plant up to 1934-35. The figures for the other years were supplied to the present writer by the Economic and Statistical Advisor, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Year	Area in acres
1900-1901	4,086
1909-1910	1,918
1919-1920	1,740
1925-1926	1,456
1929-1930	1,023
1931-1932	808
1932-1933	1,032
1934-1935	828
1939-1940	1,918
1942-1943	1,094
1943-1944	1,368
1944-1945	2,883
1945-1946	1,515

After an examination of the figures appearing above, it cannot be denied that a successful effort to reduce the area under the hemp plant was made between 1900 to 1932. It cannot, however, be said that this policy was consistently followed in later years.

VARIATIONS, ACCIDENTAL AND DELIBERATE, IN ACREAGE

There are certain factors which account for the variations in the area under the hemp plant. The first of these is that its cultivation is something like a gamble. In addition to the adoption of certain methods carelessness in which means, at the least, partial failure, the cultivator has no remedy against the vagaries of weather which play a larger part in the quantity of the ganja produced than most people are generally aware of.

As regards the first of these, mention should be made of the fact that the operation of eliminating the male plants which has to be conducted by experts before the flowers are developed and when therefore it is difficult to distinguish between the useless male and the remunerative female plant, is always one requiring frequent repetition, unless it is done with thoroughness, in the language of an expert, "the presence of a few staminate (i.e., male) plants in the field suffices to injure the entire crop" thereby seriously curtailing the total output.

So far as the effects of adverse weather conditions are concerned, rain in no less than three different stages during the period of cultivation diminishes the yield—at the time of sowing the seeds, during transplantation of the seedlings and when the female plants begin to secrete the narcotic principle.

In the absence of these unfavourable factors, a small area can produce a larger quantity of ganja than a larger area the plants grown on which have to contend against the above-mentioned adverse condition.

It follows therefore that a comparatively small area under the hemp plant is not always a correct indication of a correspondingly smaller output.

It happens, at least occasionally, that the operation of one or other of the factors mentioned above spoils the crop and when figures showing the area under the hemp plant are drawn up, the land unsuccessfully sown for the production of ganja is left out. If large areas are affected, the official statistics show a marked reduction in the hemp plant acreage when, of course, it is accidental.

Experience extending over decades enables the Excise Department to make a fairly correct estimate of the amount of ganja required each year. To be on the safe side, it has to maintain a reserve stock to supplement the amount produced in particularly bad years. It is therefore that acreage is increased when the reserve stock is low and diminished when it is large. When ganja produced in a particularly favourable year is much larger in amount than is normally absorbed, the administration, if confident that the excess will retain its potency, reduces the area in the succeeding year, the idea being to have that quantity of the drug in stock for which there is likely to be an effective demand at the particular price fixed, though indirectly by the Excise Department, for retail sale.

In this connection, prohibitionists draw attention to the fact that the figures for the import of charas into our motherland varied roughly between 61,000 and 61,500 seers in the twelve years between 1913 and 1916. This is regarded as the clearest possible evidence that the imports of this drug have been sought to be regulated, generally with a large amount of success, in such a manner, as to meet what we may describe as the fixed demand for this narcotic.

So far as bhang, the major part of which is manufactured from wild plants, is concerned, the effects of various measures adopted from time to time to restrict its availability have not tended to steadily reduce the amount consumed, a fact clearly proved from figures appearing below.

While, from one point of view, it may be argued that the above policy keeps indulgence in hemp drugs within certain bounds, it cannot be denied that it, at least indirectly, encourages habitual indulgence in them, through their easy availability.

WHERE THE SHOE PINCHES

Though there has been a diminution in the total quantity of licit hemp drugs consumed in "British" India, it has not been steady. What is still more regrettable is that it has latterly shown an unmistakable tendency towards increase. This is abundantly clear from the following statement showing the amounts in seers of hemp drugs issued to the public under Government supervision.

Year *	Bhang	Ganja	Charas
1912-13	478,465	415,537	102,731
1933-34	289,866	162,229	58,918
1934-35	292,166	162,153	61,429
1939-40	288,627	141,820	53,546 (Estimate 60,846)
1945-46	395,237	187,616 (Estimate 61,000)	
	(Estimate 221,616)		

The information for the years 1912-13, 1933-34 and 1934-35 is taken from the *Memorandum on Excise (Hemp Drugs)* published by the India Government. The last issue is that for the year 1936-37 which the present writer has so far been unable to secure.

The information for the years 1939-40 and 1945-46 has been supplied by the Central Board of Revenue. It is incomplete because the figures for the consumption of charas for Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, for the year 1939-40 were not available. We, however, find that in 1934-35, the total amount of charas consumed in these areas was 7,375 seers. It does not seem unreasonable to take 7,300 seers as the amount consumed in 1939-40 in which case the total amount of charas was 60,846 seers.

Similarly, the information for 1945-46 is incomplete because the amount of ganja consumed in Bengal is not included in the figures. In this connection, it should be stated that between 1934-35 and 1939-40, the consumption of licit ganja in Bengal has varied from 34,700 to 35,500 seers. It may therefore be assumed that we are not erring on the side of excess if we assume that Bengal consumed 34,000 seers of ganja in 1945-46. If this is accepted as being, on the whole, a fair approximation of the quantity smoked, it follows that, the total amount of ganja consumed in 1945-46 was 221,616 seers.

So far as the figures for charas are concerned, it does not appear that there was anything like a marked difference either way between the quantities consumed in 1939-40 and 1945-46. In other words, the amount of charas consumed in 1945-46 was round about 61,000 seers.

From the above statement, we are justified in inferring that there was a praiseworthy reduction in the quantity of licit hemp drugs made available to the public in what was, till recently, British India during the years 1912-40.

This, however, is not true for subsequent years as is clearly evident from a comparison of the figures for 1939-40 and 1945-46. On the other hand, it may be argued that there has been a noteworthy increase of more than one lakh seers in the consumption of bhang and also of more than 40,000 seers in the case of ganja while consumption of licit charas has remained more or less steady.

It thus appears that the existing excise policy has not

been successful in steadily bringing down the consumption of licit hemp drugs, which jumps up from time to time. It also shows the responsiveness of the administration to the demand for them whenever it manifests itself which is not how prohibition in stages should work.

IMPLICATIONS OF HEMP DRUG POLICY

It is a well-known fact, that, broadly speaking, the volume of the sale of any particular article is conditioned by such factors as its availability in a large number of places easily accessible to the buyer, shortage or abundance of supply and the price demanded for it.

As regards the first of these, such information as is available tends to show that there has been a small reduction in the number of shops licensed to sell hemp drugs to the public but, for all practical purposes, only in the less populous areas of consumption. This does not, however, imply any improvement in the situation as has been amply proved in the last section.

As regards the other two points, the aim of the policy so far followed has been to take especial care that the market is never flooded with a larger quantity of the drugs than it can absorb at a price calculated to minimise illicit traffic simultaneously ensuring its discouragement by penalising it.

These explain why the existing policy has proved a failure as a satisfactory method of bringing about a steady reduction in the total amount consumed. This is so because from what has been said elsewhere in regard to the various factors responsible for addiction to hemp drugs, it is abundantly clear that they will continue to operate and addiction will persist as a feature in our life so long as hemp drugs, licit or illicit, are, more or less, easily available.

Our old rulers never made any secret of the fact that it was not their purpose to stamp out addiction to hemp drugs, for the aim of the different restrictive measures adopted so far has, in the language of an official document on the hemp drug policy, been "limiting the production and sale by a high rate of duty without placing the drug entirely beyond the reach of those who will insist upon having it."

The availability of hemp drugs implied in the policy summarised in the above lines certainly constitutes an encouragement, though indirect, of the creation of fresh addicts. Under these circumstances, it cannot be denied that so long as the present situation is permitted to continue, the best that can be hoped for is not the extinction of hemp drug addiction but the continued existence of generation after generation of addicts who, taking the most favourable view of the matter, will, it is hoped, indulge in moderate quantities.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By SUDHANSU SEKHAR MUKHERJI, *Advocate, High Court.*

THE Constituent Assembly on the basis of the resolution of the 29th August, 1947, appointed the Drafting Committee to draw up a draft of the new Constitution of India. The Committee consisted of persons of great worth who after careful consideration submitted their draft on 21st February, 1948 to the President of the Constituent Assembly. It deals with various subjects and in fact it is an enormous document. I should like to refer to only some of its very important features and offer my suggestions for what they are worth.

POWER RELATING TO ALTERATION OF AREAS OF EXISTING STATES

Under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General may alter the area and the boundaries of an existing province. This power is practically fetterless.

The corresponding provision in the Draft Constitution is to be found in Article 3 and the relevant portion thereof is reproduced herein below :

Extracts from Article 3

"Parliament may by law . . . alter the boundaries of any state (i.e., a province) . . . Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced . . . except by the Government of India and unless (a) either

(i) a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State from which the territory is to be separated or excluded or

(ii) a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any state whose boundaries or name will be affected by the proposal to be contained in the Bill and

(b) where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the boundaries . . . the views of the Legislature of the state both with respect to the proposal to introduce the Bill and with respect to the provisions thereof have been ascertained by the President"

CRITICISM OF THE PROVISION

Parliament is thus being bound with so many fetters that the new provision will practically be reduced to a dead letter.

The conditions that have been imposed in this portion of the article can not at all appeal to practical minds. They will give rise to endless complications and are bound to arrest all actions in this behalf.

Sub-clause (a) (i) refers to the condition precedent to separation or exclusion and Sub-clause (a) (ii) deals with the case of alteration of the boundaries. One does not necessarily exclude the other. Does the expression "majority of the representatives of the territory" refer to exactly that piece of territory which

is being excluded or separated? If so, you may get only one representative. It may also be that the particular territory is only a small portion of and not co-extensive with the Constituency from which a representative member is elected. Thus, Clause (a) (i) is a mere jumble.

Then, Sub-clause (a) (ii) refers to the state whose boundaries will be "affected" by the proposal to be contained in the Bill. Thus, it refers to the state that gains and also to the state that loses. The resolution that will be passed by the Legislature of the gainer state will support the proposal for inclusion whereas the one that emanates from the Legislature of the loser state may strike a discordant note.

What then is the point in making this conflict a condition precedent to the introduction of a Bill in that behalf?

If the word, "affected" in Sub-clause (a) (ii) refer to only the loser state, can you normally expect that its Legislature will support the proposal for alteration of boundaries which would have the effect of cutting off a piece of its territory? Take, for instance, the case of Manbhum or Singbhum. It was a part of Bengal and by virtue of a British "ukase," it was arbitrarily tacked on to Bihar about 36 years ago. If the restitution of this territory to West Bengal is made dependent on the approval of the Legislature of the State of Bihar, one may have to wait till doomsday and Parliament may get no chance to exercise its power under Article 3. If Bihar adopt a fair attitude, the tangle will, no doubt, be straightened straightaway. But the fact remains that those two Sub-clauses sow the seeds of strife. To ensure integration of the different states, Parliament should possess unfettered powers in this respect and the affected States must not be allowed to offer any impediment.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENT

For the above reasons I would suggest that the portion of Article 3 that comes in after "Provided that . . . Government of India" should be deleted in its entirety.

ARTICLE RELATING TO CITIZENSHIP

The next important article is Article No. 5 which deals with the question of citizenship.

Text of Article 5

Article 5 of the Draft Constitution reads as follows :

At the date of commencement of this Constitution—

(a) every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was

born in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution and who has not made his permanent abode in any foreign State after the first day of April, 1947; and

- (b) every person who or either of whose parents or any of whose grand-parents was born in India as defined in the Government of India Act, 1935 (as originally enacted), or in Burma, Ceylon or Malaya, and who has his domicile in the territory of India as defined in this Constitution, shall be a citizen of India, provided that he has not acquired the citizenship of any foreign State before the date of commencement of this Constitution.

Explanation.—For the purpose of clause (b) of this article, a person shall be deemed to have his domicile in the territory of India—

- (i) if he would have had his domicile in such territory under Part II of the Indian Succession Act, 1925, had the provisions of that Part been applicable to him, or
(ii) if he has, before the date of commencement of this Constitution, deposited in the office of the District Magistrate a declaration in writing of his desire to acquire such domicile and has resided in the territory of India for at least one month before the date of the declaration.

S. 10 OF THE INDIAN SUCCESSION ACT

The Draft makes a reference to Part II of the Indian Succession Act of 1925. Part II contains 16 sections of which S. 10 has a great bearing upon the matter in hand. S. 10 reads as follows :

A man acquires a new domicile by taking up his fixed habitation in a country which is not that of his domicile of origin.

Explanation.—A man is not to be deemed to have taken up his fixed habitation in British India merely by reason of his residing there in His Majesty's civil, military or air force service, or in the exercise of any profession or calling.

COMMENT

Some correspondents have made a great noise about the alleged defects of this definition in various newspapers. The principal complaint seems to be that people who were born in Pakistan or who have a fixed residence in such a place but who on account of their calling reside in "post-partition" India for a long time, do not unfortunately come within the definition. There is also another complaint that if those people do not intend to return to Pakistan they should be treated as citizens of India as a matter of course. I, for one, do not find much merit in either of the two complaints.

The explanation to S. 10 of the Succession Act disposes of the first complaint. If it be their intention not to return to Pakistan, all that is necessary for them to do is to put in an application as stated in Clause (ii) of Article 5 of the Draft. The first illustration of S. 10 of the Indian Succession Act which runs as follows makes the position quite clear :

"A, whose domicile of origin is in England proceeds to British India where he settles as a Barrister or merchant intending to reside there during the remainder of his life. His domicile is now in British India."

My answer to the second complaint is that Article 5 embodies a rule of prudence. Unless they declare in writing their desire to acquire such domicile, nothing can prevent them from running with the hare and hunting with the hound. No State can possibly tolerate this position.

Some objection may, however, legitimately be taken to the reference made in the explanation of Article 5 to the provisions of the Indian Succession Act, 1925. In future the present Succession Act may be repealed or amended and an inquiry may have to be instituted in order to understand the meaning of the word "domicile." The Constitution Act should require nothing from outside. It should be self-contained.

SUGGESTION

The Clause (i) of the Explanation in Article 5 should specifically state the relevant portion of Part II of the Succession Act.

The next article I should like to advert to is Article 11 which abolishes "untouchability" in the following words :

Text of Article 11

"Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

COMMENT

Every right-thinking man will appreciate the stern measures the Legislature may take in this behalf. But unless the enactment indicates precisely the nature of the evil that has to be tackled, we may not possess what we want. If a judge proceed to grapple with physical uncleanness, it will be difficult to attribute such a course to pure cussedness though we may guess what the committee really drive at.

SUGGESTION

The Constitution Act should set forth clearly the gist of the offence and should precisely settle its limits so that a citizen may have this assurance that he is not legally bound to exhibit fondness for, say, a leper.

The next article on which I should like to say a word or two is Article 13 which is the Great Charter of personal and political liberty.

Extracts from Article 13(1)

- " all citizens shall have the right
(a) to freedom of speech and expression
(b)
(c) to form associations or unions
(d) to move freely throughout the territory of India
(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India
(f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property
(g)

Then follow four clauses which save the existing law relating to the subjects mentioned in the aforesaid sub-clauses and which also clearly lay down that nothing in the said sub-clauses would "prevent the State from making any law imposing in the interests of the general public or in the interests of public order restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by the aforesaid sub-clauses."

COMMENT

Our own people are now in the saddle and we should render all help to enable them to conduct the affairs of the State constitutionally. There are "no flies on" them, but still there is some rub.

If the different States work team-wise, pull together and share alike weal and woe, that will mean millennium. But can we say that fissiparous tendencies are not discernible in different provinces or States within the dominion of India? The expressions "public order" or "interests of general public" were remorselessly laid under contribution whenever "lawless laws" used to be enacted during the British rule to deprive people of their liberty. So the aforesaid turgid language (e.g., public order) may emit foam and froth but it would convey little sense.

SUGGESTION

The clauses that save the power of the State to impose restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by the Indian charter of liberty may in fact nullify the charter and as such those clauses must be repealed. Only in emergency Parliament alone should possess the power to impose restrictions on the exercise of fundamental rights of a citizen; otherwise the "Magna Carta" may become a joke.

There are many other clauses in the Draft. But I propose to touch on only two other points, the Judicature and special provisions relating to minorities.

THE FEDERAL JUDICATURE

Chapter IV of the Draft deals with the Federal Judicature.

(i) Age of Retirement

Article 103 (2) states *inter alia* that a judge of the Supreme Court shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty-five years.

The question is—should he not retire earlier? When the High Courts were first established in British India, Government did not fix any retiring age. But it was latterly considered expedient that some age-limit should be fixed and in the Government of India Act it was laid down that a judge of a High Court "shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty years."

When the Constitution is finally adopted, the authorities should very carefully consider whether a judge in India will be able to discharge his onerous duties efficiently if he be permitted to hold his office until he attains the age of 65 years. (*Vide* Comment on Article 103).

(ii) Appellate Jurisdiction of Supreme Court

Article 110 allows an appeal to the Supreme Court from any judgment of a High Court in a State, whether in Civil, Criminal or other proceeding, if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution Act.

Article 111 allows an appeal to the Supreme Court from a judgment in a civil proceeding of a High Court under certain conditions even when the case does not involve a question of the interpretation of Constitutional Legislation.

COMMENT

There is no provision for an appeal to the Supreme Court from a High Court's judgment in criminal matters which involve questions other than the interpretation of Constitutional law.

The recent decisions of the Federal Court and of the Privy Council in the cases of *Huntley, Gill, B. B. Singh, Zaharuddin, Sudhir Dutta and others* reveal that the High Courts committed very serious mistakes on plain questions of fact and law. This is a strong argument in favour of the proposition that in criminal proceedings which involve deprivation of liberty and even capital punishment there should be a right of appeal to the Supreme Court without conditions or upon such conditions as Parliament may be pleased to impose. The very existence of such a right will have a salubrious effect on all concerned in the administration of criminal justice. It is difficult to conceive why it was considered not necessary to enact an article similar to Article 111 with regard to criminal cases. It is still more difficult to conceive that criminal matters affecting a person's liberty and life were considered less important than civil cases affecting a person's claim to property.

SUGGESTION

It is therefore suggested that an article similar to Article 111 should be incorporated in the Constitution Act with regard to criminal cases.

(iii) Time Limit of Argument

Act 121 allows the Supreme Court to make rules with the approval of the President for regulating generally the practice and procedure of the court including amongst other things . . . "(b) rules as to the procedure for hearing appeals . . . including . . . the time to be allowed to advocates . . . to make their submissions . . ."

This follows the practice prevalent in the Supreme Court of the United States of America where the advocates are normally allowed only one hour to argue each case, the rest of their submissions being in writing. Sri Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar, one of the members of the Committee, does not, however, consider it necessary (as appears from the foot-note of the Draft) to mention this power in this article because in his view the position of the Supreme Court in India, in respect of its general appellate functions,

is different from that of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Moreover, all advocates are not equally brilliant. So the use of the guillotine upon arguments may not always be conducive to administration of justice. Then again the accepted principle is that "it is not enough that justice is done but what is more important, the parties must feel that justice has been done." The use of the guillotine will certainly produce some feeling in the mind of a litigant but it can not be the feeling that justice has been done.

SUGGESTION

For the above-mentioned reasons the time limit portion of clause (b) of Article 121 should be deleted.

THE HIGH COURTS IN THE STATES

(i) Age Limit

Article 193 states that a judge of a High Court shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty years or such higher age not exceeding sixty-five years as may be fixed by the State Legislature.

The Committee state in the foot-note that "the best men from the Bar often refuse appointments on the Bench because under the existing age-limit of 60 years they would not have time to earn a full pension."

COMMENT

It may be submitted that the best men from the Bar often refuse appointments not because they would not earn full pension, but because they are often passed over at the correct time and when a belated discovery is made of their merits, they do not and they can not enter into it with zest. So the reason assigned by the Committee is not at all a strong reason to justify the increase of the retiring age. I am not inclined to believe that the age-limit of 65 years will not impair the efficiency of a judge, in whichever court he may hold office. Even New Delhi's bracing climate can not possibly arrest Nature or nullify the ravages of time.

SUGGESTION

The age-limit of 60 years—as embodied in S. 220 of the Government of India Act—should be retained in our Constitution Act. This should apply to the case of also a judge of the Supreme Court for the simple reason that an office in the Supreme Court can not *per se* confer on the incumbent greater strength or vigour.

(ii) Appointment of a Judge of a High Court

Article 193 (2) states that a person shall not be qualified for appointment as a judge of a High Court unless he . . . (a) has held for at least 10 years a judicial office in any State . . . or

(b) has been for at least 10 years an Advocate of a High Court.

CRITICISM

This is a highly ticklish subject and requires careful handling.

If the tradition of a High Court is to be maintained and if a High Court is to remain in fact a High Court, the right man should be in the right place. Each of the two clauses may include a person who has passed 10 years in some mufssil area. Clause (b) includes also a person who after being enrolled as an advocate goes into service in some Government office. Some of these people inwardly aspire to be judges of a High Court as their impression is that if they can fish out a useful uncle, they may get it. The President must be strong enough to beat off such inroads and it should never be forgotten that a man who stays away from a High Court can not be familiar with its atmosphere or its elevation.

SUGGESTION

The Article should be amended in such a way that there is no room for any one excepting very competent advocates *actually practising in a High Court*, otherwise there is no point in pouring contempt on an I.C.S. judge.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO MINORITIES

Part XIV of the Draft deals with those special provisions. Articles 292 and 294 provide for reservation of seats for the Muslims, the Scheduled Tribes and Indian Christians in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assembly of every State. Article 295 makes special provision regarding the representation of the Anglo-Indians in the Legislative Assemblies of the States. Articles 296 and 297 refer to the claims of minority communities to service and posts and Article 298 refers to special provision with regard to educational grants for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian community. Article 10(3) also allows a State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens.

CRITICISM

If these articles are ensconced in the statute, they will not help but will only injure the "backward" communities. This spoon-feeding instead of giving those people an incentive to qualify themselves for open competition will only induce them to concoct various devices to achieve a perpetuation of communal backwardness and it will also tempt many of the "non-backward" communities to "smuggle" them into that advantageous fold. The Britishers purveyed this sort of patronage for their selfish ends but our Government cannot follow suit if they are anxious to prevent disintegration. If you do not nip this evil in the bud, it will take root and you may eradicate it after only reducing your country to a stricken field.

SUGGESTION

These provisions should be deleted altogether so that all communities may stand on their own legs. These legislative crutches will never help them to find their legs. If the suggestion for total repeal is not accepted, an irrevocable time limit must be fixed and there should be no further ministering to this sort of sanctimoniousness.

OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

Our freedom struggle varied in form and substance from time to time. Till the Non-co-operation movement, one of its main planks was the presentation of our demands and grievances before the British public and Parliament through some well-organised agencies in England. Both during the regime of the East India Company and that of the British Crown the necessity of his mode of political agitation was keenly felt. Perhaps it was more so during the latter period when the generality of the Britishers became directly interested in the governance of India.

Up till the third decade of the nineteenth century, political agitation was practically carried on, on our behalf, by the non-official Britons in India and abroad. The speeches of Edmund Burke in connection with the impeachment of Warren Hastings before the House of Lords not only remind us of his ardent love of justice, but also of his deep sympathy for the oppressed Indians. It was in the twenties that Raja Ram Mohun Roy for the first time came forward to protest against the various measures of the Government. In my last, we have seen how Ram Mohun Roy and his associates, among whom Dwarkanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were the most prominent, protested against the Press Regulations of 1823. Three years later, in 1826, the jury system was first introduced in our courts of law. Here was made an invidious distinction by the powers-that-be between Christians and non-Christians. The Christians were eligible to be jurors in all cases, whereas the non-Christians, both Hindus and Mussalmans, could not act as such over the Christians. Ram Mohun fought tooth and nail against this measure. Public mind was so much agitated over it that Hindus and Mussalmans alike joined hands with each other and sent a petition to the Government here as well as in England for either rectification or withdrawal of this ignoble thing. We find for the first time one Mr. John Crawford acting as agent of the Indians in England and presenting this case before the Parliament. It was due to the continued agitation in India and abroad that the invidious distinction was removed from the above measure in 1832.

Ram Mohun Roy's sojourn in England before the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833 proved very much beneficial to the Indian people. The interested Britons and the Christian missionaries painted a very gloomy picture in their writings of our countrymen whom they regarded as heathens and worshippers of so many idols. Ram Mohun Roy dispelled this wrong idea to a large extent and by his actions and utterances proved that his countrymen were a race, inferior to nobody in culture, religion, intelligence and progressive political outlook. During the discussions over the renewal of the Charter Ram

Mohun placed before responsible persons his views on the various aspects of Indian administration. Rasik Krishna Mallik of Young Bengal fame broached this fact at the first memorial meeting, held after the Raja's death, in Calcutta on April 5, 1834. He said :

"To his going there we are in a great measure indebted for the best clauses in the new Charter, bad and wretched as the Charter is. Though it contains few provisions for the comfort and happiness of the millions that are subject to its sway for the interests of millions were sacrificed to the interests of a few tea-managers—yet bad and wretched as it is, the few provisions that it contains for the good of our countrymen we owe to Ram Mohun Roy."



George Thompson

THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

In the late thirties the utility of starting a regular organisation in England to carry on propaganda on our behalf was felt by the local intelligentsia. Rani Gopal Ghose, another of Young Bengal fame, began conferring with William Adam on this subject in 1838. First of the Serampur Baptist Mission, and afterwards a unitarian, and a friend and follower of Ram Mohun, William Adam was a real well-wisher of India. Ram Gopal Ghose wrote to his friend Gobinda Chandra Basak, then posted at Chittagong in the capacity of a Deputy Collector, a letter indicating the plan, on 12th August, 1838, as follows :

"While upon this subject I may as well tell you of the plans I have lately been maturing in connection with Mr. Adam, or rather under his direction and advice. This gentleman, you are perhaps aware, has gone to America with a view to join his family at Boston, then will go to England where he will probably be settled in London in connection with a press. I had several interviews with him previous to his departure, and his earnest proposal was that we might set about collecting information which should guide the public and public measures."

Petitions and public meetings had been the mode of agitation hitherto followed. And in all these



John Bright

the Europeans used to take a prominent part. But this method now must needs be changed. Ram Gopal also wrote in the above letter :

"Mr. Adam will not lay the information before the English public as his own, but he will distinctly tell how and in what manner it comes to his hand. Petitions and public meetings do not produce their desired effects, only because it is known to be the doings of a few English agitators, but when they will see that the natives themselves are at work, seeking to be relieved from the grievances under which they labour, depend upon it, the attention of the British public and consequently of the Parliament will be awakened in such a manner that the reaction upon the local Government will be irresistible. We will then and not till then, see active measures of amelioration put into operation."

After his arrival in England Adam lost no time in introducing himself to the individual gentlemen who had already been serving our cause there. Primarily with the help of Lord Brougham, Sir Charles Forbes

and John Crawford, he founded the British India Society in London in July, 1839. The Landholders' Society of Calcutta, started also early this year and the only political association of the time, felicitated the organisers of the London Society at a meeting specially convened for the purpose, on November 30, 1839. The first resolution runs thus :

"Resolved that the Society see with extreme satisfaction the formation of the British India Society, and that it is expedient that all persons interested in the prosperity of India should give their hearty co-operation to its objects, in order to identify the interests of this country with those of Britain."

In one resolution the Society emphasised the need of supplying funds from here. In the subsequent ones they indicated the nature of their co-operation with the newly-formed body. It may be noted here that the promoters of the Landholders' Society which included both Indians and Europeans, could not think of the interests of India being different from those of Britain. That the interests of both might one day clash with each other and prove a hurdle in the path of India's progress, was beyond their perception at that time.

Even during the first year of its existence, the London Society was able to enlist the active sympathy of such a noted parliamentarian and orator as George Thompson. Thompson had already made a name as a humanitarian worker in the cause of the emancipation of slaves. He along with a few others toured important places of England and delivered in specially organised meetings speeches on various Indian topics. The Society got them printed in book-form for distribution. Sir Charles Forbes, called at the time the "Benevolent Father of India" subscribed five hundred pounds to the Society.

The British India Society celebrated its first anniversary in London on July 5, 1840. The resolutions passed at the meeting indicate the nature and trend of the Society's work. The first resolution reads as follows :

"That the Government and the people of this Empire are responsible to the civilised world for the maintenance and administration of British rule in India, on such principles as should promote the happiness and improvement of the Native population."

The last but not the least, was a very comprehensive resolution ; and covered almost all the spheres of Indian administration. It shows how the oppressive measures adopted by Company's government here agitated the minds of our friends in England at the time. I quote this resolution in full below :

"That this meeting is of opinion that the oppressive and fluctuating amount of the land revenue, the general resumption by the Indian Government of demands on lands hitherto held rent-free, the imperfection and corruption in the administration of police and justice, the maintenance of vexatious monopolies, are evils which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of this country, as tending to produce discontent

among the native population, to unsettle the tenures of property, and endanger the public peace; to cramp the exertions of industry and the progress of improvement, to lessen the production of exportable commodities, and by necessary consequence, the capacity of extending commercial rela-

and placed before them the facts about Indian administration. He naturally made acquaintance with George Thompson, an active member of the Society. Thompson was eager to have first-hand knowledge about Indian affairs. While returning home, Dwarkanath brought Thompson with him and, soon after their arrival, introduced him to the leading lights of the Young Bengal. The latter found in Thompson a real well-wisher of India. With his help and advice they founded the Bengal British India Society on April 20, 1843, after the model of the London one. The local Society collected materials from different quarters and supplied them to the London Society to conduct political agitation there.

THE INDIAN REFORM SOCIETY

The Company's Charter was renewed for the last time in 1853. Discussion for and against the renewal of the Charter had continued in the previous years. Both the Bengal British India Society and the Landholders' Society were in a moribund condition. The leaders of both these Societies formed a new organisation in Calcutta called the British Indian Association on October 29, 1851. So far as political agitation was concerned, this Association became a power in the land. And its power was felt even in the first year of its existence. About this time the English friends and supporters of the Indian cause started a society in England under the name of the Indian Reform Society.



Sadashui Naraji

tions with Great Britain and other nations, and to diminish the forces of the example which England has set by the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and thus perpetuate the existence of slavery in the other parts of the world."*

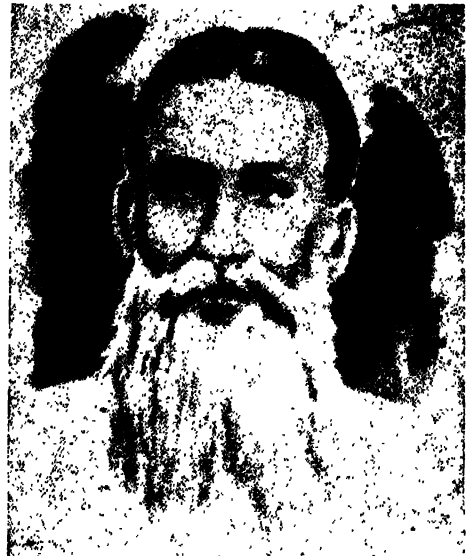
In 1841, the Society began to publish a monthly journal as its organ, called the *British Indian Advocate*, under the editorial charge of William Adam. "One of the ends contemplated is," wrote the editor in its very first issue, "to make the journal a medium of communication between the people of England and the people of India, faithfully representing the sentiments of each to the other on all the great questions that affect their rights and interests, . . ."

Dwarkanath Tagore's presence in England in 1842 gave a fillip to the cause the British India Society represented. Dwarkanath came into contact with the members of the Society and other leading Britishers

* *The Friend of India*, October 1, 1840.

† Quoted in *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India*, ed., Vol. II, p. 25.

The Friend of India for March 11, 1841, writes: "The British Indian Advocate.—By some mishap we have not received the copy of the *British Indian Advocate*, which we have no doubt has been sent to us by the Editor, Mr. Adam, and we are unable therefore to offer any remarks upon it."



W. C. Bonnerjee

Richard Cobden and John Bright, both members of Parliament, were the principal founders of this organisation. The Indians here naturally took great interest in the affairs of the Society formed in London. The Bengali daily *Sambad Prabhakar* observes in its issue of the 14th July, 1853;

"With a view to collect funds for the Indian Reform Society of London, the Indians assembled in a meeting at the Hindu Metropolitan College on Sunday, 13th Ashar (June 26). The money collected would be sent to the Society." (*Translated from Bengali*).

The Indian Reform Society sent Delvy Symur, a member of Parliament, to India. After touring the country he sailed from Bombay early in 1854.



Miss Mary Carpenter

THE INDIA SOCIETY

Hardly a decade had passed before the Society bearing the above name was ushered into existence in London. During these years many changes had taken place in the Government of India. The Sepoy Mutiny was quelled, and the British Crown took over the charge of the Government of India from the hands of the East India Company. The Mutiny so much threatened the latter's sway that stringent administrative measures were adopted after the change-over in order to ensure the safety of the British rule in India. It was due to the spread of English education that a new class of intelligentsia nurtured in the Western thoughts and ideas had been growing up. They were considered the main prop of the British rule in India. The doors of Civil Service had been thrown open to the Indians even before the Charter Act of 1853. For various reasons the Indians could not avail themselves of this opportunity till 1863 when for the first time Satyendra Nath Tagore and Mano Mohun Ghose appeared in the examination. Satyendra Nath succeeded and Mano Mohun was unsuccessful. The success of Satyendra Nath upset the examining authorities and they began changing rules in such a manner that though Mano Mohun sat twice afterwards for the examination, he could not come out successful. The Indians who were then residing in England were rudely shocked at their conduct. Some of them saw through the deep-laid scheme and proposed to form themselves into a committee to move against

this most shameless injustice. Thus the India Society was founded.

It should be noted here that W. C. Bonnerjee, the famous Indian Barrister and the First President of the Indian National Congress, then preparing for his law in London, took a very prominent part in establishing this society.* Dadabhai Naoroji of hallowed memory became its president. The Society immediately after its formation sent a memorandum to the Secretary of State against the injustices done in respect of the Indian candidates, present and potential, for the Civil Service examination. But he simply pleaded his inability to intervene in this matter. In this connection it should be mentioned that Mano Mohun Ghose wrote the booklet, *The Open Competition for the Civil Service of India* and got it published in London in 1866 criticising the policy of the British Government.

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

The India Society continued for two years. In 1867 some well-meaning Englishmen—members of Parliament and retired officials from India—organised the East India Association. The India Society, satisfied with its objects and programme of work, got itself merged into it. Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the Society, was appointed Secretary.



Keshub Chunder Sen

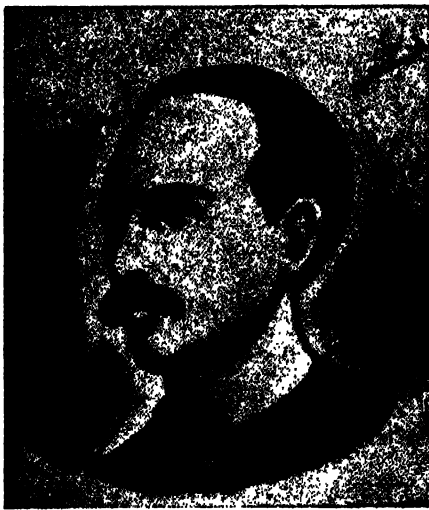
The East India Association did considerable political work on our behalf in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It began very well. During the

* Of the part played by W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji told in the following vein at the time of the funeral of the former in London in 1906:

"Speaking with considerable emotion, he recalled the time, more than fifty years ago, when he had just made the acquaintance of Mr. Bonnerjee, then a student preparing for the Bar. His patriotic fervour and zeal in youth (he said) was no less ardent than in later years. One of his earlier attempts to serve his country was the foundation of a London Indian Society, now merged in the East India Association; and on his return to India his career of public usefulness gradually broadened until it reached an appropriate goal in his election as President of the First Indian National Congress."

first year it enlisted sixty-four life members and five hundred and thirty ordinary members. The report of the above year concludes in these encouraging terms :

"The experience of the past leads to the hope that the East India Association has now become an Institution adapted to supply a want long-felt ; but the actual co-operation of the members in extending their numbers, and thereby providing the requisite funds is absolutely necessary ; and should this result be attained, the Managing Committee are confident that the foundation which has been laid will not only be maintained, but the council to be appointed will find fresh occasions of usefulness and the Association will cement more closely various interests which bind this country to India."**



Lal Mohan Ghose

The Association had a quarterly journal of its own. Subjects affecting India were discussed in the articles of this periodical. Proceedings of the Association's meetings were also printed in it.

Amrita Bazar Patrika of September 3, 1868, then exclusively a Bengalee weekly, gave an account of the Association, from which we can make an estimate of its activities in its earlier days. *Patrika* wrote partly to the following effect :

"A set of English personages have formed the East India Association. The object of the Association is to improve the Indian conditions. There are many Indians among its members. But we are very sorry to say that the majority of them are Englishmen. The Association has been founded for us ; so at least three-fourths of its members should have been of our race. To meet the expenses of the Association, every member is required to pay the annual subscription of Rs. 10. For a life-member only a hundred rupees is required, but that should be paid at a time. The speeches delivered before

the Association are printed in book-form every three-month. Members had to pay Rs. 2-8 extra for it annually. When we read the speeches, a thrill passes through our body. We think those who have an iota of patriotism in them, will not fail to help the Association improve by paying this paltry sum of Rs. 10 as yearly subscription."†

The *Patrika* also mentioned the invaluable services Dadabhai Naoroji, W. C. Bonnerjee and Kshetramohan Datta were then rendering to this Association.

THE NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Miss Marry Carpenter, a social reformer of Great Britain and a friend of India, visited the country for four times in the sixties and seventies of the last century. She had already endeared herself to the educated Indians by her *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy*. After her return from India in 1867 she founded the National Indian Association in London in order to carry on social and political work on our behalf. This Association had its branches in different parts of India, the Secretary of the Calcutta branch being Mano Mohun Ghose. Dadabhai Naoroji used to deliver speeches before the



William Ewart Gladstone

Association. One such was noticed in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of March 26, 1874. *Patrika* wrote :

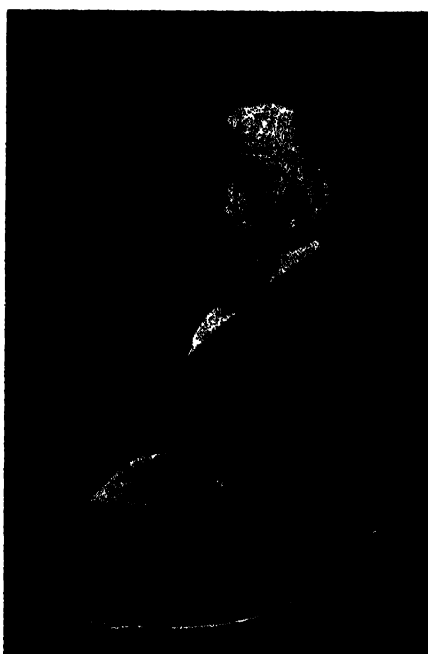
"Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay gave a lecture at the National Indian Association. He has collected materials from different quarters to shew how the Englishmen indulge in committing wrongs to our countrymen. This lecture has been printed. We fervently hope much good will come out of this outspoken speech."

** *The Bengalee*, April 3, 1869.

† Vide the present writer's Bengali book entitled *Sharatbarakar Sandhinata O Anyanya Prasanga*, p. 129.

ACTIVITIES OF HENRY FAWCETT AND KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

Professor Henry Fawcett, a member of Parliament, was a zealous supporter of Indian cause in England. While various Associations placed our demands and grievances before the British public, Professor Fawcett fought for us on the floor of the House of Commons. It was due to his cogently reasoned speeches there that the burden of expenses incurred during the Abyssinian expedition in 1863, which had been completely thrown over our shoulders, got to be shared by the British Government. Fawcett was an economist of the liberal school. His activities in connection with the financial readjustments between India and Great Britain require adequate treatment.



William Wedderburn

We find another propagator of our cause in England in Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, pre-eminently a religious preacher. During his stay there in 1870, he made speeches mainly on religious subjects. But the few that he gave on the nature of the mal-administration of India, with special reference to Exchequer and dispensation of Justice, brought home to the Britishers, the questionable conduct of their compatriots in India. The British papers in India, notorious for their anti-Indian feeling, raised a hue and cry against the utterances of Keshub, but the impression his speeches left on the minds of his audience was not easily to be effaced.

THE INDIAN SOCIETY

Ananda Mohun Bose accompanied Keshub to England in 1870. He remained there to complete his

higher studies. While still a student, Ananda Mohun participated in political meetings and delivered speeches. One memorable speech of his, during this period, we published in *The Modern Review* for March, 1948. Ananda Mohun himself founded a Society of the above name in 1872. The following account gives an idea of the objects and activities of this Society :

"The Indians who went to England, had no meeting place. They were quite strangers to one another. With some of his friends Ananda Mohun tried to supply this want by organising the Indian Society at his residence. The main object of this society was to unite the people of different provinces at a common place in order to disseminate knowledge as well as to foster and develop the sense of nationalism amongst themselves. At first only the Bengalites joined it, but gradually the people of other provinces also became its members."

LAL MOHAN GHOSE AND WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

During the late seventies clash of interests between the Indians and Englishmen manifested itself in ugly colours. The door of Civil Service was almost barred and bolted through the machinations of the Imperial authorities. The Indian Association of Calcutta (established July 26, 1876) took up this question in right earnest and carried on agitation over it throughout India. The Press Act and the Arms Act of Lord Lytton's Government aimed at nipping in the bud the new political consciousness of the people. To acquaint the British public with this deplorable state of affairs, the Indian Association sent Lal Mohan Ghose, afterwards president of the Indian National Congress, to England in 1879. Lal Mohan delivered speeches before the members of the British Parliament as well as the British public and narrated the various retrograde measures adopted by the authorities in India. Over the very first meeting held before the members of Parliament at Willis's Rooms on July 23, 1879, John Bright presided and made a forceful speech indicting the Indian administration.

Gladstone, the great liberal statesman, and at the time the Leader of Opposition in the House of Commons, spoke vehemently in Parliament as also in his election campaign against the Conservative misrule in India. The Liberal Party won the General Election of 1880, and the speeches of Lal Mohan Ghose and the Liberal leader in this behalf were not a little responsible for their success.

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In 1885, various individual and organisational efforts of the Indian provinces were harmonised into a single body, namely, the Indian National Congress. It was now felt that the political agitation, hitherto carried on in England, should be entrusted to an accredited representative body. Dadabhai Naoroji, a resident in England for the quarter of a century and

* *Nababershiki* (a Bengali Year Book), 1904 B.S.

also an active supporter of the Congress, he being the president of its second session, took upon himself the task of propagating the Congress views and ideals there in 1887. But it was proving too much for a single person, however strong and well-intentioned he might be. One year after, Dadabhai and some friends and well-wishers of India formed themselves into a committee with Sir William Wedderburn as chairman and William Digby, the author of *Prosperous British India*, as Secretary, and commenced popularising the Congress cause. The Indian National Congress gave its formal sanction to this committee in its annual session in 1889 by the following resolution :

"That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M.P., J. E. Ellis, M.P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India."*

In this way the British committee of the Congress came into being. From this time on, the committee represented the Congress and conducted political propaganda on its behalf. To help the British committee in its work the Congress sent Indian leaders on deputation now and then to England. It also assigned large sums of money every year for the expenses of the British Committee. The Committee started *India*, a monthly organ, under the editorship of its Secretary William Digby. This journal was transformed into a full-fledged weekly in 1898. In its early years, the members of the British Committee, reinforced by the Congress deputations from India, went considerably ahead with their propaganda and publicity work, so much so that Dadabhai Naoroji fought successfully in the General Election of Great Britain in 1892. The electors of Central Finsbury sent him as their representative to the House of Commons.

The British Committee used to publish pamphlets and booklets on Indian subjects. Sir William Wedderburn, as Chairman of the Committee, contributed papers on burning Indian topics to various British journals. He also wrote for the Committee's journal *India*, which played a considerable part in moulding the public opinion of Great Britain. Romesh Chunder Dutt's contributions to this journal deserve special mention. After retirement he went to England and resided there for about seven years. He naturally allied himself with the British Committee and its organ *India*. He not only spoke from the platform but also wielded a powerful pen. His deep studies and researches in India's economic system and his personal experience and knowledge of the ruinous policies pursued by the Government made his contributions most authentic as well as authoritative.

When the thinking section of the British public read them in *India*, they could not but appreciate the justness of the Indian cause. The Indian Parliamentary Committee and the Indian Famine Union, both of which owed their origin to Sir William Wedderburn, acted as auxiliaries to the British Committee and did much for educating the British public opinion on Indian affairs. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 were no less due to the persistent and continuous propaganda carried on in England during the preceding years, through these agencies.



Romesh Chunder Dutt

THE NEW SPIRIT

But some changes had occurred in the outlook of the new generation of Indians. Even in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the utility of the methods followed by the leaders of the Indian National Congress was questioned. The message of self-help and self-reliance that had been inculcated in Bengal even before the advent of the Congress, and which was so beautifully explained in our literature during the last quarter of the century, took a firm root in their minds, and their ideas and aspirations were shaped accordingly. And in this the examples of countries like Ireland struggling for political independence played no small part. Exponents of the New Spirit laid special stress on the introduction of physical culture, revival of indigenous industries, universal use of country-made goods, organisation of self-contained rural units and inculcation of the ideas of freedom through inspiring articles and treatises.

Among the exponents of the New Spirit the names of Aurobindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarala Devi (later Sarala Devi Chaudhurani), Bipin Chandra

* *New India Wrought for Freedom* : By Annie Besant, pp. 94-5.

Pal, Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda and Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab, as also of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai may be rightly mentioned. The Swadeshi Movement, though started as a protest against the Partition of Bengal in 1905, was really the outward manifestation of the New Spirit, which now for the first time found opportunity to spread far and wide in the country. The cult of Indian freedom, independent of British connection, was being preached on the platform and in the press by this new school. Our elders, nurtured in the belief of Indo-British co-operation for the country's political progress, could not keep pace with this new party. In no time there arose a schism in the ranks of the Congress; the elderly statesmen came to be known as "Moderates" and the new party as "Extremists." The schism was completed in the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. Both the parties then parted ways. And on the parting of their ways, a third one, called the Revolutionary Party, began more frequently than before, to indulge in activities not generally approved by either. One of their main activities was to resort to political assassination with bombs manufactured by themselves. They carried forward their work even in England where they succeeded in putting an end to an official, named Sir Curzon Wylie. There Shyamji Krishnavarma had founded the Indian Home Rule Society as well as *The Indian Sociologist* to carry on the work of the Revolutionary Party. The Moderates were, however, still in the majority in the Congress and held its reins till the Lucknow session in 1916 when the two sections rejoined, only to be separated two years after.

These domestic troubles of the Congress did not fail to have their repercussions on the British Committee. Those at the helm of affairs were mostly Englishmen. They belonged to the old school and

heartily wished to keep intact the Indo-British connection. It was but natural on their part to support the 'moderate' school of the Congress. The Indian moderates finally seceded from the Congress in 1918 and formed a separate organisation, called the National Liberal Federation of India. Previous to the passage of the Montagu-Chemsford Reforms Act in 1919, this body sent a deputation to England, as distinct from that of the Indian National Congress. Sympathy of the leading members of the British Committee was no doubt with the Liberal Party. They, therefore, could not wholeheartedly support the cause the Congress, as it was then constituted, represented.

Majority of Congress members now being of the forward school, the Congress had undergone considerable change in its outlook by this time; but the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political arena of India transformed it altogether. The objective of the Congress was changed to "the attainment of Swaraj through legitimate and peaceful means" in its Nagpur session in 1920. It is significant that the word "constitutional" on which the Moderates laid so much emphasis, was altogether left out. The means to attain this objective was the Non-violent Non-co-operation formulated by Gandhiji. It was then considered necessary to devote exclusive attention of the Congress to the political struggles newly launched in India. The British Committee, as has been said before, also could not tune itself to the new mode of work, pursued by the Congress. The Congress stopped supplies to the Committee; and it was discontinued in 1921 along with the *India* weekly.

Today India is relieved of the British domination. In the history of our freedom struggle, the services rendered by the various associations, societies and the people in England will find a prominent place.

-:O:-

THE PARKS AND GARDENS OF LONDON

By E. PRENTICE MAWSON,

Former President of the Royal Horticultural Society

LONDON seen from an aeroplane is lavishly sprinkled with gardens, lawns and green spaces. Scarcely one-fifth of the city is covered by brick and mortar; a thousand squares, parks, and gardens covering 260 square kilometres, and planted with all manner of trees, shrubs, and gay flowers, provide great patches of open country in the very heart of the world's largest city.

Planned in a quieter age, and for a less precarious tomorrow, they form a haven in which the miracle of the seasons still unfolds itself in all the unruffled beauty that no human tempests can upset. Nor can the horror of modern war destroy their glory. For nature soon hides the scars, to send the visitor on his way rejoicing and refreshed.

These early designers indeed possessed a sense of

country beauty. It was their aim to bring the influence of the country right into the city. In the very centre of the metropolis they have somehow caught and held the illusive charm of the open country.

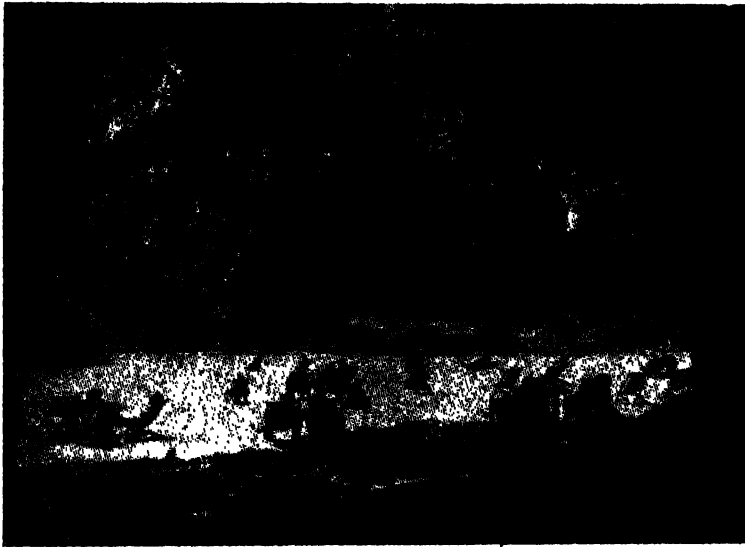
British people who have lived for years in other lands have constantly sent their thoughts back to the glory of our London parks and gardens, lawns like sheets of vivid green velvet, broken with groups of trees piling up their banks of graceful foliage. The whole range of parks and open spaces from the reserves like Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, the Green Park, and Regent's Park in the centre, to the outlying parks of Richmond, Bushey and Hampton Court, are stamped with a character and an individuality of their own.

The oak trees are the essential of Regent's Park ;

Greenwich is the home of the Spanish chestnut tree, whose gnarled, rugged bark and toothed leaves make it one of our most stately London trees. The invitation displayed on the Underground Railway, to wonder at spaces of London and hedged them behind walls and railings. Today the multiplicity of gardens seen from the air cannot be appreciated by anyone who walks the

London streets, for every patch of green is parted from its neighbour by dreary wastes of brick and asphalt. In the new, more splendid London that we shall build, there may be connecting avenues, with trees and open spaces to link up those islands of trees and grass and bowers that are our present gardens. The railings that have gone will not come back; and it may be that we shall keep the stretches of long waving grass that have sprung up where the clipped lawns used to be.

Then we shall have a connected park system in the London of the future that will really impose the country upon the town. So there will be many places for children to play, for young people to recreate themselves, and for the old to take their ease. The

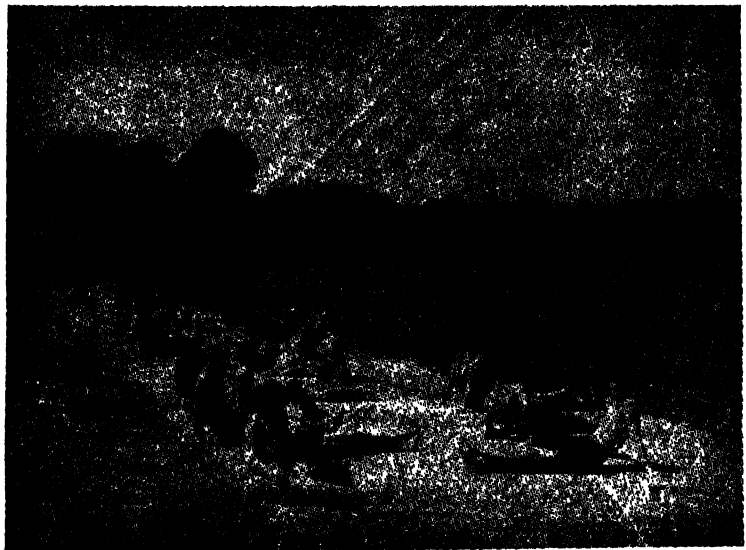


Hyde Park, in the west of London, covers 150 hectares and gives an illusion of the open country

the springtime glory of the horse chestnut at Hampton Court, does not go unanswered; and few who answer it are disappointed.

At Kew and Greenwich, which lie respectively to the west and east of the city, the magnolia blazes in its greatest glory. In Lincoln's Inn, the weeping elms droop their branches above the bomb-pitted walks; and everywhere the plane tree, whose peeling bark and smooth leaves, washed by rain, armour it effectively against the London smoke and soot, proclaims its place as the tree of London trees. With these gardens that art has improved must be reckoned the great natural commons and heaths on the outskirts of the city; the heaths at Hampstead on the north; Epping Forest, a patch of primeval woodland that guards the approach to the city on the east.

Yet for all this wealth of flowers and trees and lawns, there is still a lack of unity and plan that has destroyed much of the effect that could so easily be achieved. Already the last war has broken down many of those barriers, that once confined the open



The Serpentine Lake at Hyde Park, a popular bathing and boating place for Londoners

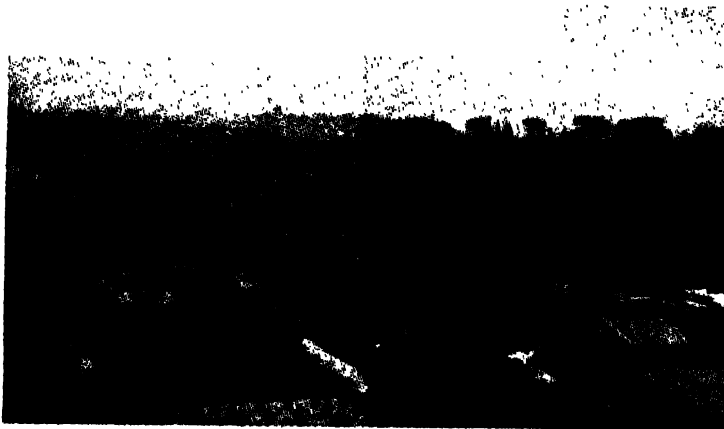
designers of yesterday were for the most part employed in ministering to the comforts of a few fortunate, enlightened patrons. The designers of tomorrow will appreciate their duty to all Londoners, who need the refreshment of body and mind which contact with nature evokes.

IN ROME AS A TOURIST

By INDIRA SARKAR, M.A.,
Cite Universitaire, Paris

THE FIRST DAY AT ROME

We reached Rome at 6 a.m. (1st April, 1948, Thursday). It was drizzling. We said *Arrivederci* (*Au revoir* in French), i.e., goodbye to the troops who carried my valise up to the waiting room where we waited until all the others came. The group had been scattered in the train. Everybody had entered wherever one could find a little space. From there Signor Biondini took us down to our hotels which were side by side. Twenty were in one and twenty-five in another. We were put up in *Pensione Pavia, via Cacta 83*.



Ruins of the Roman Forum

I had written to Renato Valtan (my mother's sister's son) at Padua from Naples and had asked him to come down to Rome to see me. But I suppose it was not convenient for him to do so only for one day. We had breakfast, which consisted of bread and butter and milk and then I rested on the bed for a few minutes. But I must have fallen asleep because I woke up at 12 o'clock just in time for lunch. I had not slept a moment in the train from Naples to Rome and so I enjoyed the rest. Besides, it was raining and the weather looked dull.

We could not eat in this *pensione* and had to go down to a *Ristorante Economica* called O.N.A.R.M.A. where the food was cheap and not very good. It was almost as bad as the food at the *Maison Internationale* of the Cite Universitaire, Paris. It was a big dining hall where a large number of tables for six persons each were laid out. Many Italians came to eat here. One could see very few women. Indeed, they seem to be rare in public cafes, bars and restaurants. After lunch, the sun came out and we decided to start our sight-seeing again. With the help of a plan of Rome we traced out a program and commenced "doing" Rome.

We took a tram and went down to see the church Santa Maria Maggiore. There is a huge marble statue

here of a Pope kneeling in prayer in front of the altar. The mosaic paintings on the wall were done by the artist Berni. From there we took another tram down to the Colosseo. We took photos of different views. The Colosseo was built in the year 79. There are many caves in the centre of the arena where wild beasts used to be hunted and killed by the Roman onlookers. It is composed of 8 rows with arched doorways all around. There we happened to meet Springell (English), McKenna (Scottish) and Mourad (Syrian) of our group. So we decided to visit the Foro Romano

(Roman Forum) together. Springell had a guide-book and we followed him in the ruins of the Forum. We saw several important arches beginning with the Arch of Constantine which is situated on the road halfway between the Colosseo and the Forum. It was built in 315 in honour of the victories of Constantine. In the Forum we saw the gigantic Basilica of Constantine, the temple of Romulus and Remus, the temple of Saturnus, and the Arches of Titus and Septemus Severus built in honour of their respective victories. Beautiful bas-reliefs are to be found on its pillars. We saw also the Basilica

of Julia and the Senate. The Forum is the most celebrated place of ancient Rome where meetings, festivals and ceremonies took place. We saw some more excavations including a stadium, an arena and an amphitheatre.

In the grounds of the Forum I managed to lose the rest. I walked about trying to find the group in vain. I waited for them at the gate and as it was getting dark I decided to leave, for I was sure they must have gone. Mourad had not gone to see the Forum and had sat down on a rock. I came to see if he was still there and as he had gone I came to the conclusion that the others had perhaps gone away too. So I left the Forum, came to the street and began to walk towards the Capitol where Julius Caesar was assassinated. At the foot of the huge flight of steps lie two lions of black granite, and upstairs on the landing we have on either side the statues of Castor and Pollux. The square in the centre is remarkable and many tourists were looking at the place. Many important buildings surround the square. The left building is the Museo Capitolino, the right building is the palace of the conservatori and in the centre we have the palace of the senators.

From there I went to see the marble monument of Victor Emmanuel II, which is very stately and

pompous in appearance with all its large marble columns and numerous flights of steps. In front of this monument we have the Square and Palace (Foro di Piazza Venezia), very much noted for its architectural grandeur. Walking down Via dell Impero I caught a

Bernini. On the side-altar there is a beautiful statue in marble (called La Pieta) by Michelangelo. It is the Virgin Mary holding Christ in her lap after he is taken down from the cross. It is a masterpiece.

The Church of St. Peter has many domes. The principal dome is known as Cupola which is a masterpiece of art. It is all inlaid with gold and mosaic. The head (front) of the Church has eight smaller domes around the big one, and the body of the Church has ten domes, five on either side. Under each dome there is a side altar and a small chapel. The walls are decorated with mosaic paintings and the magnificent reproduction of the Ascension of Christ by Raffaello is over one of the altars in the side of the head of the Church.

Then we went to see the Vatican and I bought a card and a Vatican stamp in the museum of the Vatican. We went through the Bibliotheca and the Pinacoteca of the Vatican which has a wonderful collection of paintings. Some of the famous paintings we

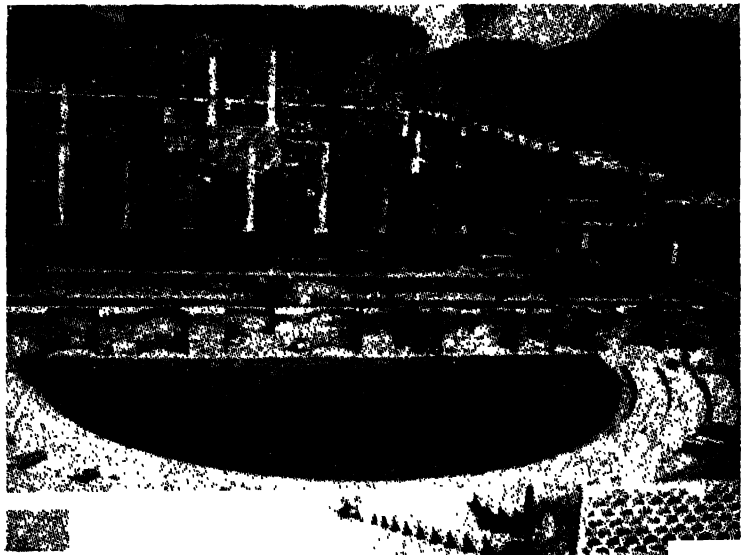


Via Appia, Rome

tram back to the Nuova Stazione Termini. From there the *pensione* was only a few minutes off. I came home and found nobody in. So I lay down and slept from 6 to 8 and then went to dinner. In the dining hall I met Stein and Salinger and William Willis who invited me later on to join them in an ice-cream bar where we had delicious ice-cream. We came home at about 11 p.m.

ST. PETER'S, VATICAN, SIXTINE, AND PANTHEON

Next day (2nd April, 1948, Friday) again we were ready to set out by 9 a.m. It was a lovely sunny day and we went straight to St. Peter's and the Vatican. We took some snaps and visited the church. There were many foreigners and tourist-cars standing in the courtyard. There is a huge Obelisk in the centre which is said to contain relics of the real cross of Christ. The colonnades on either side of the yard were constructed by Bernini and two huge statues of St. Peter and St. Paul decorate the grand flight of steps leading up. The cupola of St. Peter's is as large as that of the Pantheon. All the pictures on the walls are made by



Ruins of ancient Ostia, the port of Rome

saw were those by Giovanni del Biondo, Sano di Pietro, Maratta, Lorenzo Monaco, Pietro Berrettini, Marco Palmezzano, Donata Cretti, Muziano, Gaddi, Melozza da Forli, Taddeo, Raffaello Sanzio, Tito, Lorenzo di Credi, Benvenuto Cellini, and Mancini. Special notice must be made of Botticelli's *Madonna del Magnificat*,

rich in colour and form. Very realistic and bold were the pictures of *La Maddelena* and *L'Infidelita di Thomas* by Francesco Barbieri. Nice representations of *Madonne e Bambino* were seen in the paintings of Murillo and Bernardino di Mariotto.



The Colosseum seen through the Arc of Triumph

The death of St. Peter by Guido Reni in *La Crucifixione di S. Pietro* left a deep impression on my mind, especially the sad expression on the face of St. Peter with his head downwards and his feet up. Superb were the works of Michelangelo in *Universal Deluge*, *The Original Sin* and the *Deposizione dalla Croce*.

Several rooms were set aside for paintings belonging to the Scuola (School) Napolitana, Scuola Romana, Scuola Spagnola, Scuola Fiorentina, and other "schools."

Some of the pictures belonging to the Scuola Napolitana portrayed still life, especially huge trays of fruits and vases with flowers. The Scuola Fiorentina deals with the life of Christ and is noted for the gold background in all its pictures. The blue robe of Christ and the pink of Mary offers a peculiar contrast to the yellow background. Portraits are numerous in the Scuola Spagnola (Spanish School).

From the Pinacoteca we went to eat and straight away came back to S. Pietro for a second time and went to see the treasures of the church and the Pope. Amongst other things there were crosses, chalices, trays, keys, Bible-stands, crowns, rings, caskets and incenses all made of pure gold and richly inlaid with costly

jewels. The garments and altar cloths of the church too were artistically embroidered with gold threads.

Afterwards we went to see Capella Sistina where many crosses and treasures were to be seen. The Chapel itself is beautiful, the altar is made of finest Carrara marble, and the ceilings and walls are covered with richly coloured frescoes. The paintings are vivid and look more like sculptures than mere paintings on a flat surface. The effect of the painting is so bold that the figures seem to stand out of the wall like real life. The body of St. Peter is buried in the church of St. Peter.

Then we walked down to the Palazzo di Giustizia (Palace of Justice) which is a large imposing monument, then saw an ancient castle called Castel S. Angelo, walked by Casa del Mutilato and took a tram to see the church, S. Pietro in Vincoli (St. Peter in Chains).

The famous statue of *Moses* by Michelangelo is to be found in this church. Moses is seated on a stool with flowing beard and a mantle thrown over his knees. He is looking towards the left. Every part of the sculpture is so fine that it looks like a real man seated in front of you. The statue is twice the size of a human being and is made of the hardest marble. It is so well-finished that it shines with perfection. One would think Michelangelo has been modelling with soft clay and not hewing every fold and curve out of a block of marble. It is a masterpiece and we sat down on a chair and gazed at it in wonder for ten minutes. Michelangelo is really one of the greatest men ever born. Italy is rich in sculptures, paintings and mosaic patterns. The big statue of *Moses* is surrounded by two figures on either side and several others above him. On the top are again three other figures, and right on the summit is St. Joseph carrying Christ on his arms.

As it was tea time we decided to go to Piazza del Popolo and have a cup of hot drink and some cakes. We refreshed ourselves, saw several churches on the way, especially S. Maria Popolo, S. Eustachio and S. Francis of Assisi. Crossing the Popolo Square we walked through the shady gardens of Villa Umberto where the parks and promenades are very beautiful.

Seeing the gardens of Villa Umberto we went to the Pantheon built by Marcus Agrippa in the 3rd century B. C. At first it was a pre-Christian temple, the ceiling of which was open. A huge pink marble table of sacrifice used to stand in the centre of the hall. Sacrifices were made on this table and the open ceiling permitted the smoke to go out freely. The pillars of the Pantheon are old but massive and strong and were built at the time of Emperor Augustus.

There are numerous sculptures in the Pantheon which was later converted and transformed into a Christian Church. A beautiful statue of an angel in marble, St. Anastasia, St. Erasmus and the columns in the Pantheon were done by Bernini. The figure of St. Anna was modelled by Lorenzo Ottoni, Michelangelo is the maker of the dome as well as of an angel-form. Cellini has also done some sculptures, and

Materno is the man who made the Pantheon into a Catholic church. The pre-Christian table of sacrifice was removed from the centre of the room and a Catholic altar erected on the side. Victor Emmanuel the Second is buried here in the Pantheon. When we consider the fact that this old building was built 2500 years ago we cannot help being amazed at the high standard of architectural beauty and merit of ancient times. Recent monuments have fallen to pieces but this huge Pantheon still stands strong. As it was getting late we went to the *ristorante* for dinner.

A VISIT WITH PROF. GINI

Coming back to the Pension I phoned up Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, the Tibetan scholar, and wanted to give him my father Prof. Sarkar's greetings. The pension manager spoke in Italian on my behalf. Tucci's son Ananda, was on the phone. He informed us that his father was in India at the time, going to Tibet, but requested me to drop in at his place the next day at 4. I promised to do if I had time but as we were leaving I had to drop the idea.

Then in the evening I called on Prof. Corrado Gini, the statistician and population scientist, with Mr Bhaskar Gokhale (chemist) and brought him greetings from Prof. Sarkar. He is keeping well, looks strong and healthy. His house is nice, and he took us into his study which was covered with stacks of books, papers and files.

We also went to see Familie Pruner (Prof. Sarkar's friends of Levico) but they had left their old residence (in Via Salaria) and no one could inform us about their whereabouts. So I phoned them up after finding their name in the telephone book under a new address. I spoke to Mme. Pruner in German. She was surprised to hear from me and remembered the little Bibili Sarkar very well, whom she had seen with my father in 1929. Her sons (Giuseppe and Guido) have married and her daughter (Maria) works as she did not get married and lives with them. She also asked me to visit them. But I had no time.

We went home, walking through several lovely residential areas of Rome. We were struck by the fact that at night there were no Italian women in the streets. Only men were walking about. It seemed almost like in India, cafes were full of men and so were the trams. But there was a complete absence of women in public thoroughfares.

THE CATACOMBS, ST. GIOVANNI AND

SANTA SCALA

Next morning (Saturday, 3rd April, 1948) by 9 a.m.

we left the Pension to see the Catacombs of S. Calista (Callistus). There we met by chance two American girls, Jane Hetherington and Betty Jack from our group and three American priests. We went down with an Italian guide into the Catacombs, which had been discovered by John Baptist di Rossi. The persecuted



Italian peasants

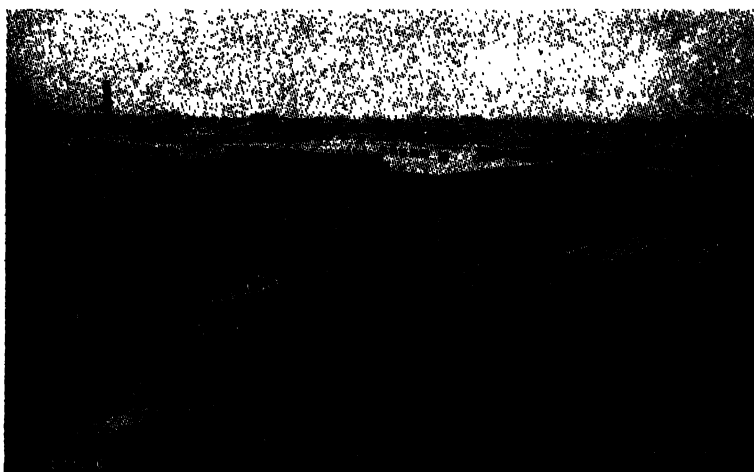
Christians used to hide themselves in these caves, offer mass and pray during the reign of the pre-Christian emperors. Many Christians died as martyrs and their bodies were buried here. Fifteen Popes too have their graves in the Catacombs.

We saw the grave of St. Cecilia who was beheaded because she refused to give up her religion. It is said that the Little Flower of Jesus (St. Theresa) came all the way from France to pray at the grave of St. Cecilia and ask her to help her in her good deeds and lead a pure and saintly life. On the wall there were many inscriptions in Greek. Besides, at certain places there were paintings of fish, doves, palms, *swastika* and Greek crosses on the wall. Many chambers were used as churches and old altars and crosses can still be found. Some crosses are portrayed with anchors at the end which means that the Christian faith is anchored in Christ. We were all given a candle each and walked through the passes and corridors.

Coming out of the Catacombs we met three ladies who approached us and asked us if we were from India. One lady had lived three years in Calcutta in 1920-22 when her husband was doing there some business. She recalled Firpo and Ballygunge and wished us a happy sojourn in Italy.

We went to Mercato Centrale where we bought some bread and apples for lunch. Then we decided to go to S. Paola outside the wall (St. Paul's). We reached there at about 12 noon. We sat underneath the trees

and ate our lunch because we were very hungry. At St. Paul's we met Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Haas (Americans) of our group. After lunch we went inside the church and had a guide to show us round. The church is a fine specimen of Roman architecture with colossal pillars of marble. The hall itself is very large and represents something stately and majestic. The body of St. Paul is buried underneath the altar. There are several side altars and chapels too. The side altar of St. Stephano is very remarkable and striking because it is made of pure green marble slabs. The gold cross on top on the green altar offers a grand spectacle. The paintings on the wall are also beautiful and special note should be made of the funeral procession of Mary. The coffin of Mary is covered with a white shroud. Anywhere you walk you can notice the coffin pointing at you at right angles. This is striking and strange. Behind the church is a cloister built in the Byzantine style. There is an open space, a courtyard with palm trees in the centre of the cloister.



Citta Universitaria (University Town), Rome

Having seen St. Paul we went down by tram to S. Giovanni in Laterano. The church was still closed as it was not quite 3 o'clock. By the fountains near the church I met a group of Italian students who asked us if we wanted any guides. We began to talk to them and in course of conversation they suggested that we should go to see the "singing door" in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni which had inspired Dante so much that he had mentioned it in his *Divine Comedy*. We went to see it with the boys. It was a huge door made of gold, silver and bronze very difficult to close because of its heaviness. When one closed it tight the door emitted all kinds of harmonious tunes which resembled the notes of a flute, a violin and an organ. We were enchanted by the music of this door which appropriately bears the adjective "singing."

From there we went to see the main church of

S. Giovanni which is another of the 300 churches in Rome. In the main hall on pillars are standing the twelve apostles in marble life-size statues. The side altars too are charming and the paintings magnificent. Each church in Rome is a kind of museum and art gallery.

Then we proceeded to see the Santa Scala, which I climbed up on my knees along with other visitors. Christ is supposed to have trod on these steps and his blood fell on a particular spot which is now covered with a thick glass which everyone kisses after reaching the top. The real ancient steps on which Christ climbed are said to be encased below these present wooden steps.

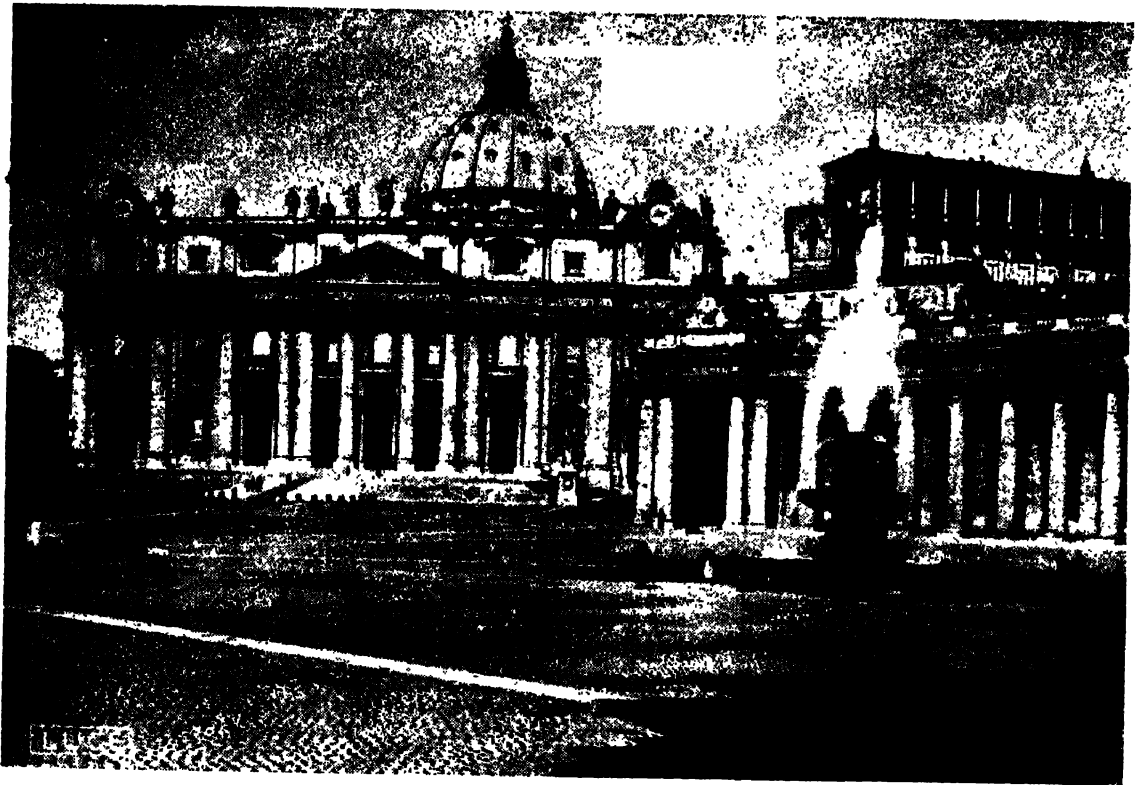
After that we returned home, went to Piazza Colonna, changed 500 francs and got 800 liras for it. With that money we went to a *Patissaria* and ate some cakes, then we bought 16 white bread *semmelle* and 300 grams of *salumie* and ham and one kilo (2 lbs.) of apples and oranges and packed them all in a parcel as our provision for 36 hours in the train for all our means. At 6-30 p.m., the group walked down to the station and caught the 7 p.m. train for which there was a tremendous rush. Luckily our compartments had been reserved for us ahead.

ROME-GENOA-TURIN-PARIS (36 hours)

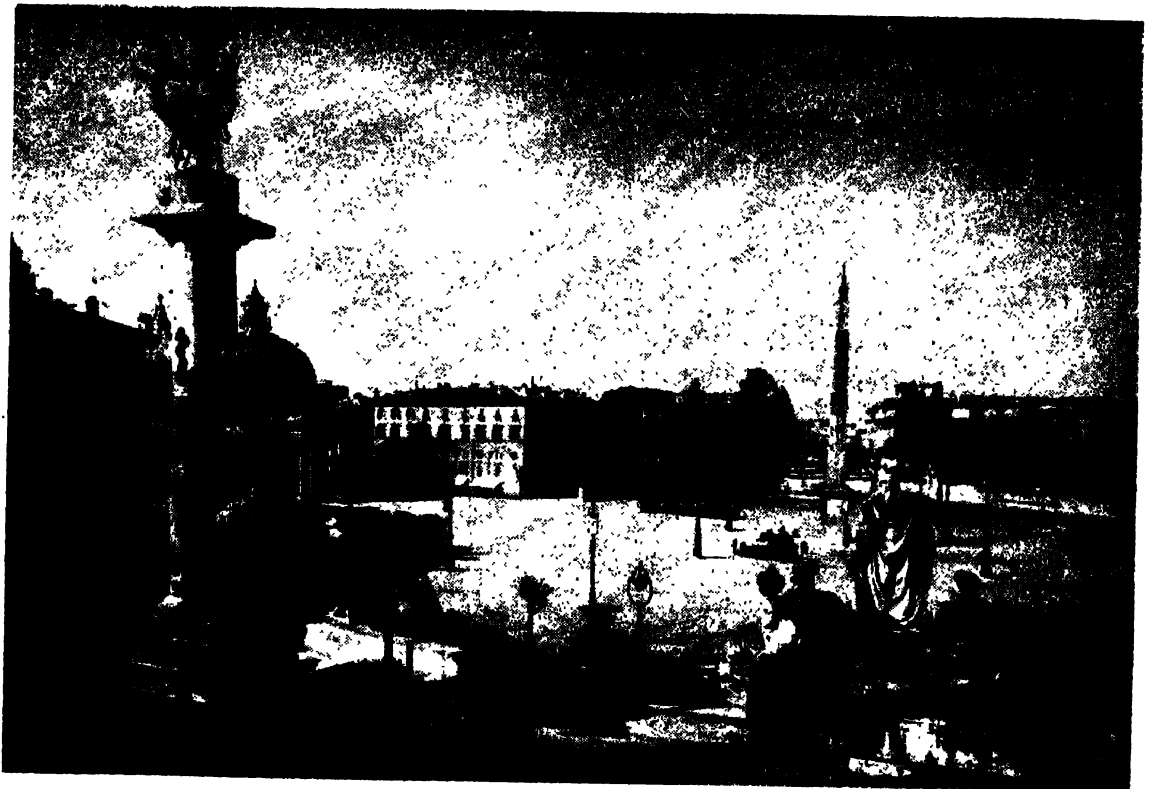
We left Rome at 7 p.m. and entered the compartments which had been reserved for us by Mourad. In our compartment were Betty Jack, Betty Reebe, Ann Stopp, Louann Storms, Jane Hetherington, Gowhale, myself, and a French sculptor. The Americans began to play bridge and we looked out from the corridor window and watched the country side. At 10 p.m. we ate some

bread and ham sandwiches and an apple each, talked a little with the American girls. At 12 p.m. we turned out the lights and tried to sleep. The train was an international wagon-lit and the third class was as comfortable, well-heated and clean as our Indian first class. But none of us slept well. Every time the train made a halt we tossed about and tried to find a suitable position attempting to sleep afresh.

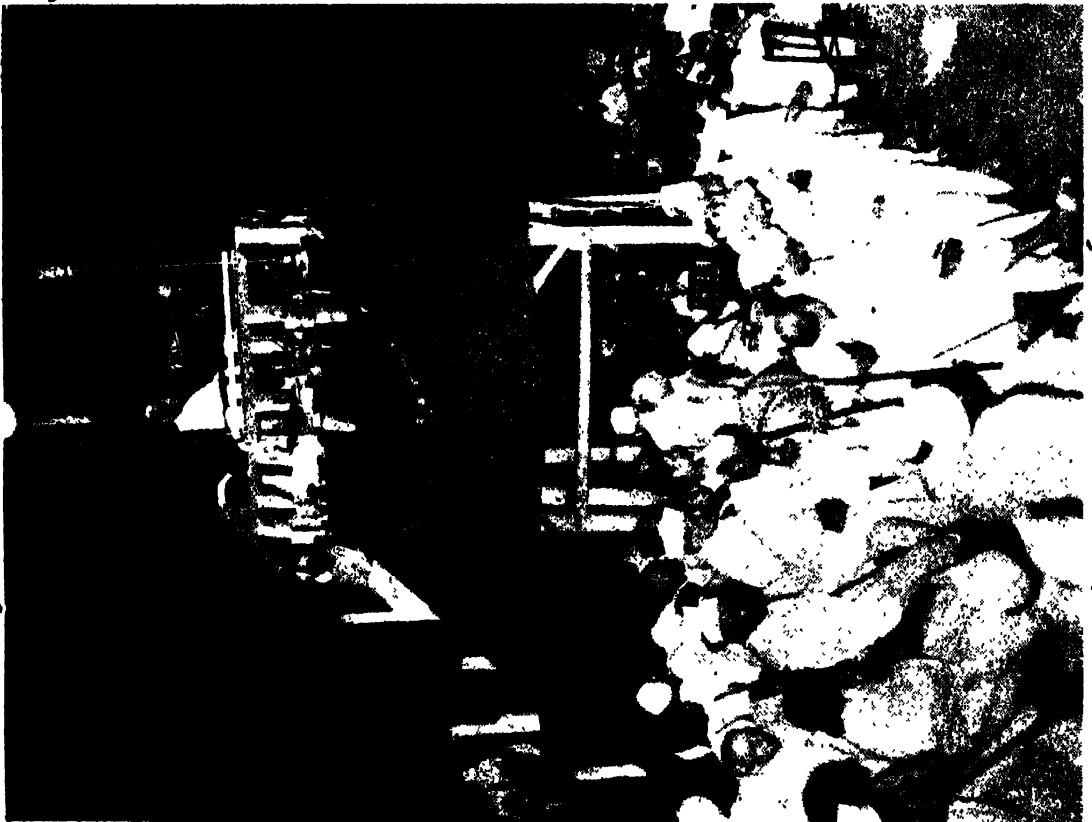
The train continued to pass through Italy (4th April, 1948, Sunday). We had breakfast and lunch and tea in the train which consisted of bread and ham sandwiches, apple and water, and at times we chatted, looked at the landscapes, read, walked in the corridors and played cards. Our train made two halts at Genoa and Turin; at each place we got down and had a look at the city walking down the avenues round about the station. At Genoa, the big ocean liners in the harbour



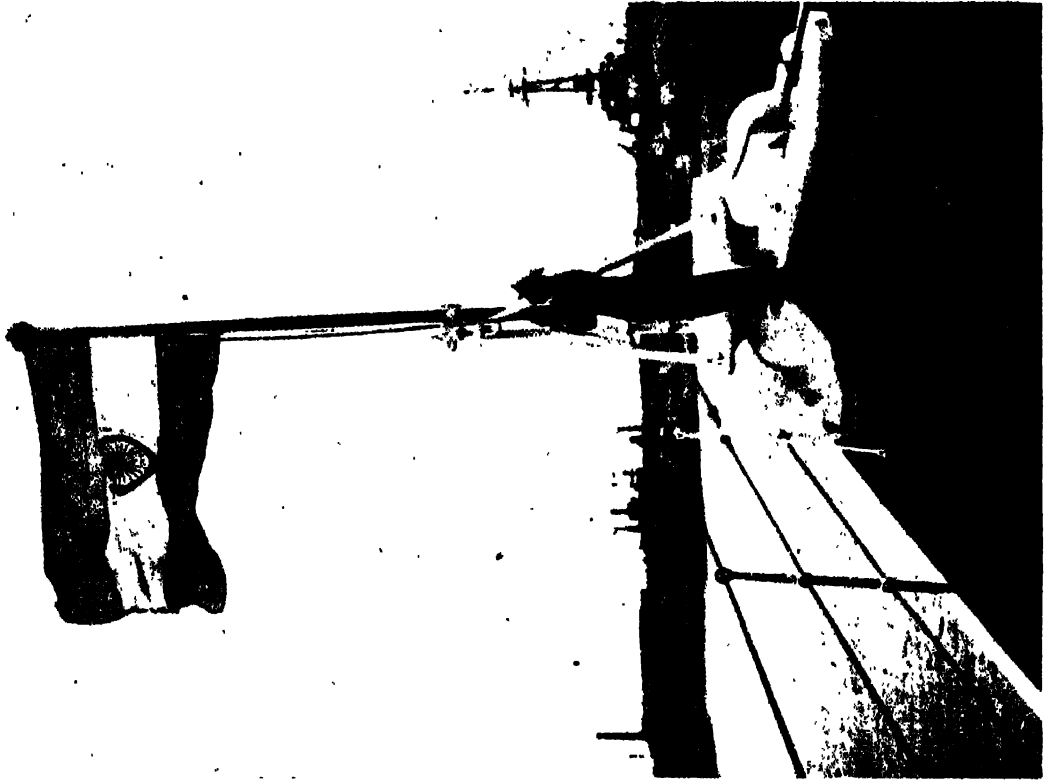
St. Peter's Cathedral, Rome



Piazza del Popolo Rome



Sardar Patel addresses a mammoth mass meeting at B...



The Indian Tricolour being hoisted on the 7039-ton cruiser H.M.I.S. *Indra* during the Landing over ceremony at Chatham

made me feel homesick for a while. Turin is a very beautiful city, quite modern and up-to-date. Some of its high majestic buildings reminded me of Paris. At Turin we met some Italians who asked us if we were from Ceylon. One of the men had been in Calcutta, Bombay and Bhopal as prisoner of war and could speak a few words of Hindi. He showed us some pictures of his taken in the streets of Bombay near Malabar Hill. He expressed his love for Indian people and said that he used to frequent the home of an Indian family by the name of Patel. I bought one or two post cards from a shop and the Italian came with us back to the station and invited us to visit him if we should again come to Turin. At about 5 p.m. the train was set in motion and once more we were back in our seats.

The Po Valley scenery was very picturesque and so were the snow-capped mountain ranges in the background. The hills reminded me of the Swiss Italian Alps and there was not much difference in landscapes between the Italian and French border-zones. We had dinner at about 10 p.m. and by this time we were so tired that we all slept very well in spite of want of space. Each one of us stretched out our legs putting them up on the other side of each bench.

At 6 a.m. (on April 5, 1948, Monday) we arrived at Gare de Lyons, Paris. We said goodbye to every one in the group and got into the Metro for the Cite Universitaire. On coming out of the Metro, I met a

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Hungarian student who carried my valise back to the College Franco-Britannique, and gave me his umbrella because it was raining. As luck would have it, the weather in Paris was not very good. It was raining and damp the whole of that day.

On our return journey we came across an Italian who had an accordion and he came into our compartment and played for us Italian and American tunes in an excellent manner. His friend sang to the accompaniment of his playing. Outside on the corridors we met some Italian young men, who were going to Alessandria to watch a game of football.

The Italians, especially in the Naples region are darker than the French and shorter too in height. But some very blond Italians are to be found in the north. Rome and Florence are clean cities and so is Naples in certain spots. But other parts of Naples and Rome are dirty. Beggars were sitting in the streets and children dressed in rags were seen in Naples.

However, I was born in Italy and cannot help saying I liked Italy very much. But no city can beat or be compared to Paris. I am already quite "Frenchified." To me now-a-days Paris is nonpareil. But Paris owes much of its construction and architecture to Rome, especially as Napoleon was such a deep admirer of Italian art. The quays of the Tiber reminded me of the banks of the Seine. The Italian Pantheon had inspired the making of the French Pantheon.

BANKS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Some Facts and Figures

By SHIB SANKER DUTT,

Southern Bank Ltd., Bongong

The Reserve Bank of India continued to be the State Bank of both the Union of India and Pakistan after the partition of the country up to the 30th of June, 1948. The State Bank of Pakistan began to function from the 1st of July 1948. The Report of the Reserve Bank of India up to the end of June, 1948, has been published in the *Gazette of India*, dated the 7th of August 1948. Soon it will be published in a book form. We gather and select some facts and figures about banks from the said Report and present them below.

	No. of Banks in—	
	India	Pakistan
1. <i>Scheduled Banks</i>	99	1
Financial position in June, 1948		
Demand Liabilities	Rs. 694 crores	Rs. 86 crores

	No. of Banks in—	
	India	Pakistan
Time Liabilities	Rs. 311 crores	Rs. 19 crores
Cash in hand	Rs. 44 „	Rs. 4 „
Balance with Reserve Bank	Rs. 103 „	Nil
Advance	Rs. 435 „	Rs. 33 „
Bills discounted	Rs. 16 „	Rs. 0.6 „
Non-Scheduled Banks	508	177
Their total demand and time liabilities	Rs. 43.72	Rs. 1.78

Five banks have been added to the Schedule during the year under review in the Union of India. The only scheduled bank in Pakistan has been added to the schedule without any inspection.

DEAF-MUTES IN THE SERVICE OF THE COUNTRY

By NRIPENDRA MOHAN MAJUMDAR

In this material world the utility of mechanical handicrafts is vast. The truth of the above remark is readily understood from the fact of our using innumerable such articles for our comforts in our life. We cannot but thank the workers, whose labour and skill are behind it.

longer entertain any mistaken idea about them. Through training they can prove themselves expert hands in mechanical handicrafts. Now-a-days the deaf-mute workers who are self-dependent are really praiseworthy not only for their working ability but also for the valuable service rendered to the country.



Learning the art of a blacksmith

Among them there is a group of workers physically handicapped whose talent and skill really surprises us and in no time removes the wrong ideas we bear about them. They are the most neglected group of



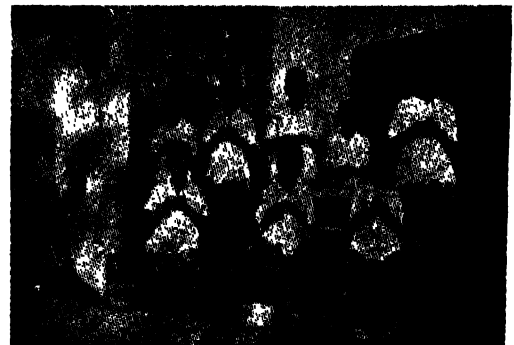
Practising the art of book-binding

With agreeable surprise one finds that these deaf-mutes may hold important positions in our society and thus undertake various responsibilities. Through training



Practising the art of wood-carving

our society, the deaf and dumb. So long we have looked down upon them for their incapacity to hear or speak ; moreover we have counted them as burdens on our society. With the progress of science their condition has changed considerably. We should no



Teaching boys the art of clay-modelling

this physically handicapped section may be transformed into an invaluable treasure of our society.

During the last great war the contributions of the deaf-mutes and their exerting themselves for the sake of their country are also noteworthy. They helped the country in many ways to supply war-materials. Like

others they also engaged themselves in the service of the country. These deaf-mutes were employed in different factories and laboured hard and silently. Besides this, the products of the cottage industry in which they were engaged served various needs of the war.

employers employ them out of pity. But why should they ask for pity? They will prove useful everywhere by dint of their full working capacity.

Congenital deafness causes one to be dumb. The auditory nerve being defective, visual and perceptual

organs of a deaf person becomes exceptionally sharp. By improving these two senses they may be taught to speak from their very childhood. They can show their excellence in mechanical work because their power of imitation is far greater than that of the general run of people. Hence, sometimes the deaf-mutes are found to surpass common people in the matter of skilful work. It is from a wrong and mistaken idea about them that the Government too have prevented them by law to join public service.

Today we have won political independence. In order to bring about economic and above all social independence we cannot forget our deaf-mute friends. In order to make society progressive we should give light and hope to its physically handicapped section neglected so long. We ought to give speech to the speechless so that they may feel that they are brought into this world not to lead a neglected detested life but there is a vast field for them to work.



Learning the use of a power-driven lathe and drill in the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

Many think that they are not fit to work in big factories as they might not turn efficient workmen on account of their being hard of hearing and their lack of quick comprehension. But it is a baseless remark. There is nothing to be afraid of in employing trained deaf-



Learning the art of book-binding

mutes even in heavy industrial workshops. In Western countries a great number of deaf-mutes are being employed in various responsible posts. In the well-known "Ford" motor company of America many deaf-mutes are working like ordinary workers. Henry Ford himself admitted that the deaf workers were cent per cent safe and reliable and did not require any special protection against risk insurance. Many



Working in a printing press

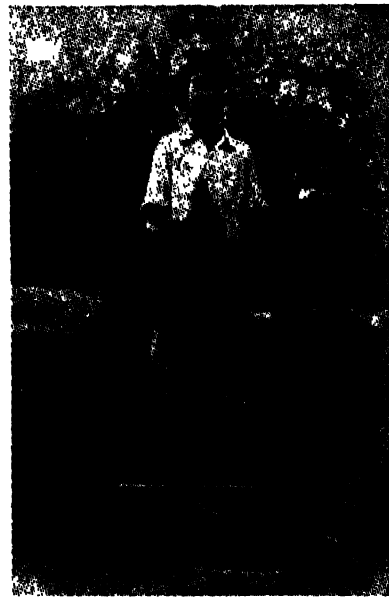
It is a matter of great regret that our national Government seems to be so far totally indifferent in these matters. Through the efforts of a few selfless, self-sacrificing individuals certain organisations have grown up and been dedicated to the service of the innumerable deaf-mutes of India. Compared to the huge number of the deaf-mutes in India, the number of such institutions is quite insufficient.

On an observation of the lives of the trained deafs everyone can realize the usefulness of establishing deaf and dumb schools. In Western countries some of doll-making, book-binding will fill him with wonder. Now-a-days we find many articles made by them for sale in many shops. Besides these, there are many



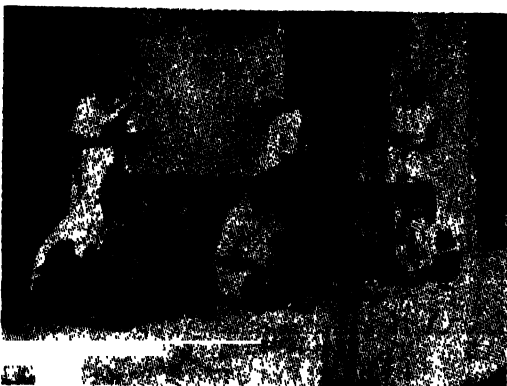
Sri Rajagopalachariar, the then Governor of West Bengal, inspecting the work of boys in the factory of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

the deafs have won great name and fame. In our country also a few have been famous in different



Making clay toys

tailoring shops in Calcutta conducted by deaf tailors. Many deafs are competent artists and many work in responsible posts in heavy industrial centres. Indeed, everyone feels glad to see that these wretched deafs are no longer wretched but are educated, dignified, self-dependent citizens of our country. Arrangements should be made so that every one can receive training in mechanical work. Only lip-sympathy and verbal



Practising the art of carpentry



Learning the art of tailoring

subjects. Any person visiting a deaf-mute institution will notice with pleasure and astonishment at the way they work there, and their leather-work, carpentry,

encouragement will not do. Real and patient efforts are required. The national Government has also much to do in this matter.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

The Youthful Revolutionary

By RAMA DATTA

TODAY, standing on the threshold of a new era, let us pause and pay our respectful homage to those stalwarts of the nineteenth century who lighted the torch of Social Revolution in India.

Youth has ever proved to be the dynamic centre of every national struggle. Even now Young India is trying in a conscious manner to fight against narrow orthodoxy and dogmatism, recreate the social environments and add something new to his inheritance. This awakening in the youth of our country today is due to the pioneers of social reform of the last century led by Raja Rammohun Roy, who, with his brilliant intellect and broad outlook, showed the path of light in a wilderness of social evils. It was, however, Keshub Chunder Sen who wrought the tremendous change in social ideas and ideals that we witness in India today, he being, in the truest sense of the term, a revolutionary.

Keshub's greatness can only be realized by contrasting the present state of the society with that in which he was born. Towards the middle of the last century Hindu society in Bengal was a chaos. The whole social system lost its energy and life. Graduates coming out of the Hindu College lost all faith in Hindu religion and custom. The State officials, the missionaries and the English educationists influenced greatly the young generation, which lost its national character and drifted aimlessly towards sham Western thought and life. "Education, except in rare instances, neither stimulated the intellect to originality, nor influenced the heart to profound impulse." No doubt, David Hare and the missionaries, with Dr. Alexander Duff at their head, were energetic and philanthropic men, but they were unsympathetic and intolerant towards Hindu religion and custom. The missionaries and the officials generally denounced everything Hindu in violent language, "The young men of the colleges and schools joined in the crusade. The result was the abolition of social discipline and introduction of the European luxuries and drink. Impurity of character among the educated became proverbial."

The Brahmo Samaj, however, set up new ideals of faith and conduct. It was anxious to induce the young generation to join its ranks, but both Christian missionaries and bigoted Pundits tried to overthrow the movement initiated by Raja Rammohun Roy.

"Amidst such an environment, Keshub sprang into public life like a young lion, full of fierce enthusiasm. Keshub's strivings were infinite. Every social, moral, religious want in himself and others, appealed to him. He set fire to whatever he touched. His reforms knew no end"—P. C. Mozoomdar.

It was Keshub who sounded the clarion call to the youth of the country to tell them that the realisation of the highest truth is the true measure of great-

ness in the life of an individual or a nation. He was not a politician in the ordinary acceptance of the term, but he was a patriot of the first order. From the beginning of his youthful career, it was a comprehensive programme of nation-building that he placed before the country.

Indeed, it was a strange passion for serving the nation that seized Keshub even in his teens. As early as 1854, when he was only sixteen, he founded the British India Society, with the object of "the culture of literature and science," religious subjects also being sometimes discussed there. The following year, when seventeen, he established the Colootolah Evening School, where young men of the neighbourhood were gathered and instructed in the general branches of knowledge. There was special study of Shakespeare with the staging of Hamlet. The school continued for about four years. In 1857, he established the "Goodwill Fraternity," composed of young men of about his own age, to whom he preached the two doctrines of "God our Father. Every man our brother."

It was ever a characteristic of Keshub that all his reforms, whether social, moral, educational or religious, went almost side by side. Thus, in 1859, we find him starting the Calcutta Brahmo School (School of Theology), where doctrines and conceptions of Brahmo Theism were discussed and systematized. The following year, 1860, a singular little society was started under the name of *Sangat Subha* for religious conversation. The best men of the Brahmo School and the Goodwill Fraternity were its members. Under Keshub's guidance they made remarkable progress in spiritual life. These young men formed the nucleus of an organisation out of which the best materials of Keshub's subsequent movement were supplied. The young reformer gradually realized that, to influence his countrymen in educational, religious and other matters, he must possess a newspaper in English and with this object he started *The Indian Mirror* in August, 1861, in conjunction with some friends, as a fortnightly journal. The same year, when a terrible famine devastated Upper India, the young men, under Keshub's directions, rendered invaluable help to the distressed. About this time his zeal for the education of the youth led Keshub to begin an agitation for educational reform, his main object being the establishment of colleges and schools more efficient than what the Government provided. Against innumerable odds he was able to establish the Calcutta College in 1862, that being one of the earliest institutions started by our countrymen. In the meantime, he had formed a strong opinion against caste system and he made it one of the main objects of the new movement to break it. In consonance with this, the same year (1862) he solemnised the first intercaste marriage.

This was one of the boldest steps that he ever took. Again, in 1863, the *Brahmo Bandhu Sabha* was established by him with three main departments, one of these being "education of women at home." This last deserves special mention, for Keshub was specially keen on giving women a social status. It was he who took the initiative in unlocking the door of the *senana*. He devised various means for the education, improvement and welfare of women. But this he wanted to do on national lines, for he did not like to educate women according to Western ideals. All through his life he remained true to the ideal of the education of women in which their spiritual advancement was to be the basis of their social and cultural uplift.

The story of Keshub's youthful activities may appropriately be closed with a reference to the inter-caste widow remarriage solemnised by him in 1864. That he looked upon caste system as a cursed barrier to national advancement is evident from his zeal for breaking it and also from his withdrawal from the parent body, which he was obliged to do because of the importance given to Brahmins in conducting divine service there. It is well-known that his difference on this question on caste system with his beloved *Guru*, Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, compelled him to give a fresh turn to the movement where equality for all would be guaranteed. And all this happened when Keshub was only twenty-six or twenty-seven.

It simply amazes one when one thinks of Keshub's activities as a young man. From the tender age of sixteen, against inconceivable odds, he marched on-

wards, towards things which were truer, nobler and loftier in life—the things of the spirit. Like a true revolutionary, he tried to revolutionise everything—society, education, moral standards of life, status of women and caste system. A strange fire consumed his being and he could not stop till he had reached his goal. In his remarkable spiritual autobiography, *Jeevan Veda* (the Scripture of Life), Keshub says :

"If I ask myself, 'O my Soul, in what creed wast thou baptised in early life?' the Soul answers, 'In the Baptism of Fire.'"

It was a strange sight indeed, that a mere youth could give shape to his ideals in various kinds of reforms and activities, which galvanized the whole land and nation. One could not close this brief account of Keshub, the youthful revolutionary, better than by quoting the words of his biographer :

"Keshub's genius was complicated, profound, restless, God-inspired. It reflected every light, every want, every aspiration of the age. It aimed at removing all darkness, doubt, sorrow. He laboured really, radically to bring the kingdom of heaven on earth . . . With him faith was the profoundest wisdom, and a certainty in everyday life. With him the presence of God was a ready guidance that sufficed for all the intricacies of a unique life of strange trials. He lived and died an intense, burning, restless light, which suddenly went down in its fullness and undimmed lustre."*

* Written on behalf of the Yuva Samgha-Prachar Sakha.

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NIKOLAI VASILIEVICH GOGOL

By PROF. PHANIBHUSAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

To one who does not know the language, Russian literature means the Russian story and novel of the 19th century and after. The view is limited on good reason, for the novel and the short story have a wide appeal and cross the frontiers between countries more easily than other forms of literary expression; and the Russian novel is admittedly a very powerful institution. As is observed by a Russian critic of note, things have taken such a shape in Russia that a story becomes one of two things—"either it is rubbish or else it is the voice of a leader ringing through the empire." To this estimate of Russian novel we may justifiably add that it is a potent force in other countries also.

Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol is next to Pushkin and Turgenief the most popular of Russian writers. He has decided power of satirical humour and delineation of conventional Russian life. He was born on March 31, 1809. He came of a family of Ukrainian Cossack gentry in Poltava where the ancient Cossack legends

and traditions were yet fresh and strong. He was educated at the school at Niejne and had the temperament, imagination and intelligence of a true son of the steppe. He started there a manuscript periodical called *The Star* and wrote several pieces including a tragedy, *The Brigands*. He left school in 1826, an enthusiast of the purest romantic cast dreaming of achieving something great for his country. He went to St. Petersburg to try the stage but failed. In 1829 he published anonymously a poem called *Italy* and under the name of V. Atof, an idyll on the subject of a recent unhappy love affair of his own which was so ridiculed that he bought up all the copies he could and burnt them. Being disheartened in his literary efforts he thought of emigrating to America and even set out on the journey but thought the better of it later and returned to St. Petersburg where he entered the civil service. Gradually he made his way in literary circles and was received by Pushkin whom he met in 1831. In this year was published *Evenings in*

a *Farm near Dekanka* by Rudy Pinks, a collection of stories and sketches illustrative of the life, customs, beliefs and superstitions of the people of Little Russia. It struck a new note in Russian literature. Its fresh breath of nature, dreamy sadness, weirdness, originality, poetic feeling, sly humour, realistic description based on keen observation struck the literary world into some sort of a stupor. Nothing of the kind had appeared earlier. The Ukraine lived and moved in these stories, calling up a vision at once wonderfully precise and exquisitely attractive, singing and ringing with a hearty laughter, just touched with a spice of archness, the embodiment of the mirth of Little Russia. It was not, however, as yet, quite a true picture, for Gogol had not yet been able to cast off all his romantic trappings and it lacked 'tears' in it. But close on these *Evenings* appeared another series—*Mirgorod*—which continued the picture of the unruly Cossacks, and introduced the immortal *Taras Bulba*, a prose epic having for its subject the heroic chief of the Zaporogian Cossacks, a work aglow with martial ardour and vivid richness of imagination. In this series we hear the real human laughter of the author who was to write the *Dead Souls*. It had 'tears' in it and a note of irony. Yet his brilliant success did not satisfy Gogol who was, like Tolstoi in a later age, to cast off the children of his imagination from the heights of his dreamy fancy as unworthy of it. Though the stories were accepted as realism there was an unconscious caricature of his characters. With these Gogol paid farewell to his native region; henceforth he wrote about the capital and Russia itself.

Gogol planned a *History of Little Russia* and this won for him a chair of history in the University of St. Petersburg in 1834. He resigned this office in the next year as his lectures proved a failure. The years 1834 and 1835 saw the publication of a new series of stories, *The Landowners of Old Days*, *The Quarrel of Ivan Ivanovitch and Ivan Nikiforovitch* and the *Mantle or Cloak*. Very different from their predecessors in their nature, they proved Gogol's possession of a definite form which was to become the form of the later Russian novel. He makes in these a realistic study of Russian provincial life and portrays accurately the monotonous days, narrowly circumscribed self-centred interests, the humdrum duties and the vanities and prejudices of the landed gentry viewed through a satirical and bantering humour not unmingled with a genuine pathos. In them every detail from the wardrobe of Ivan Nikiforovitch to the foul-smelling boots put on by the moujiks who stamped up and down the Nevski Prospect, was drawn from nature. Their realism is seasoned more skilfully than were the *Evenings* with a humour more properly English than Russian in quality. As in Dickens it has an equal mixture of irony and good nature, malice and wide sympathy, sarcasm and intentional moralising. The characters are drawn with an inexorable fidelity to life and strict logical consequence. Gogol does not care

whether the effect produced be good or bad. *The Cloak* describes the petty miseries of an ill-paid clerk in a Government office whose great object in life is to get a cloak. The hero is named Akaky Akakievich Bashmachkin, a name as ridiculous in Russian as in English. It first roused in literature the sentimental and radical sympathy for the oppressed and the humiliated and it was accepted by the reformers of the next decade as a plea for the reform of the living conditions of the poor. It was welcomed as the beginning of a new style of literature and Gogol's popularity for the coming years was ensured thereby.

Gogol's famous comedy *The Revisor* (English Translation *The Government Inspector or The Examiner*) was produced in 1836. It is thought by some as the greatest of Russian comedies. It exposed most brilliantly the corruption, dishonesty, hypocrisy, self-satisfied ignorance and vanity of the administrative officials in a province. Gogol had the suggestion of the subject from Pushkin who had been arrested by an inspector making his rounds while the author was travelling to Orenburgh in search of materials for his history of the rebellion of Pougatchov. It is a vaudeville story on the whole and turns on a very commonplace blunder. Khlestakov arrives at a provincial town with an empty purse and is taken for an inspector whose arrival is awaited with fear even while he is in imminent danger of being sent to the debtors' prison. He receives all the attentions and bribes which are meant to propitiate the much dreaded investigator of abuses. Though admirably drawn, the figures have a tendency to caricature. In it all the officialdom of the period are attacked in a thoroughgoing manner. The Governor with all his reproaches to those who rob above their own rank, was particularly a figure which struck the popular imagination. Gogol, plunged the branding iron of satire into the very quick of the gaping wound of the constitution and the administrative and judiciary ladder. Even the author himself, as he afterwards proved, did not thoroughly realise the scope of his attack. What now strikes us as surprising is that Gogol's operation made no one scream, the public being merely entertained. The Governor and his followers regarded it as only funny. Even Tsar Nicholas who was present at the first performance of it also laughed. The people scarcely thought that the order of things represented by them ran contrary to nature. Even now the piece is frequently staged and raises a laugh. The play is rich in dramatic qualities. Joseph Macleod observes that it "displays that curious combination of realism and exaggeration which is the mark of stage humour." In it the reader meets with a quality which was to become the general feature of the Russian novel and which was "to endue it with a particular and very national character, viz., the satirist's indulgent attitude towards the objects of his satire." It has been called sceptical philosophy or

tender pity and may be attributed to one's being accustomed to the sight of evil.

The effect and enthusiasm produced by the play brought out the mystic side of Gogol's nature to the surface and he felt himself called upon to play the part of a prophet and a preacher. After unsatisfactory trials of official life Gogol left his native land in 1836 and spent some time in Spain and Rome until 1846 when he again settled in Russia.

The first part of *Dead Souls* was published in 1842. He called it "a poem." The very word proves the unconsciousness of his creative genius. An unwarned reader would surely expect an elegy. It also was suggested by Pushkin and was meant to indicate Gogol's view of the proper path of Russia. The hero of the story is an adventurer, Tchichikov by name. He is a former custom-house official, dismissed for smuggling and plans an enormous swindle to restore his fortunes. The number of serfs owned by a proprietor is found out by means of a periodical census. It is thought to be unchanging between two successive censuses and the souls—that is the heads of slaves tallying with them—are subject to all the usual transactions, such as buying, selling or pawning. Tchichikov's idea is to purchase at a reduced price the names of the serfs who have died between two successive censuses but who are still borne on the official lists and to pawn them to a bank for a large sum of money and then to abscond before the fraud is found out.

The circumstance is only an excuse for narrating Tchichikov's adventures among the many landowners and officials with whom he is to transact business. The field of observation is widened so as to include the whole of the governing classes and the subject provides apt opportunities for satire. Among the serf-owners are Manilov, a man belonging to no category at all and having no clearly defined moral features, principles or convictions; Nozdriov, a dashing man of pleasure, on the most intimate terms with all, cheating at cards and having his guests thrashed; and Sobakievitch, a substantial man who is not concerned how doubtful a business is so long as it yields him profit. The officials and the middle class people are on a war with this company. Gogol's plan provides the opportunity for a series of unforgettable pictures of the more sordid, degraded and commonplace aspects of the Russian provincial life and types of Russian society who are presented with a force and truth to be met with in Dickens at his best. One feels in it a heavy sadness, a sort of hopeless abandonment of hope, and a melancholy pathos. We enjoy at the same time its humour, stern characterization and subtle piercing satire. It is an extraordinarily clear and brilliant picture. When he read the book Pushkin cried out, "Heavens! what a dreary place our Russia is!" The frame of the picture was supplied by Cervantes while Dickens helped with the canvas, the

groundwork of cheery good nature, philosophic indulgence and heavy gaiety. One finds in it a trait of the Russian national character, the sentiment of pity for a fallen creature, no matter how deep is the vileness to which his fall may have lowered him.

Gogol the man found himself the hero of the regenerators of Russia and his conviction that he had a mission in life seems to have stifled his genius at this stage. "He allowed his gift for romantic caricature to distort the accuracy of his vision and thus constantly exaggerate every feature." His work endowed him with the part of a public accuser. At first he would have protested against the premature conclusions that were being drawn from his *Dead Souls*. The work was to consist of three parts and it was unjust to pretend that the first was a complete picture of the country. Other aspects of ideal beauty were yet to follow. But before proceeding any further Gogol wished to have an explanation with his readers and he published extracts from his own correspondence called *Letters to My Friends* in 1847 which were full of ghostly advice mingled with addresses on literary subjects. The book contained a sort of literary testament. He also announced his decision never to write again because he would henceforth devote himself to the search after truth both for the good of his own soul and for general welfare. Its mystic quality is unmistakable.

In spite of his farewell to literature in the *Letters* he wrote again the second part of *Dead Souls* but not being satisfied with it, burnt the manuscript. He was now in the most distressful financial straits. In vain he tried fasting and prayer and even a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. More and more he developed a religious mania and a sense of persecution by the Devil. When his definitely reform work, the *Letters*, was attacked by all parties he felt still more discouraged and died in a state near insanity on March 3, 1852.

Gogol was the first master of fiction in Russia to go to life for his subjects, leaving the romantic convention. He founded Russian realism and succeeding novelists have owned his primacy though they have far surpassed him. He was and is still a great power, in his work which has always been a favourite and in his effort, not a critically deliberate one though, to pull the novel away from romanticism and identify it with life. Unconsciously he performed a work of revolution in Russian literature. K. Waliszewski, an eminent historian of Russian literature, writing in 1900 sums up his position in these words:

"Gogol did create the Russian novel and that is a sufficient title to glory. In Russia, as a writer of prose and craftsman of style he outdoes Pushkin himself. *The Queen of Clubs* was written in 1834 and is a trifle. He won the race easily and nobody has equalled him since it was run. Gontcharov and Grigorovitch were his direct heirs in the department of novel writing; Ostrovski was his successor in the drama."

LEGISLATION OR AGRICULTURAL READJUSTMENT?

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WHAT does agriculture need today? Mere legislation, or a radical agricultural readjustment? We may have a legislation without seriously attacking the causes of major maladjustments and injustices noticeable in the structure of Indian agriculture which need correction for economic, social, political and various other reasons. Conversely, it may also be possible to bring about some of the necessary changes in agriculture with or without legislation under a given set of conditions. At times, a process of persisting tendencies in agriculture may occasion or be the cause for the enactment of a piece of legislation either to mitigate or render nugatory the painful consequences of those tendencies, or to promote their good effects already getting established. A proper description of the relation between legislation and readjustment is, however, generally one of cause and effect and, in fact, the two are not mutually exclusive. But the question is what types of changes are wise and wholesome, or what types have got to be avoided both from the standpoint of the tiller of the soil and of the national interest and by what kind of legislative action those changes can be accomplished. Legislation by itself means little or nothing and an Act should be judged always from the effects it may produce, or the degree of fulfilment of its declared aims, on its effective working. It is in this light, the Bombay Tenancy Amended Bill, recently introduced in the Legislative Assembly, is examined.

The chief provisions of the Bill are as follows: The Bill while repealing the Bombay Tenancy Act as amended in 1946, retains some of its useful provisions, as for example, regarding tenancies, maximum rent, commutation of crop share rent into cash rent, suspensions or remissions of rent, the rights of tenants against arbitrary ejection and special privileges of protected tenants for the full benefit of the produce and the wood of trees planted during the period of tenancy, etc., and adequate compensation for improvements made on termination of tenancy. The minimum duration of a lease is fixed as ten years, irrespective of the fact, whether the lessee is a protected tenant or not. Further, the Bill is reinforced with some of the following important additions, pertaining to the right of protected tenants to purchase tenancy land and restriction on the extent of land a person (lessor or tenant) can own and cultivate, prohibition of subdivision, subletting and assignment of tenant's holdings, management of badly managed estates held under any non-ryotwari tenurial patterns, imposition of restrictions on transfer of agricultural lands, management of uncultivated lands and acquisition of estates and lands, setting up of an Agricultural Lands Tribunal for valuation of sales of lands concerned under Sections 32 and 62 and to discharge other functions assigned to it, and imposition of penalties by way of fine for contravention of any provisions of the Bill.

While introducing the Bill in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Revenue Minister has described it as the "final stage" in the matter of legislation regarding land reform in the province and claimed that

"When the Bill becomes law, I am quite sure that the problem of land tenure will have been solved within five years of its application and without any great disturbance, so that we will achieve the result we want to achieve in a manner that will lead to the happiness of all."

It is fervently hoped that the measure would ultimately lead to elimination of intermediaries between the cultivators and the State, transfer of lands to tenants at fair prices, evolution of peasant proprietorship, thus 'improving the economic and social conditions of peasantry and ensuring the full and efficient use of land for agriculture.'

These statements of the ideals and objectives of the Bill as laid down, are indeed magnificent. But a pertinent question arises, whether and to what extent and in what time the goals set up can be actually achieved, even assuming a cent per cent successful operation of the provisions of the enactment. Any attempt at answering these points inescapably implies a scrutiny of some of the chief items of the Bill, as attempted here.

In the first place, tenants are classified as protected tenants and ordinary tenants. 'A protected tenant' is one who has held land uninterruptedly for a period of at least six years immediately preceding either 1st January, 1938 or 1945 and has cultivated such land personally during the period. It is only such tenants that have been given redress by the tenancy laws in the province up till now. If the clause of continued occupation of land for a period of six years were to be made a necessary condition for qualifying oneself as a tenant, it is certain that about 75 per cent of the genuine tenants in the Province shall be disqualified in the first instance. This section of the Act in the past must have rendered an additional incentive to the rentiers to change tenants or to change holdings cultivated by different tenants under them more frequently with the result that the state of becoming a 'protected tenant' might have scarcely occurred. The new provision of the Bill providing that no lease of farm land should be less than ten years is welcome,

it gives stability of tenure for all tenant-cultivators. However, the need for reducing the period of holding tenancy land from a period of six years, or the liberal extension of some of the rights and privileges conferred on 'protected tenants' to the rest of the tenantry cannot be overemphasised, if it is expected that the benefits of the legislation should reach the bulk of the tenant population and not merely an insignificant section of their community.

Secondly, under Section 4, if cultivation is carried

on by employing a servant on wages payable in cash or kind under the personal supervision of a landowner or under any member of his family, the landlord concerned is taken as owner-cultivator. It may be noted here that in order to evade law, it is probable that the lessors may get tenants registered as farm servants or wage-earners working under their supposed supervision or that of their family members. Moreover, if some erstwhile rentiers resort to farming of their lands under these provisions, it may be likely to affect farming efficiency and contribute to the general deterioration in the standard of agriculture at least in early stages.

Thirdly, although Section 32 regarding purchase of land by a protected tenant is on principle conceived with the best of intentions, it is niggardly in the matter of producing remarkable results, when reduced to actualities and to its potentialities. It lays down that a protected tenant shall be entitled to purchase any time from his landlord the land held by him as a protected tenant at a price determined by the Agricultural Land Tribunal provided that (a) the total area of the arable land remaining in the ownership of an individual landlord or any one branch of an undivided Hindu family, after purchase of land or any portion thereof is not less than 50 acres and (b) the total area owned by the tenant after purchase of land is in the aggregate not more than 50 acres including the extent of land already owned by him before the transaction. In other words, the parties benefited in view of the section are restricted only to the fraction of the class of protected tenants created by the Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939, and the parties affected are those, either individuals or branches or joint Hindu families, owning more than 50 acres. A study of the distribution of land and composition of holdings in the Province reveals the very limited scope of the benefit obtainable. The table below contains an abstract of the quinquennial statements of holdings in Government Ryotwari area in Bombay Province for the years 1936-37 and 1942-43.

Classification of holdings	1936-37	
	Percentage of No. of persons to total	Percentage of area held to total
Up to 5 acres	49	9.5
Between 5 and 15 acres	29	22.8
Between 15 and 25 acres	11	17.7
Between 25 and 100 acres	10	34.4
Over 100 acres	1	15.6
	1942-43	
Up to 5 acres	49.26	9.50
Between 5 and 15 acres	29.28	22.78
Between 15 and 25 acres	10.83	17.67
Between 25 and 100 acres	9.71	34.48
Over 100 acres	0.92	15.57

It may be seen that about 78.54 per cent of people own 32.28 per cent of the area, their holdings varying from 1 to 15 acres. In fact, about half the number of holdings are below 5 acres and account for about one-tenth of the total area, while about 1 per cent of holdings constitute more than 100 acres occupying

nearly one-sixth of the total area. Holdings varying from 25 to 100 acres account for about 10 per cent of the total holdings and nearly one-third of total area. It may be interesting to note that during the years 1916 to 1922 there was a tendency on the part of holdings over 100 acres to decrease in the Central and Southern division and to increase in the northern division of the province. It is obvious that the Bill affects at the most about 5 or 6 per cent of the total holdings occupying about one-fifth of the total extent. It is important at any rate to collect and furnish latest figures relating to the percentage of holdings and the area covered by holdings more than 50 acres in different divisions of the province and also the relative estimates of parties and areas which may be actually affected. Further the ceiling of 50 acres is quite arbitrary (cf. the recent Burmese ordinance about agrarian reform) which has no relation either to the size of the economic holding, or to the soil, climate, irrigation, crop structure and other local conditions in different regions of the province. Without much ado, it appears reasonable even as an experimental measure, if the limit is reduced to 20 acres in case of irrigated and first class soils and to 30 to 40 acres in respect of moderate and poor soils exclusive of the extent of waste and grazing lands held. It is desirable to classify lands according to their productivity into rich, moderate and poor lands and fix maximum limits in respect of each of these taking also into consideration costs of production, the average net money incomes obtainable out of each one of the groups and the cost of maintenance of an average family in reasonable comfort and physical efficiency in the regions concerned.

Fourthly, the new measure with regard to assumption of management of badly administered estates of non-ryotwari proprietors for the benefit of the peasantry and for economic utilisation of the land resources of the estates, is mild and conservative as it runs counter to the shibboleth of 'abolition of Zamindaris' and elimination of the vestiges of feudal landlordism which are repeatedly proclaimed to be the essential items of the Congress Economic Programme. In a way, it is tantamount to giving legal recognition of the continued existence of the non-ryotwari estates (of course, whose abolition in the Province appears to be shelved by the Bill for the present!) and there is nothing novel about it, since it is only a variant of assumption of estates by the Court of Wards as in vogue in other Provinces like Madras.

Fifthly, out of all the items of the Bill, Sections 61 to 64 concerning restriction on transfers of agricultural lands, management of uncultivated lands and acquisition of estates and lands, are both commendable and direct in their approach to solve the problems of land. Land transfers to non-agriculturists through sale, mortgage, gift or leases have been summarily prohibited except in genuine cases with the previous sanction of the Government authorities. Secondly, 'free trade in

land' is disallowed, since, sales of land are to be effected through the Agricultural Lands Tribunal at a reasonable price determined under the rules laid down. The order of priorities of buyers of land is as follows : the tenant of the land, the cultivator of contiguous or neighbouring land, a better forming of resource society registered under the 'Bombay Co-operative Societies Act, 1925 and any other agriculturist. Any sale transacted contrariwise is considered void. Thirdly, the Provincial Government is entitled to take over the management of such lands as have been found uncultivated for any two consecutive agricultural seasons owing to the fault of landowner, tenant or whatever cause. The Government can lease out such lands on a rent at least equal to the value of the land revenue assessment. To a certain extent the loss of revenue sustained by the Government on this account may be made good. Similarly, the State can compulsorily acquire or assume management of any estate or land considered necessary in the public interest. Lands taken over for management can also be permanently acquired, if necessary, after compensation to the full value of the properties concerned as determined by the Tribunal.

Sixthly, the idea of setting up an impartial Agricultural Lands Tribunal for the determination of the prices of lands and estates involved under Sections 32, 62 and 64 of the Bill has much to recommend for itself even in the matter of determination of compensation and valuation of estates connected with the problem of abolition of Zamindaris in order to insure justice both to seller and buyer and to the satisfaction of all concerned avoiding at the same time the economic consequences of powerful vested interests on the bargain negotiated directly between two private individuals, or between the State on the one hand and the private individuals or estates on the other. The case of commitment of high compensation and unfavourable terms regarding the purchase of transport equipment, stock and buildings, etc., by the Bombay Municipality from the B.E.S.T. as well as the three cases of failures of direct negotiations in respect of acquisition of London Transport, British Overseas Airways and the British Sugar Corporation may serve as a sufficient warning and a useful lesson in this behalf. The successful results achieved by instituting an impartial Tribunal may be noticed in acquisition of coal royalties in British mines and that of the Bank of England. Or else, the dangers of making nonsense of compensation under the pressure of political groups with different ideology and complexion or under the influence of the powerful vested interests as seen in some of the compensation provisions made in the proposed Bill of abolition of the estates in the Madras Province are too obvious. As it is difficult for an average ryot to find out amounts adequate enough for purchases of lands in advance and to deposit the sums with the Tribunal, the suggestion of payment by instalments or through the hire-purchase system with

the help of the Land Mortgage Banks or the proposed Agricultural Credit Corporation deserves full investigation. For, unless adequate credit facilities are also provided for purchase of lands, the benefit of the new provision will carry little meaning and substance to the bulk of the Kisans because, if left for himself, he has either to beg, borrow or forego his claim to purchase land in favour of a more favourably situated neighbouring landlord or 'any agriculturist.'

Seventhly the clauses with regard to consolidation of tenants' holding (Section 27), maintenance and repairs of bunds, etc., as well as the termination of tenancy, if any tenant fails to raise in any year a maximum yield of crops produced on the land or as determined by any official appointed by the Government, are all in full conformity with the schemes of soil conservation and economic use of agricultural land.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that if no restriction is placed on the extent of land a tenant can cultivate on lease, it is possible that the tenant may cultivate large areas of land taken on lease with (or without) his own holdings with the result that he may obtain incomes much larger than many of rentiers themselves. For example, big tenants cultivating large areas under tenancy, if they cultivate heavy cash crops like tobacco, sugar cane, turmeric, onions, etc., may sell produce worth not less than Rs 10,000 a year and thereby reap huge profits for themselves, even though they pass on as tenants. The incomes of such persons cannot be easily assessed under the provisions of even Agricultural Income Tax, as they happen to be mere tenants owning very small areas of land.

To conclude, the facts and materials presented in the above discussion are sufficiently indicative of the fact that, though the Bill is no doubt a great advance over many of the Tenancy Laws obtained in the proprietary areas or in any other province in India, the provisions fall much short of the eloquence of the Hon'ble Revenue Minister in declaring the objects of the Bill. It is at any rate, not a revolutionary measure consistent with 'the change in the political status of the country' or with the declared policy of the Congress as enunciated in the Congress manifesto, since it goes to retain the existence of the non-ryotwari proprietary estates at the one end, and at the other, to safeguard the interests of the class of rentiers, big landowners in the ryotwari areas. The eradication of the intermediaries between the State and the actual tillers of land may not be achieved within the "next five years." Thus the whole land and tenant problem remains much the same unsolved. If the fathers of the legislation do not conceive of it being replaced by a radical piece of enactment striking directly at the very fundamentals of the issues involved, it is to be regretted that the 'measure' shall perpetuate landlordism in the province, instead of eliminating it in the immediate future, perhaps within certain limits imposed by the regulations of the Bill.

EXHIBITIONS OF PAINTINGS

By S. I. CLERK, B.A.

NOW-A-DAYS we have a good many exhibitions of paintings particularly in big cities, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, etc. They enable the artists to put before the public their "wares." These exhibitions also help in making the public art-conscious. Inasmuch as demand for works of art depends on the development of the aesthetic sense of the consumer, selling a work of art is not the same thing as selling commodities, such as food, cloth, radio, watch, fountain pen, etc. Hence, in the absence of a public of discriminating adults, we have the vicious circle of starving artists and an artless common life.

In order to create an intense demand for works of art, art must be given an increasing importance in education—particularly, university education—with special emphasis on the teaching of art appreciation. Art in education need not necessarily aim at creating artists. Besides art in general education, public galleries, cheap reprints of better paintings, remarriage of art and industry, will go a long way in creating a demand for art products.

We have to educate the people to demand from "industry" goods with aesthetic appeal. If today in our country industry does not need the artist it is because the masses are not sufficiently "awakened" to demand from industry products of good design. The union of art and industry is prevented by the manufacturer, artist (designer), retailer and public. The manufacturer thinks only of quick profits. Only a few rare exceptions take a long point of view and give thought to the appearance of the finished product. In absence of lucrative remuneration, no really talented artists are attracted in the field. The retailer and the middleman are afraid to take risks and hardly even attempt to persuade the public to go in for something new and original. The people buy what they come across for they lack aesthetic discrimination. And thus, sometimes it is almost impossible to sell really well-designed articles. A remarriage of art and industry is essential for reintroduction of art in the daily life of the masses.

It is an obvious fact that only a few can go in for the original paintings. On the other hand, quite a big section of the people can be persuaded to go in for prints and reproductions. The invention of photographic methods and their use in printing processes have left the autographic methods (*e.g.*, mesotint, aquatint, lithography, etc.), mainly to the use of the creative artist. Before the recent war, in England prints collection was so very popular that advertisement posters were being sold at nominal price to the public by London Passenger Transport Board, the G. P. O., and the shipping companies. Similar organisations can do the same in India. Particularly, the air services can issue quite interesting posters. In

England and on the Continent, print dealing is a highly organized business. From the artist's point of view, in England, the Royal Society of Painter-Engravers and Engravers was formed in 1880. The revival of the processes of wood-engraving, wood-cutting and lithography along with etching as well as the use of engraving processes and lithography for book illustrations, book jackets and for poster work have widened the general interest in the original print. Besides aesthetic appeal, technical excellence is another main factor, which enhances the value of such prints. In fact, both are closely interlinked. Much depends on the selection of paper and the blocks in case of photographic printing processes.

Lithography is a useful process in that it enables us to go in for mass production. The final print being produced in a large quantity is very cheap and within the possibility of almost every pocket. Over and above providing comparatively inexpensive prints, this is also a medium which makes possible subtle variations of colour and texture and a wide range of effects between carefully detailed drawing and the broad painterlike sweep. When the artist himself draws directly upon the stone or other printing surface we have what may be termed autolithograph. The resulting prints are reckoned as original works of art.

Such reproductions play an important part in our life. Their wide circulation enables all to possess and appreciate the masterpieces just as radio and gramophone do in music or popular reprints in literature. Nor need the artist expect a fall in his income as a result of a wider circulation of reprints: the increased knowledge of art these reprints are likely to bring about will, in all probability, also bring about a corresponding increase in the number who want direct contact with the originals. Especially for this purpose it is absolutely essential that although such prints should be cheap, their technical excellence should never be sacrificed at the altar of price.

Active State patronage and guidance are necessary for a full flowering of the arts and the crafts of a country. This can be observed in the case of the ancient civilizations of India, China, Egypt, Greece, Rome, etc., with their public buildings, such as temples, caves, palaces, tombs, etc. At present in our country there are plenty of discussions and proposals and counter-proposals as to how the government should help to revive our art traditions and bring art in the daily life of the masses. While considering as to how and to what extent State can be helpful in this connection, we should beware of the dangers of too much State interference and the consequent regimentation of art and artist—both harnessed to some ulterior (probably, sinister) end of the State. This is specially the case in a polity where State is end and man a means. However, in active and live democracies, this pitfall

can be avoided. Besides direct employment of artists, architects and sculptors for public buildings (libraries, museums, municipal theatres, etc.) Government will have to subsidize, control and guide art schools, art galleries, museums, etc.

There should be a co-ordinated effort on the part of the artists, art societies, art schools and government to make the masses art-conscious. All this effort will be useless if there is no rise in the standard of living. How can there be "better life" where there is no assurance of "mere life"? How can man think of spiritual, intellectual and aesthetic aspects when his entire life is a struggle for sheer physical existence? On the other hand, in our society today we also have the "rich" who do not know how to spend their surplus wealth which is frittered away after foreign tinsels while our own artists and craftsmen, for no fault of their own, are compelled to starve. These are the two battlefronts for us.

Our artists and craftsmen should also realize that the days of relying on aristocratic patronage are fast dying. Once they relied on royal patronage. Then, with the end of royalty (as a major ruling force in society), they switched on to land, commerce and industry aristocracy. Once more today, times are fast changing. Heavy taxation, death duties and nationalisation of agriculture, commerce, industry, finance all tend to cripple if not actually destroy this aristocracy. Of course, there is the rise of managerial class. Those possessing technical or administrative skill are coming into power. Not the wealthy but these will be governing and controlling the world. However, this does not alter our thesis that it is the common man whom we must approach. This does not imply that the artist should bring down his art to the aesthetic and emotional level of the layman. It does imply that the artist will have to cease to be the "court artist" and become the "folk artist" in the truest sense of the word. He should not merely understand and depict common man's life, he must strive to bring in that life the aesthetic and the intellectual joys of "better life." Only then the exhibitions of paintings can be "successful."

II

Two main purposes of an exhibition of paintings are: (1) "advertisement" of the artist; (2) education of the people—making them art-conscious and consequently bringing art in their daily life. The arrangement of the paintings, their mounts and frames, their prices, publication of the catalogues and reprints—all these require careful attention of the organisers if we are to realize these purposes successfully.

Even in case of one-man shows, the selection of pictures is a very important matter. Just as proper selection and elimination of superfluities and unnecessary details enhance the beauty of an individual painting or a literary piece, similarly, indiscriminate number of exhibits only spoil an exhibition and confuse and irritate the spectator. By way of illustration,

we may mention the last annual exhibition of Bombay Art Society. The drastic cut in the number of exhibits tremendously improved the exhibition as a whole. The spectators were able to see and appreciate the pictures individually for there were only a few pictures to be seen. We hope the organisers will continue in future this innovation of drastic selection; (it is said that only about 300 pictures were accepted from about 850) and will not revert back next year to their previous practice of exhibiting as many pictures as possible.

Less number of paintings also enables us to arrange them properly. "Shortage of space" no more compels us to overcrowd the walls. It is possible now to leave sufficient space between the pictures so as to allow the visitor to enjoy and study each picture separately. This enhances the value of the exhibition. It is no use arranging the pictures on the walls in a haphazard manner. As far as possible, there should be only a single row of paintings on each wall arranged at eye-level of the spectators. Two or more rows result in a jarring overcrowding. The exhibiting space on the wall should be covered by stretched guany cloth or some similar other material. This provides an excellent background on which the exhibits may be arranged. Proper lighting is another essential factor. Light must be indirect and diffused. The lamps should be so fixed that there are no reflections of them in the glazed frames of the paintings. Such glares irritate the visitors. Direct and strong lights cause headaches and eyeaches.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of an exhibition of paintings is that of the prices of the exhibits. Should we have high prices and low sales or low prices and high sales? High prices imply wooing the aristocrat and low prices imply spread of art among the masses. But then, what about the artist? Has he not his own necessities? In all probability, this dilemma of starving artist and the artless masses may be partly solved when the classes consider it to be fashionable to buy original paintings and when drawings, sketches and reprints are offered to the masses at low prices. Catering merely to the aristocrats will stultify the artist. His art will lose vitality and will be reduced to formalism and mimicry. Under such circumstances, the people may evolve their own art—folk art—or else, the country as a whole may become culturally extinct.

The next problem is that of catalogue and reproductions of the exhibits. Particularly, in a one-man show, the catalogue and reproductions reflect upon the aesthetic sense of the artist concerned. Catalogues vary from a single sheet of paper containing a list of the exhibits, their prices, etc., to profusely illustrated (in colours) thick books. Occasionally catalogues are distributed free to the visitors. Usually, however, a small charge is made, especially, if the catalogue contains colour reproductions. As a rule, black and white reproduction of an original in colour should be avoided; this serves no purpose and is worse than

useless in case the original is valued mainly for its colours. As such, it would be better if an original black and white drawing were selected for reproduction purposes if one is anxious not to increase the cost of the catalogue by including in it a colour reproduction. Care must also be taken in the selection of the paper of the catalogue and its printing. The reproductions must be neat and utterly faithful to the originals. After all, we must bear in mind that the catalogue will be with the visitors even when the exhibition is a matter of past. This fact alone should induce the organisers to pay considerable attention to the publication of the catalogue. It will be interesting if a prominent art group of society were to publish a year-book which would include reproductions of the best paintings selected from the various exhibitions held during the year. Such an year-book may profitably include a review of art activities during the year in the country as a whole and proposals and suggestions for the next year. Eminent art critics and artists should be invited to contribute to this publication.

Another interesting experiment which may be conducted by an enterprising art society is that of travelling exhibitions of paintings. By having exhibitions merely in the big cities, we hardly touch even

the fringe of the masses. Periodically, with Government help if possible, selected paintings should be sent to smaller towns—and ultimately to villages as well—so that the people over there have an opportunity of seeing the original paintings. The artists concerned may be paid a hiring fee for the paintings accepted for such exhibitions. The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts in England pays the artist such a fee for every work which he lends to one of its exhibitions. It pays £5 for an oil painting, £3 for a water colour, drawing or embroidery and a varying fee for sculpture.

An exhibition of paintings helps the artist to sell his "wares." The usual practice of free admission to exhibitions, on the other hand, enables the people to see and enjoy the artist's work for nothing. We do not know if any other profession gives so much free service to the community. Visual arts are integral to civilisation. They must have an important place in education and they must be closely linked with industry. The first makes the people art-conscious. The second introduces art into the daily life of the masses. Fine arts are essential for both. Hence, we must establish an atmosphere and a tradition in which good painting and sculpture can be created.

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MODERN CHINESE WALLS

By LILIAN E. M. BRUCE

It is most unfortunate that the present position in Britain has given rise to the belief in the outside world, east and west, that the British people are no longer what they were; that in some ways they have degenerated very badly. Many Americans believe that through lack of backbone, the British are beyond redemption. Elsewhere it is simply put down to lack of guts. Let us look briefly at those people who are separated from us by some 6,000 miles of land, sea and air.

The Great War II is, so far as the world in general is considered, over. But in Europe, except for the cessation of bombing, blast and fire, it might still be in progress. Winter comes with its bitter blast of north wind, freezing all water wherever possible. There is little or no coal and those who are fortunate enough to have a little to spare strive to do what they can for others less happily placed. I spent part of the winter of 1946-47 in an hotel on the west coast of Scotland, where, owing to coal shortage, there was only one fire in the entire house to give any warmth to the guests. And that only on Saturday and Sunday evenings. I can assure you, we were glad to wear our outdoor coats indoors as a protection against the cold.

In those far distant islands bound by the Atlantic

and the North Sea, food, clothes, shoes and household linen are all rationed or restricted to the use of a few coupons supplied by the Government. British women are lucky if they are able to secure more than one egg per month for each member of the household during the winter months and one per week during the summer weather. I have seen an Indian cook use more *Dalda* to prepare one meal than a single person would receive as a month's ration in Britain. Bacon, bread, butter, cheese, fat, flour, jam, meat, sugar, tea and potatoes are all rationed. On the whole, however, prices are far below those current in India. Nevertheless, one learns, because of the rationing, to live and maintain a standard of life on very little food. For the same reason one must make one's clothes last for more years than enough, and replace only those things that can no longer be repaired.

Out of this restriction has grown the habit and with it a slogan the sum-total of which is "Make Do and Mend." So they get down to it over there in the west and repair again and again. I know more than one woman who has patched her stockings for more than thirty times to each pair. And stockings are very necessary in winter weather in Britain. Yet in those islands the people contrive to look smart

throughout each season. So much is this so that those who fail to come up to standard call for friendly comment from those who know them sufficiently well to pass remarks.

Household linen, such as blankets, sheets, pillow-cases, towels and table linen have gradually over the years worn thin and become holed, but they cannot very well be replaced because it requires clothing coupons to secure fresh supplies, which means going without clothes. The number of coupons given to each person for each year is barely sufficient to provide something warm against the frost and the freezing winds of winter.

Apart altogether from the question of clothing coupons, there is an exceedingly heavy purchase tax on all goods that are not termed "Utility." Income tax is high so that earnings are not so large that they can permit of the purchase of highly priced goods. Altogether the lot of the people of Britain is not too happy, yet, at heart, they are facing the whole position pleasantly for their country's sake.

What is there that is discreditable in all this? What should those people do? Should they turn from the defects of a Socialist Government backed by a Communist, that was not truly prepared for office and have a highly Russianised revolution? Elsewhere I have said that we have had enough blood. Very well, I was wrong. There are too many of us. We jostle each other on the street; we crowd each other out of public vehicles; we crush each other out of employment. Day after day we trample each other out of life. A *chota* revolution in Britain would certainly reduce the population after which there would be more of everything for everybody. Or would there? Would that help matters in any way? For my part I think not. For such action in all its violence would only lead to a *burra* revolution in Europe. I believe that "*aste, aste, dous il.*" For I see just a little further than the point of my nose. And I have not lost faith.

Why have I kept my faith? Because that I know in Holland it costs Rs. 160 for a pair of very poor quality shoes and Rs. 266 for a dress of little worth; because I know that in Europe there are places in which little children become mere skeletons and die of starvation daily, year by year, while their parents endeavour to keep body and soul together on black bread and little else. Because I know that in Rome there are many men young and old, who sleep on the streets, night after night, in warm summer breeze or bitter blast of winter, in rain or snow.

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Is all this due to the fact that Europe as a whole is lacking in guts, done and beyond redemption? Their world was shattered; their buildings are bombed ruins; their fields or what is left of them are either scorched earth or cemeteries. They have nowhere to go, nowhere to turn. They are stooped under the weight of dire and dreadful burdens. But those people who walk with their hand in the hand of famine and death, are not broken. And the fault, not of the cause of war but of present circumstances, where does it lie?

I will tell you where the fault lies. It lies in this, that after thousands of years, the entire world is trying to emulate the China of old by encasing itself in walls. True, such walls are not visible to the eye as are China's walls but they are, nevertheless, as mighty. Every country that can do it is endeavouring to export but at the same time they are building massive walls against imports. It is "Britain for the British"; "Americans for the Americans"; "Russia, or any part of the world that can be called Russian, for the Russians"; "India for the Indians". Every country is running round and round, chasing its own silly tail, and getting nowhere in the process.

All this must be put an end to, if happiness and prosperity are to return to the world and death by slow starvation is to cease. If things go on as they are, no country will be able to export because no other country will be importing. Little by little the world will stifle itself amid the weeds and tares of its own unwanted manufactures and poverty will come like an awful spectre to stop the world. It will come on the heels of unemployment. And want and hunger will feed man and beast to death and destruction.

For the love of Eternal God, let us realise that it takes guts to live anywhere today. But let us realise that it is not only useless but all-destroying to continue building modern Chinese walls in a day and age when the aeroplane and radio encircle the world. If necessary, let us go still further back on the sliding scale than we have already gone and return to a system of barter and, by that road, struggle back to prosperity and humanity. Let us do this for the sake of the little children born and as yet unborn, if we cannot or will not do it for ourselves. Otherwise we and the world are confounded and lost. If we fail then of a certainty we have every right to be written in the Book of Life as those without guts, without backbone or humanity. But because we are we, we are bound to succeed, even in face of the foolish modern Chinese walls, for we have courage.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for October, 1948: Comment and Criticism—"Malayan Indian Congress":
Para 1, line 10, page 319, read 1937 for 1927.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Provincialism in Assam

In the September (1948) issue of *The Modern Review*, an aspect of provincialism prevailing in Assam was published. As one from Sylhet I have watched the development of this spirit since 1930 or so. I was one of the stipend-holders of the Assam Government and on completion of my University career I tried to secure a job under the same Government. I had thus the privilege of meeting many top-ranking persons. Those were the days of Executive Councillors, who for their job depended on the Governor unlike the present popular ministers who depend for their job on so many of the M.L.As and party bosses. *Bongal Kheda* movement was started in Assam mainly as a measure to prevent the people of Sylhet from getting into Government service. The people of Sylhet were definitely far in advance of what they call the Assamese-speaking population, both as regards education and attainments. Inferiority complex and self-interest led the so-called Assam people to resort to *Bongal Kheda* movement. At that time whether in the Secretariat at Shillong, or in tea gardens or in towns like Gauhati, Tezpur, Jorhat, Dibrugarh, etc., Bengali-speaking people were predominant. I cite an instance of how the post of the Principal, Jorhat Technical School, was filled up. The incumbent Mr. Phatakwalla left his service in the school and secured a post in Bihar. The vacancy was advertised and applications were called for. But the appointment was made after two years or so. In the meantime one Assamese gentleman was allowed to officiate and it was no wonder that he was ultimately appointed. This gentleman was none other than the younger brother of Sree Rohini Kumar Chowdhury. Mr. Chowdhury started the United Party and run a weekly journal at Gauhati. "Assam for the Assamese" was the slogan. Mr. Chowdhury now condemns provincialism. Better late than never. If anyone cares to turn the old files it will be seen that many Assam Government advertisements concluded with the sentence "Surma Valley Hindus need not apply." In the quota for jobs for non-Muslims, there were distinctions; they were divided into Surma-valley Hindus and Assam-valley Hindus. Perhaps Assam is unique in this respect that difference between Hindus and Hindus was made in respect of Government appointments. The advancement of the Hindus of Sylhet was a cause for dislike if not of jealousy, for entertaining them in Government service. Mind, this was in the early thirties. No wonder this has, with distribution of favour and patronage, slowly but perceptively developed to the present stage.

How the people of Sylhet, in spite of their declared loyalty for serving the Indian Union, have been chucked off from service, in the wake of Radcliffe Award, is another blot. Government servants are stationed according to the orders of the Government and not according to their own wishes. A school-master who happened to be at Habiganj (Sylhet), after referendum, lost his job as the Assam Government took no responsibility, whereas a school-master of Karimganj (Sylhet) escaped and went scot-free. This was only a question of chance as to which teacher was posted at which school. Similarly the Professors of the Sylhet College were forsaken whereas the Professors of the Gauhati College were not touched. This is an irony of fate. Many of the renowned Professors, teachers and Government servants are thus thrown out of employment after referendum in Sylhet. Whether the Bardoloi Ministry has any moral responsibility in the matter is still a question. In striking contrast to the sad plight of the handful of Government servants of Sylhet, is the provision made for absorption of thousands of employees from Pakistan who opted for India. Those who came from West Punjab and Sindh, practically fled from their stations. No official records of service, pay and grade of these employees were available to the India Government. But Government allowed declarations to be submitted by the employees and posted them accordingly. When there were two men for one job, a supernumerary post was created. Not a single Government employee who opted for India was without an offer except those of Sylhet after the referendum. Recently certain low-paid temporary work-charged Road Moherers on the Silchar-Shillong Road have been discharged because they happen to belong to Sylhet.

The agitation for the formation of Purbachal Province and the renaming of Assam as the North-East Frontier Province is a logical outcome of the policy pursued in Assam. Assam is inhabited by people of heterogeneous stocks. People with Assamese as mother-tongue are not in absolute majority. Twelve thanas of Sylhet have been wrongly in the occupation of the Pakistan dominion after the Radcliffe Award. Have the Assam Government done anything to retrieve them? These facts only indicate the mentality of the Assam Ministry towards the Bengali-speaking people in general and the people of Sylhet in particular.



Book Reviews.



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI: By Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi and Index. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Bombay. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 4.

When the present reviewer read Professor Bose's small selection of extracts from the writings of Gandhiji years ago, he, on the very first occasion he met the compiler, requested him to prepare a fuller, a larger and a more representative collection of the views of Mahatma for the benefit of those who do not possess old files of *Young India* and *Harijan*. This was in 1937 and the only criticism offered is that such a long time was allowed to elapse before this request was carried out. From one point of view, however, the delay has been of advantage for it has enabled S. Nirmal Kumar to lay under contribution the writings of the Father of our Nation up to 1942.

As a sincere follower of Gandhiji attracted to him by the ideals he stood for, Professor Bose has not only lovingly studied and correctly interpreted the writings of Mahatma, but has also felt compelled to do what he considers his duty to his fellowmen by making the more significant of his pronouncements available to the public in a handy form. And the task he has set himself has been well discharged.

The first three of the eighteen sections of the book deal with such things as Gandhiji's conception of God, discipline for the realisation of truth and fundamental beliefs and ideas. We find the application of these basic spiritual conceptions in the economic and political spheres in the next six sections. The next four sections deal with Ahimsa and Satyagraha, followed by one in which religion and morals constitute the themes. Then come two important ones dealing with the problems of women and of education.

So rich are the treasures the student can find in the writings of Gandhiji, that one can easily think of other subjects which too could have been included in a collection like the present one. At the same time, it cannot be denied that any attempt in this direction would have made the book so unwieldy as to probably deter the average reader from its perusal.

Credit must go to S. Nirmal Kumar that he has with that rare insight found only in the careful and systematic student of Gandhiji's writings, selected for the general reader the essentials of Gandhism within so short a compass.

H. C. MCKERJEE

ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE A Glimpse into the Past : By Jogesh Chandra Ray. Preface by Priyaranjan Sen. Calcutta. 1948. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 8.

The present work is a collection of seven papers contributed by Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray, M.A., Vidyavidyalaya, the well-known scholar and educationist, to various Indian journals in the past and revised for publication in

the present volume. Like other products from his pen, it bears witness to the astonishing range of the author's studies and the originality and depth of his reflections.

The first chapter which provides the key for all the rest is entitled *Life in Ancient India* and is a comprehensive survey of Hindu culture under the heads *Dharma*, town-life, food and drink, dress, domestic architecture, agriculture and horticulture, village administration, pious and charitable works. The other chapters bear the titles *Food and Drink in Ancient India*, *Sugar Industry in Ancient India*, *Textile Industry in Ancient India*, *Firearms in Ancient India*, *the Days of the Hindu Calendar* and *the Emergence of Hindu Marriage*. These are all specialised studies based on extensive data collected from different branches of Sanskrit literature and frequently enriched with the author's scientific comments.

Some statements of the author can only be accepted with considerable qualifications. We give below a few examples. "The Aryans when they came to India belonged to three races" (p. 4): "The mass of the population in the Vedic period and after was Vaisya by profession, if not also by descent" (p. 8): "The national colour of the (Indian) dress was yellow" (p. 16): "Every village had a council of its own known in Sanskrit as *Panchaka*. It administered justice, inflicted punishment on offenders against Dharma" (p. 43). In some cases the author's chronology, admittedly based on astronomical calculations, can only be regarded as hypothetical. As examples we may mention the following: Aryans living in the Punjab as early as 1400 B.C., and 15th century B.C. as the date of the *Mahabharata* war (p. 55), the Yajurveda first compiled in about 2500 B.C. (p. 56), the *Grihyasutras* belong to the 15th century B.C. and the *Srautasutras* are still earlier (p. 105). Equally hypothetical are the suggested contemporaneity of Vatsyayana and Kautilya (p. 24) and identity of Parasara, author of *Krishnatantra*, with the *Smriti* author of the same name (p. 30). The author's view (pp. 11, 61, 102) that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* was written by the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C. is not shared by most scholars.

The value of the present work would have been greatly enhanced by the use of the valuable material embodied in the Buddhist and Jaina literature as well as the evidence of archaeology. From the point of view of advanced students, precise references to authorities would have been very welcome. We have noticed a few slips, e.g., "Hemachandra of South India" (p. 106) and "the Mahisha country on the banks of the Nerbuda" (p. 126), and a few printing mistakes, e.g., furrier (p. 126) and rat (p. 162).

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDO-MUSLIM RELATIONS—A Study in Historical Backgrounds: By Debajyoti Burman, M.A. Published by Jugbani Sahitya Chakra, Calcutta. Pp. 106. Price Rs. 2.

A Muslim is a democrat, but his democracy is limited

to followers of Islam. His social equality of which so much is made of is reserved for Muslims only. In these days, when the public mind is agitating over the question of untouchability and temple-entry, it would be news to many that no non-Muslim is permitted to enter the holy city of Mecca. It is for this reason that the British envoy to the Sharifian government of King Hussein resided at Jeddah, and not at Mecca. In the ninth Sura of the Koran, which is the last to be revealed and the only one which was revealed entire and at once, we find such injunctions as follows: "Kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and besiege them and lay in wait for them in every convenient place." "Verily the idolaters are unclean; let them not therefore come near unto the holy temple, after this year (i.e. A. H. 10)."

Islamic psychology, Islamic democracy and Islamic economics are all integral parts of the religion of Islam. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar says: "A religion whose followers are taught to regard robbery and murder as a religious duty, is incompatible with the progress of mankind or with the peace of the world." He further points out in his *History of Aurangzib*: "The conversion of the entire population to Islam and the extinction of every form of dissent, is the ideal of the Muslim State. If any infidel is suffered to exist in the community, it is as a necessary evil, and for a transitional period only. . . . A non-Muslim therefore cannot be a citizen of the state, *he is a member of a depressed class* (italics ours): his status is a modified form of slavery." The whole of Indo-Muslim history is a proof and illustration of the above remark. The Bahamani Sultans several times attempted to exterminate the Hindu population, or in default of extermination to squeeze it by force into the folds of Islam.

The author has given historical proofs from Muslim historians of the Muslim policy of eradicating Hindus throughout the centuries; and why and how they succeeded, and why and how they failed. It is only in Hindu India they failed; otherwise they have succeeded from Morocco to Indonesia. The book under review is a good little book on a great subject; and is worth its weight in gold.

It is thought-provoking and informative. After going through it once, one desires that there were many more such pages. Our public men cannot certainly do worse if they would read, mark and inwardly digest it. We hope the author, when publishing its second edition, would amplify the thesis. The title only partly explains the subject-matter. The printing and get-up is good.

J. M. DATTA

THE GREAT NEHRUS: By J. S. Bright. Published by Tagore Memorial Publications, Lahore. Pages 320. Price Rs. 6.

The book deals with the various phases of development of the lives of three eminent political figures of India—all of the famous Nehru family. Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vijayalakshmi Pandit. Within a short compass but with no important features missing, the book is written in a manner that does not tax the patience of the reader as a biography ordinarily often does. The apt quotations very liberally taken from relevant books and papers have much to do to make it a pleasant reading. More than ever we have need of men of action now, men who are no escapists or fortune-seekers in the critical period of the country. This book deals with a family where this love of action in the political field was unprecedentedly concentrated. Motilal—the man with a jutting chin, the lawless boy who grew to be a man of law and reasoned action, whose fighting nature showed itself when Jallianwallahab turned him from a moderate to an extremist; Jawaharlal—the fine blending of reason and sentiment with his uncompromising devotion to Mother India, who played no mean part in destroying the edifice of foreign rule in our country and is now 'the first pilot

of the ship of our State'; Vijayalakshmi—the stormy petrel of India who went across the seas to fight the onslaughts of General Smuts at South Africa and won—these figures are unfailing inspirations before our countrymen. We should read as often about them as possible to help us trace and cultivate the set-up and the spirit that gave birth to many towering personalities in a single family within the life-time of one another. The book very helpfully presents in a classified manner the salient features of these characters and their activities.

Attraction of the book would have been all the more enhanced had it been adorned with fine photographs of the Nehrus. And there is no dearth of such photographs.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

INDIA'S CULTURAL EMPIRE AND HER FUTURE: By Sisir Kumar Mitra. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, G.T., Madras. Pp. 113. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is the enlarged edition of the author's book originally published under the title *The Future of India*. The book is divided into three chapters entitled 'India's Cultural Empire', 'Early Contacts of India with Islam' and 'The Future of India'. In the first chapter the learned author traces the influence of Indian Culture in the countries of Europe and Asia. Writing of Europe's debt to India he quotes the following remark of Will Durant the eminent American thinker: "India was the motherland of our race, and Sanskrit the mother of Europe's languages: She was the mother of our philosophy; mother through the Arabs, of much of our mathematics; mother through the Buddha, of the ideals embodied in Christianity; mother through the village community, of self-government and democracy. Mother India is in many ways the mother of us all." About Asia's debt to India he quotes this significant observation of Sir Aurel Stein: "The vast extent of Indian Cultural influences, from Central Asia in the north to tropical Indonesia in the south, and from the borderlands of Persia to China and Japan, has shown that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilisation which by its religious thought, its art and literature was destined to leave its deep mark on the races wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia." A perusal of this chapter will give the reader an idea how the Indian Cultural empire had spread over the ancient world. The author also describes how Indian Culture is slowly spreading in the countries of the modern West. In this connection he cites this interesting incident: On seeing the famous painting *The Buddha carrying the Kid* by Sri Nandalal Bose shown in an exhibition in Geneva a Swiss critic remarked: "I see behind this picture a great civilisation." To this cause, contributions of Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ramatirtha, Sri Aurobindo, Annie Besant, Premānanda Bharati, Ananda Coomaraswami, Swami Ananda Acharya and others are duly mentioned. About Swami Vivekananda the author rightly remarks thus: "But Vivekananda's influence has been much deeper and wider than we generally feel and know. He has been a force, a greater dynamic force from whom millions derive inspiration . . . Thus by Vivekananda was given a new tempo to the work of India towards the building up of her spiritual empire in modern times" (p. 55).

I am afraid, the author has been partial to Sri Aurobindo by making frequent references to his sayings on India and her future. It is unwise to extol the contributions of one only where those of so many are jointly concerned. All great sons of India have contributed in their own way to the spread of our thought and culture abroad. All had a vision of India's glorious future. All believed that the world's future is destined to be influenced by Indian Culture. The young generation of independent India should be inspired with this grand Vision.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SHIVAJI : By C. A. Kincaid. Published by Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1946. Pp. 111. Price Rs. 1.

It is a tiny hand-book intended for young boys. The style is lucid and the narration on the whole interesting, but the statements and accounts given here and there on the authority of sources now admittedly obsolete reduce its value, for instance, Shivaji's entering the city of Poona for an attack on Shajista Khan in the guise of a marriage party, Shahji's encouragement to his son to pursue his task of liberating his countrymen from the rule of the Bijapur Government in 1662 A.D., &c. Read on this point *The New History of the Marhattas*, by G. S. Sardesai, page 82. Further comment is unnecessary.

N. B. Roy

SPIRIT OF JAI HIND : By Anukul Ch. Ghose. Published by the author from 123-A, Dharmatala St., Calcutta. Pages 116. Price Rs. 2-8.

In these pages the author has given expression to his noble feelings and sentiments at the attainment of independence by India. On the three poems published in this book, one is written on Mahatma Gandhi Father of the Nation. The author wishes good to all people in Free India and wants all to contribute his or her best for building up Rana Rajya as desired by Mahatmaji. It is written in a charming style. The book deserves wide circulation.

A. B. Dutta

SANKET LIPI (Shorthand), 2nd Edition : By L. P. Jain. Fine Art Printing Press, Ajmer. 1933. English 3rd edition.

Several years' efforts to evolve one system of Sanket Lipi so as to express all languages materialised in bringing out the above publication by L. P. Jain. The author claims that the book defines a system that catches up the sounds of most languages and therefore has international possibility. The language in which the whole thing has been discussed is very lucid and the set-up is excellent.

KANANGOPAL BAGCHI

BENGALI

ARTHANITI—SAMAJ—RASTRA : By Sri Sasanka Sekhar Bagchi and Sri Sudhansu Bhushan Mukherjee. Published by the Modern Book Agency, 10 Baskin Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pages 266. Price Rs. 3.

The book contains altogether thirty-seven essays of which five are written on political philosophy. Other essays are on Economics, Sociology, Health, Banking, Inflation, Transport System, Food Problem, Animal Husbandry, Industries, Damodar Valley Scheme and other allied subjects written particularly with reference to Indian conditions. Although the book is meant for Commerce students of our University, the subjects dealt with are of common interest to the general public and as such the book will be found useful by general readers. We have no doubt the book shall have a wide circulation among the Commerce students and the general public interested in Indian Economics.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

HINDI JAIN SAHITYA KA SANKSHIPIT ITIHAS : By Kamtaprasad Jain. Published by Bharatiya Gnanapith, Benares. Pp. 267. Price Rs. 3-14.

The many-sided contribution of Jainism to Indian culture is an accepted fact. The present publication is a brief history of its contribution to Hindi literature from *Aupharansa* period (about eighth century) to the nineteenth century. Hindi literature, indeed, owes a good deal to its Jain scholars for its development and dynamism. The learned author has handled the subject

with an ever-open eye to the working of the various forces—religious, social, etc. Thus, the book is much more than a mere catalogue or chronology. Its "readability" is one of its several pleasing features. Shri Kamtaprasad has filled a long-felt void in a full-length history of Indian literature; and consequently he is entitled to the cordial thanks of all students of literature in general, and of those of Hindi literature in particular.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MAHARANA PRATAP PRATAP : By the late Kavi Chhaganlal Amthavaram Brahma Bhatt. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1946. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 2-2.

Every year the "Gujarati" Printing Press, Bombay, presents a novel to its readers. This is the 63rd such present, and it admirably portrays the heroic deeds of Maharana Pratap, of Mevad. His courage and patriotism have immortalised him in the history of India, and this book is a valuable help in expounding how that immortality was won. It should interest every reader.

GUJARATNUN GOURAVA, Part I : By A. R. Bhimani, Gondol (late of Raigam). Printed at the Unity Printing Press, Bombay. 1946. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 20.

Mr. Bhimani, who was connected with the Press at Raigam, before it was evacuated, has in this small volume given short biographies of about 42 Gujaratis who in his opinion have contributed to the greatness (Gloria) of Gujarati. Gujaratis—Kathiawadi, and others, comprising industrial magnates, literary men, men connected with Insurance, Banking, Films, Education and Charity are all to be found here. It is a comprehensive list, and is to be supplemented by another.

SAGAR : By Yogindra Jagannath Tripathi, M.A., B.T., Baroda. Published by the Vidyadhikari, Baroda State. 1946. Thick card board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 600. Price Rs. 2-4.

Sagar was the *nom de plume* of the late Jagannath Demodardas Tripathi, who, though he lived in this world, was out of it. He passed his whole life in a hermit's hut, and in doing so his object was the attainment of God-head (*Prabhupapi*). Besides being a thinker and a writer and a student, he was a poet and he has contributed two substantial volumes, *Gujarati Gazalistan*, and *Dewan-e-Sagar*, written in the Iranian Sufi's vein, to the Gujarati literature. He was a deep student of poet Kalapi's works and also the philosopher-poet of old Gujarat, Akho. His life and his savings as put down here, by his son, do the latter great credit as an author, and in the discharge of his filial duty, he has seen to it, that not a single phase of this father's model life has been left out.

HINDUSTANI-GUJARATI KOSHA : By Maganbhai P. Desai. Published by the Navjeevan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 376. Price Rs. 4.

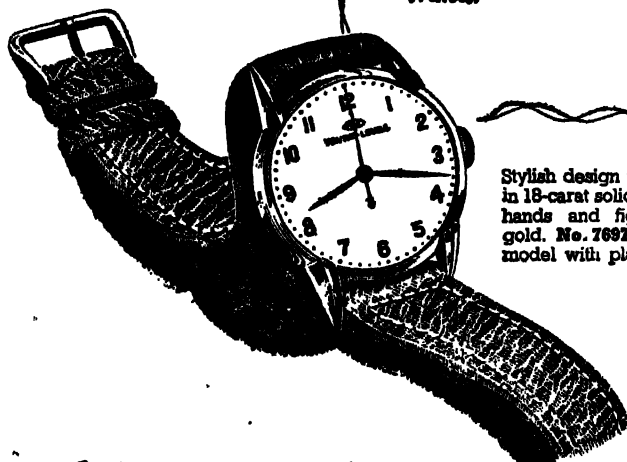
This is the second edition of the Dictionary, first published in 1939, with additions and amendments. The Hindustani words are printed in Balbodha as well as Urdu script, while the meanings of those words are given in Balbodha (Hindi) only. This is a step forward in the propaganda of Gandhiji for the creation and use of a national language for India. It embodies 16,000 words, and in spite of some drawbacks here and there, as to giving correct equivalents it is a great achievement, specially when one notices that the compiler is a pure Gujarati, born and bred in Gujarat, having very little contact with Hindi. We welcome the attempt.

K. M. J.

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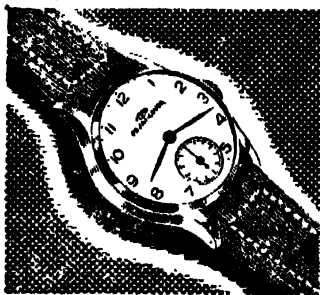
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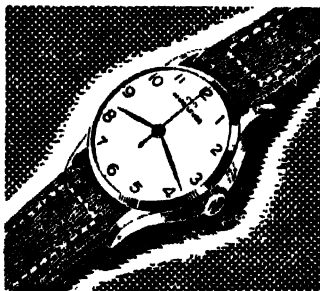


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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Scientific and Economic Aspects of Prohibition

Among the many ameliorative measures promulgated by the Congress Ministry when it took charge of the destinies of the Nation in the various Provinces, Prohibition remains one of the most courageous, farsighted and praiseworthy legislations. *Current Science* observes:

The measure is one which was dearest to Gandhiji and is calculated to remove one of the most potent causes for the poverty and unhappiness of the less fortunate classes of the population in the industrial and rural areas.

The introduction of Prohibition, while it raises the moral stature and promotes the material well-being of the common man, has led to a substantial, if not a serious, reduction in the revenues of the State, running to many tens of crores of rupees. During the last Congress Ministry Sri C. Rajagopalachariar (now His Excellency the Governor-General of India), then Prime Minister, Madras, sought to meet the difficult financial deficit by the introduction of the Sales Tax, which proved successful in meeting the deficit to a considerable extent.

Since the 15th August, 1947, enlightened opinion in the country has been growing that the effects of drink on the impoverished masses is too serious to admit of any further delay in forging ahead with the remedial measures which include Prohibition. Prohibition as a programme of National rehabilitation and reconstruction has, therefore, been accepted as a measure demanding immediate attention. It has the enthusiastic backing of all our elder statesmen.

Prohibition has, however, raised issues which, we are afraid, have not been fully appreciated and satisfactorily tackled.

The tapping, the transport and the distribution of the toddy liquor together constitute a prosperous enterprise which provides employment to a large number of tappers—a class of hereditary professionals who are skilled in the technique of obtaining the juice from the palms—not to speak of the personnel employed in the transport and distribution of toddy, which is carried on by a chain of middlemen, petty contractors and shop-keepers. The interests of this well-developed and closely-knit organisation is now at stake. The men connected with this trade amount to several hundreds of thousands and are now threatened with the prospect of losing perhaps their only means of livelihood by the introduction of this measure.

The stage has been more or less set for men of Science and Technology to accomplish two things: first, to keep the traditional organisation functioning and prevent a crash in its structure, and secondly to discover a process by which palm juice could be converted into a valuable revenue-yielding product.

The deleterious effects of toddy (fermented juice of palm) and the arrack (the distilled liquor), which are the

forms most commonly indulged in by the poorer classes of addicts, are due to their alcoholic content. The unfermented juice of the palm generally known as sweet toddy, has been recognised from times immemorial to constitute an invigorating tonic beverage prescribed by practitioners of indigenous medicine for anaemic and syphilitic patients during convalescence. Palm juice is used for making a crude form of *gur* (crude sugar) by boiling down the juice in open pans; the dark residue cast into cubes, is commercially available in restricted amount and is employed by Ayurvedic and Unani physicians as a sweetening vehicle for many of their tonics. It enjoys the reputation of being therapeutically far superior to the *gur* made from cane-jucose. Considerable quantities of palm *gur* was being used as raw material in refineries for the manufacture of sugar and with the advent of Prohibition larger quantities of this product are likely to be made available since many of the Provincial Governments have already inaugurated a scheme for the manufacture of *gur* from palm juice as one of the practical solutions to the problem of its economic utilisation.

If palm juice could be utilised for manufacturing a product like a vitamin-rich and nourishing concentrate like malt extract or an antibiotic like penicillin, it would constitute a valuable achievement.

Since the juice is known to contain on an average, 10-12 per cent. of cane sugar, the product should provide an ideal raw material for many of the fermentation industries, including those pertaining to the production of citric and lactic acid. Whatever be the product proposed to be manufactured, we are initially confronted with two major limitations: the first difficulty arises out of the inherent quality of the juice, *viz.*, the extreme rapidity with which it gets infected and ferments, the second one is connected with the circumstance that the palm trees do not occur as continuous and uniformly distributed plantations but appear as fortuitously scattered groups in widely separated and sometimes difficultly accessible areas. This situation renders the tapping, collection and transport of the juice difficult, time-consuming and expensive.

The problem of collecting the material from widely scattered areas and preserving it from spoilage until it reaches a central factory where it is to be further processed, demands the immediate attention of those interested in a rational solution of the problem. We understand that this problem is being vigorously tackled both at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, and at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. Investigations at Bangalore have revealed that freshly drawn and carefully preserved juice contains adequate amounts of the more important components of the B-complex and is nutritively and therapeutically comparable to malt extract. These preliminary findings lend convincing support to the time-honoured belief in the efficacy of palm juice as a health giving tonic.

Palm juice as a raw material for the manufacture of cane sugar offers many exceptional advantages.

First, the expensive crushing machinery which is an essential part of every cane sugar manufacturing enterprise, can be eliminated in the case of a factory devoted to the manufacture of sugar from palms. Palm juice is the result of just "tapping" which of course is a highly skilled operation. Secondly, since the juice is comparatively free from chlorophyllous and other pigments, the process of clarification is considerably simplified. Thirdly, the juice is considered to be free from sucrose inverting enzymes, which minimise the formation of molasses. Fourthly, the annual cost of cultivation attending the raising of sugarcane crops is entirely eliminated. To-day, palms constitute a free and generous gift of Nature; they flourish without any attention in some of the most inhospitable and barren soils and continue to yield the saccharine juice for 60-70 years. With a little attention and care the useful life of the palm could perhaps be extended and the yield of juice augmented. These are problems for the future when the palm will come to be recognised as the sugar-yielding perennial.

It is roughly estimated that a single palm, if well developed, might yield sufficient juice to make a maund of sugar which, at the current rate, would cost about Rs. 35. If a hundred palms can be optimally stocked in an acre of land, the annual gross revenue per acre would amount to a surprising figure of Rs. 3,500. A conservative estimate of the number of palms in the country puts the figure at 4 crores; this potential source of natural wealth should be exploited. We would strongly urge the Provincial and State Governments interested in this perennial crop, to constitute a Central Advisory Board to devise ways and means by which this important source of raw material could be economically capitalised in support of Prohibition and the services of the present trade organisation mobilised on modern lines without creating unemployment in its ranks.

India's Progress

The New Review observes:

The crucial problem of Indian politics is unity. Since Independence Day, the first equations have been solved. The general pattern of administration, central and provincial, has been framed and it will soon receive the willing sanction of the Constituent Assembly. The states, including recalcitrant Hyderabad, have been successfully fitted into the pattern, and Kashmir itself would have been definitely incorporated, were it not for foreign interference. Central administrative unity is thus defined and secure.

What is equally gratifying is that communal unity is gradually developing. The supreme test came during the Hyderabad tragi-comedy; communal passion did not flare up and the fears of civil war which the Central Government confessed by declaring a 'state of grave emergency' did not materialise. 'India has turned the corner'. Sardar Patel said at Delhi; 'We are making good', echoed Pandit Nehru in London. The major problem awaiting a solution is the language question and the re-shaping of provinces along linguistic lines.

The problem is delicate. In all national life, politics is marked by a tension between unity and diversity. The tension is rarely severe when it is limited to the economic field, as evidenced in the divergence of interests between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts in the U.S.A. But diversity of language holds more redoubtable possibilities. Language is intimately bound up with personality and divergence in language may easily lead to idiosyncrasies loaded with passion, and once the conflict has reached certain pitch of emotion it becomes disruptive. The general lines of solution can be surmised. English will be pushed back to the place of the first foreign language and take the importance it had in pre-war Japan. With

elections on the basis of universal suffrage, sheer numbers will return a majority of representatives who will not have the same regard for Shakespeare and Burke as the adults who are actually framing the Constitution. The popular vote will also strengthen the cause of regional languages; the linguistic revivals which are rousing the intelligentsia in different parts of the country will foster provincial self-consciousness and even emotions which many politicians will not be slow to exploit. Were diversity of linguistic, and cultural emotions combined with economic differences over a given area, ugly tendencies might develop and wreck unity. The language problem is the most complex of those still awaiting a solution.

The Constituent Assembly will have it easier to define India's relations with the British Commonwealth. India will first declare herself a sovereign democratic republic; and then in full independence she will search for some sort of an association with the nations of the Commonwealth. She needs the protection of the British navy to-day; she might become the senior partner of the Commonwealth in fifty years.

Fighting Inflation

The same *Review* observes:

In a mood to placate all sides, the Government invited reports and opinions from economists, labour representatives and leading capitalists. Then they got together a bunch of measures which looks like the highest common factor of opinions: (a) balancing budgets by administrative economies and revision of national and provincial schemes; (b) withdrawing money from public circulation by levying death-duties, postponing the refund of Excess Profits taxes, recommending provincial taxes on agricultural incomes, promoting savings schemes; (c) regulating consumption prices by limiting dividends and rationing some essential commodities.

The real problem to be tackled was the phenomenon of rising prices, the rise being due to a redundancy of currency, and a simultaneous fall in the production of consumption goods. The Government have chosen to limit their present effort to the excess of currency, and though they fondly talk of nationalising production, they will themselves do little to increase production. They do not treat the deflation of production but only money inflation.

The measures they decided on should not prove ineffective. But as they do not make a comprehensive system, giving the Government an efficacious control of means of payment and no direct initiative in the production of goods, leakages will occur and results may be disappointing.

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Wages and salaries are not given any ceiling; any increase would go and swell the already redundant currency on the market and raise prices. The planned drive for small savings will fetch little. Can savings be expected from the common man who has to wrap his dhoti tighter every day? As to budget manipulations they will increase production but little, though they may cut down bureaucratic expenditure. What was most alarming about the anti-inflation measures was the exultation capitalists could not conceal. Dividends on paid up capital are fixed at the average of the last two years or six percent, whichever is higher. It sounds good enough. But there is no limit on commission of Managing Agencies, salary, bonus, etc., no regulation against weakening the assets of a company by mortgaging them for the sake of a loan to others, no restriction on the cascade of middlemen recruited among relatives, etc. Nor is there any measure against shunting reserves into share capital and multiplying the maximum dividends. In course of time such leakages could, however, be stopped.

On the other hand, who can expect a merchant to adjust his prices to the six-percent target? Should we not rather foresee that on each day of the year he will make whatever he possibly can, and that in the last week of the financial year by allocation to reserves, etc., by timely donations to charitable institutions or by any other device suggested by personal acuity and legalist assistance, he will reach down to the six-percent limit to the bitter edification of the tax-inspectors? Typical of mercantile mentality was the recent scandal of sugar-stocks piling up in spite of transport facilities offered to sugar-mills. The shortest way to force capitalists to admit that the good old days of rising prices are over is to increase the supply of goods on the consumption market, whether they come from new national sources or from foreign stocks. The sight of foreign goods would convert their minds, if not their hearts. What is most urgently needed is abundance of goods; monetary adjustments are subsidiary. Even the Nizam cannot dine off his jewels.

Islam and World Culture

The great contribution, often overlooked, which Islam has made, of which not the least important for the West was its preservation and transmission of the cultural values of the Graeco-Roman world, which had in turn derived from Egypt and from India. Prof. A. J. Arberry writes in *The Aryan Path*:

By the end of the sixth century A.D. when Muhammad began his mission, Graeco-Roman civilization, which had brought so great intellectual brilliance and material prosperity to Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa, was in the last stages of decay. Christianity was rent by schismatic quarrels. The Sassanian empire of Persia was fast breaking up. The Dark Ages of the West were at hand.

It is possibly not too much to say that, but for the unifying influence of Islam and the coherent pattern of Islamic culture, Western civilization would in due course have been overwhelmed and utterly destroyed by the successive waves of barbarian invaders. It was a most fortunate circumstance that when the most powerful threat came, from the Turkish, Mongol and Tartar tribes, the Islamic empire, though weakened by decay and internal dissension, yet remained solid enough and strong enough to absorb the full impact of those onslaughts and to halt the flood of destruction short of Europe.

Otherwise, it seems that nothing could have stood between Hulagu Khan and the Atlantic seaboard. Rome

and Paris would have suffered the fate of Baghdad. The scholars of the West, like those of Persia and Iraq, would have been butchered, and those monastic libraries which formed the centres of learning at the renaissance pillaged and burned.

So much on the purely material plane. On the spiritual level, we might speculate that it was in part at least the challenge thrown down by Islam for the possession of men's souls that stimulated the Christian West to seek a revival of learning, lest the masses of Europe should go over wholly to the new religion.

The naked sword of Islamic monotheism could only be parried by the shield of a Christianity purified and rid of its crasser accretions of pagan superstition.

Materially and spiritually Islam throughout its history has maintained a certain pattern of thought, a distinctive standard of life that have secured, despite all the vicissitudes of fortune, a notable stability of culture over a large area of the globe.

Because Islam offered its followers a firm and simple faith, asserting the omnipotence of a Divine Power yet maintaining the worth and dignity of the individual man and woman, the Muslim peoples held fast to their conception of the good life in the face of immense catastrophes.

Islam is a system of law as well a way of life and worship.

Men will more readily and obediently accept the idea of the sanctity of law if they believe it to be rooted in a heavenly faith, and not the imposition of the strong upon the weak. The religious law of Islam provided a fair and reasonable basis for society and human relations: it is marked by a benevolent care for the weak, the widow and orphan, and asserts the rights as well as the duties of the ordinary citizen. Islam gave birth to one of the great legal systems of mankind, and taught its followers to accept and respect the arbitrament of a reasoned judgment in all causes and disputes.

Islam has furnished the ideal of a virtually classless order of life in which discriminations of pedigree and colour need play no part.

When we consider the intellectual and artistic achievements of Islamic civilization, we are compelled to recognize that they are fully equal to its other contributions to world culture. Each of the major "Islamic" languages—Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu—has produced its own great literature, both religious and secular, rivalling in range and quality any comparable output of the human mind.



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The medical, mathematical and philosophical discoveries of the ancient world might likely enough have been lost after the collapse of Graeco-Roman civilization, had they not been taken over by the Arabs and the Persians at the beginning of Islam and accepted as the starting-point of a further range of intellectual exploration.

The universities of modern Europe owe not a little of their structure and design to the models provided by Muslim Spain, Sicily and Egypt.

In art and architecture equally the achievements of Islamic civilization are patent to view.

To have stood in the vast fabric of the Omayyad Mosque at Damascus or the majestic Sultan Hassan Madrasa at Cairo, to have seen the delicate arabesques that adorn a thousand splendid buildings from Morocco to India, is to be conscious of a human spirit disciplined in the worship of One God and trained to observe the evidences of His omnipotence and supreme artistry in all creation.

The men who planned and executed these places set aside for God's service lavished all their skill and imagination upon a well-loved task. Grandeur of design, exquisite perfection of detail—these reveal a spirit richly satisfied in God.

The Greeks of old also knew the virtue of contemplation; Islam was in this respect far more truly the heir of the Hellenic spirit than dynamic modern Europe.

Role of Scientists in the Control of Atomic Energy

The scientists have produced, the political rulers have enjoined, and the rank and file have used all the dreadful new weapons and complicated gadgets of war with the least qualm of conscience for the preparation of such dastardly outrages like area bombing and saturation bombing under the conviction that they are acting for the good and progress of humanity. *The Journal of the Indian Chemical Society* observes:

The Council of the Indian Chemical Society gave a reply to the letter of the Committee for Foreign Correspondence of the Federation of American Scientists inviting the views and opinions of the Indian Chemical Society on the subject of international control of atomic energy and atomic armament race.

The Council of the Indian Chemical Society has rightly indicated that the responsibility of the scientists in the matter is possibly far greater than that of any other public body, if only because of the fact that it was the scientists who, deluded by the so-called spirit of nationalism and

loyalty to the state, and, it may also be added here, lured to a certain extent by highly profitable salaries and rewards co-operated in the production of such marvels of technological skill in the form of tanks, rock-busters, V-weapons, rocket-bombs, flame-throwers and atomic bombs. While engaged in the production of these deadly instruments of mass-slaughter they allowed their scientific judgment to be clouded by a false pride of victory in the cause of humanity. The humanity is now groaning under the crushing weight of their own inventions. They cannot, therefore, escape their share of guilt of the scientifically planned indiscriminate mass massacre and wholesale destruction of the last two global wars, which have landed the world to-day in a state of utter moral and material chaos with scarcity and starvation for millions.

Scientists in general have also contributed indirectly in no less measure to the creation of a mental climate or ideologies, full of potentialities for human conflicts, by advancing a materialistic theory of life and human progress.

The philosophical foundation and background of the sciences, which generally account for their limitations were clearly understood only by a very few. As a result, a simplified picture of the world and reality emerged out of the scientific progress and was universally accepted with an almost fanatical faith. This has gradually led to a denial of human personality and human values. All moral values have been branded as illusions, worthy only of sick-brained visionaries; spirituality has been explained as a perverted or misdirected sex-instinct. Human beings are believed as nothing better than animals or machines made of flesh and blood, controlled by mechanical laws of physics and chemistry. And all this pass current in the name of progress.

Unfortunately this so-called scientific picture of the world and reality still persists in the mind of many, not excluding a large body of the scientists themselves. The enormity of the unprecedented catastrophes of the last world war has failed to awaken the people at large, and with return of an uneasy peace of scarcity and starvation they have engaged themselves once again in activities effective only for perpetuating the causes of war. The world has thus learned nothing. Indeed, it has been said that the most important lesson of history is that nobody ever learns history's lessons.

It is alleged that in America a large body of experts, including many Nazi scientists, are engaged to-day in extensive researches for war purposes, which cover land and air arms, submarines and naval surface craft, atomic chemical and bacteriological weapons.



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In fact, science and technology are being militarized and misapplied for the purpose of destruction. If there be any truth in these reports, the Federation of American Scientists has much work to do nearer home. And it is very likely that from this realization they have just dissolved their Committee for Foreign Correspondence.

In their reply the Council of the Indian Chemical Society has rightly emphasized the pressing need for the scientists to organize and educate the members of their own profession than launching a wider campaign for enlightening the public opinion of the world, the right for which they will forfeit if they fail to keep their own house in order. Hence, in this matter of atomic energy control the action of the scientists may profitably follow two main directions as indicated below.

Nationalism, as it stands to-day, aims neither at liberty nor safety, nor even lasting prosperity, for the individual. So we find the common man in every nation to-day is faced either with material or moral ruin. Applied science in the service of nationalism has wrought this havoc.

What is most needed, therefore, is a re-orientation of applied science and its utilization for serving the fundamental human needs and forwarding the causes of human welfare, human safety and human liberty.

Instead of researches on the discovery of increasingly more destructive armaments and ammunitions of war, scientists and technicians should devote their attention to the increased production of food, the discovery of more effective medicines, biological researches in general, and the production of cheap power that might be utilized equally by all to meet their primary requirements.

Finally, scientists can organize themselves into an international federation and refuse on conscientious grounds to lend their service or advice for any work connected with preparations of war, or with exploitations and enslavement of human being. This non-co-operation with evils has been particularly stressed upon by the Council of the Indian Chemical Society in their reply, referred to. For this, of course, the scientists will have to prepare themselves for all possible persecutions and sacrifices. It endorses, in fact the suggestion made by Dr. Gene Weltfish in one of the issues of the *Scientific Monthly* of 1945. Scientists and technicians, while enlisting themselves as members of such an international federation, should take an oath, in the words of Dr. Weltfish, as follows: "I pledge myself that I will use my knowledge for the good of humanity and against the destructive forces of the world and the ruthless intent of men, and that I will work together with my fellow scientists of whatever nation, creed or colour for these our common ends."

THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: Sophia Wadia

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER

LIFE'S DEBT TO DEATH Alexander F. Skutch

THE POET-T'AO (365-427 A.D.) Clara M. Candlin

HISTORY AND TENETS OF
THE ALBRIGENSES M. A. Moyal

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Macaulay and His History—A Hundred Years After

In reviewing *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, R. L. Schuyler gives an account of the main characteristics of the life and writings of Macaulay in the *Political Science Quarterly*. June, 1948 :

The well-known ambition which Macaulay cherished for his *History*—that it would for a few days "supersede the last fashionable novel on the tables of young ladies"—was amply realized, as is shown by the facts and figures concerning its sales given by Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Macaulay's nephew, in his classic biography of his uncle. The annual sale, according to Trevelyan, writing about 1875, often surpassed that of the best-selling novel of the current year.

The first instalment of Macaulay's *History* was published in 1848, and if in this its centennial year the public in the English-speaking world were to be polled on the question, "Who is the greatest historian of England?" I believe that Macaulay would be an easy winner. He is no longer read to the same extent, to be sure, as in his own day and during the following generation. Publishers still find it profitable to reprint his *History* and his *Essays* from time to time, but his reputation today is largely traditional. To say this, however, is to say that Macaulay's writings must have made, as we know that they did make, a tremendous impression upon England and her cultural offspring. Nor should we overlook the influence of Macaulay in non-English-speaking countries. Trevelyan tells us that the *History* was translated into German, Dutch, Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Bohemian, Russian, Hungarian and Persian. The surprising thing about it today is not that it is not read more widely, but that it is read at all. It deals with only a brief period, even though an important one, in English history; facts unknown to Macaulay have been brought to light by later investigation; literary taste has undergone changes since his day; and the belief that he held in a progress which has operated in the past, at least for many centuries, and which can be counted upon to operate in the future, has been shaken, to put it mildly.

Our principal concern here will be with Macaulay as a historian, but he was, of course, much besides that. No estimate of his work as a historian can justifiably disregard all other aspects of his personality and career, for again and again these latter would call for modifications and alterations of judgments based exclusively on his historical writings.

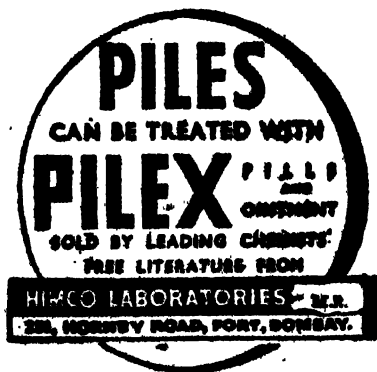
A lifelong trait of Macaulay's of which his published writings give little or no hint was his emotional sensibility.

The agony of grief which he suffered at the time of his mother's death, the pain it gave him to part from those he loved, and his susceptibility to the stirring and sublime in literature, as well as to the pathetic, all bespoke an acutely sensitive nature. He often, and sometimes embarrassingly, affected to be by his reading. When nearly fifty years of age he read Richardson's *Clarissa* and recorded in his journal: "I nearly cried my eyes out." A letter to his

niece shows him weeping over Homer. "I read the last five books (of the *Iliad*) at a stretch during my walk today, and was . . . forced to turn into a by-path lest the parties of walkers should see me blubbering for imaginary beings. . . ." The emotional side of Macaulay's nature is revealed to some extent by the marginal notes which he made in the books in his library, especially in Shakespeare's tragedies; and it may explain the superlatives in which he sometimes indulged, as in the encomium he bestowed on the conclusion of Plato's *Apology* as being the most, sublime thing in literature.

In the judgment of his contemporaries Macaulay was a great parliamentary orator, and his intimate knowledge of public affairs in his own day had some bearing on his outlook as a historian. Entering the House of Commons in 1830 as a staunch Whig, he was not slow to distinguish himself in the arena of national politics. His first speech in support of the Reform Bill made a profound impression. At its conclusion the Speaker told him that he had never seen the House in such a state of excitement, and Sir Robert Peel declared that parts of the speech were as beautiful as anything he had ever heard or read. This resounding parliamentary success determined the direction of Macaulay's career for the next two or three years and made him a lion in London society. Though he did not hold important ministerial office, he played a leading part in the House of Commons. In the opinion of Croker, who was not likely to exaggerate Macaulay's merits, he was "the most brilliant rhetorician of the House." "Whenever he rose to speak," said Gladstone, who entered Parliament about the same time as Macaulay, "it was a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches." Macaulay's prepared speeches were very carefully thought out in advance, even as to precise phraseology, but he deliberately refrained from writing them out lest they should seem too much like essays, and he habitually spoke without notes.

What Macaulay accomplished in India as a member of the Governor-General's Council, and especially what he did in behalf of English education and for reform of the administration of justice, entitled him to the name of statesman, broad-minded administrator, and jurist.



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In 1832, he was appointed a member of the Board of Control, which represented the Crown in its relations to the East India Company, and at once began reading extensively about India. In July of the following year he made a great speech in the House of Commons in support of the East India Charter Bill—"the best speech, by general agreement, and in my own opinion, that I ever made in my life," he wrote to his sister Hannah. Macaulay's primary reason for going to India was, as he himself very frankly admitted, pecuniary. His father, absorbed in religious and philanthropic enterprises, had fallen into grave financial difficulties, and the family fortunes were at a low ebb. His salary of £10,000 a year as a member of the Legislative Council of India would enable him, he calculated, to return to England while still under forty years of age with a fortune of £30,000.

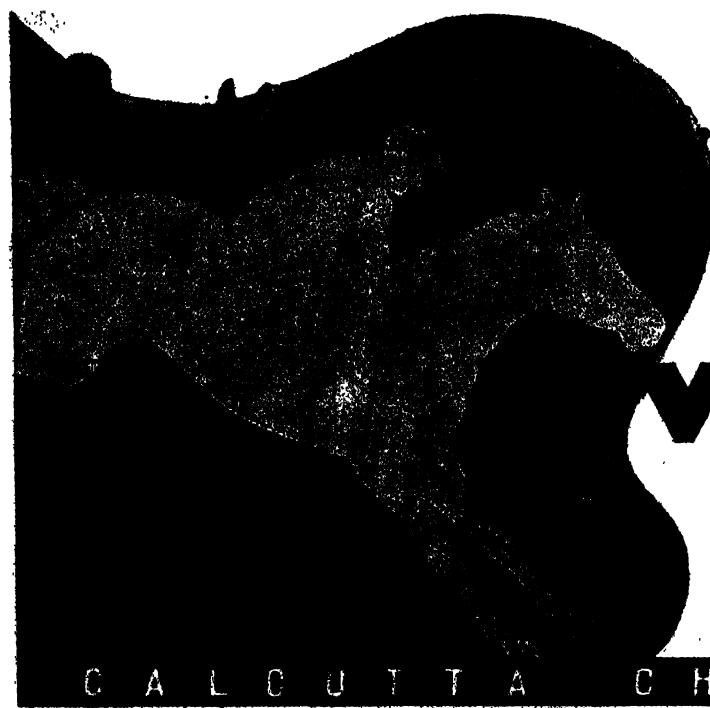
It should be emphasized, however, that while he went to India to win a financial competence and looked upon his stay there as a period of exile, he was very far indeed from regarding his position as a lucrative sinecure. He worked hard in the interest of the people of India as he understood it—unnecessarily so, for much of his most arduous labor was voluntary. A recently published collection of the minutes in which Macaulay explained to his colleagues in the Council his views on public questions shows us a statesman applying without fear or favor, and sometimes with great courage, English principles of justice to problems of Indian government.

Macaulay happened to go to India at a critical moment in its intellectual development. All educational activity on the part of the government had been at a standstill for some time on account of a difference of opinion in the Committee of Public Instruction, which was evenly divided on the question of what kind of education should be officially encouraged. Half of the members were in favor of maintaining and extending the old scheme of supporting Oriental

learning in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. The other half advocated teaching the elements of knowledge in the vernacular languages and the higher branches in English. Macaulay on his arrival was appointed President of the Committee, but he declined to take any active part in its proceedings until the government had finally decided on the question at issue. In January, 1835, both sides of the Committee offered their opinions to the Supreme Council, and on February 2, Macaulay, as a member of the Council, presented the famous minute in which he defended the views of the English party. It settled the question at once and permanently, and a month later the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, decided that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." Thereupon Macaulay as President of the Committee of Public Instruction took up with great zeal and energy the work of that office and, though the means at his disposal were sadly inadequate, he showed a high order of administrative ability.

Macaulay's labors in the cause of education in India were voluntary and unpaid. Macaulay may be—he has been—accused of being unfair to Oriental learning, but it cannot be seriously questioned that his educational policy was inspired by a genuine desire to benefit the people of India.

A clause in the Indian Charter Act of 1833 gave rise to the appointment in 1834 of a Law Commission to advise the Council on matters of law and to draft legal codes. Macaulay had been admitted to the Bar in 1826, but he never seems to have looked to the law seriously as a profession and soon gave up any pretense of practicing it. He was, nevertheless, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, and at his own instigation he was appointed President of the Law Commission. As such he was the principal author of the Indian Penal Code, which appeared in draft in



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